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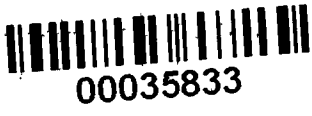

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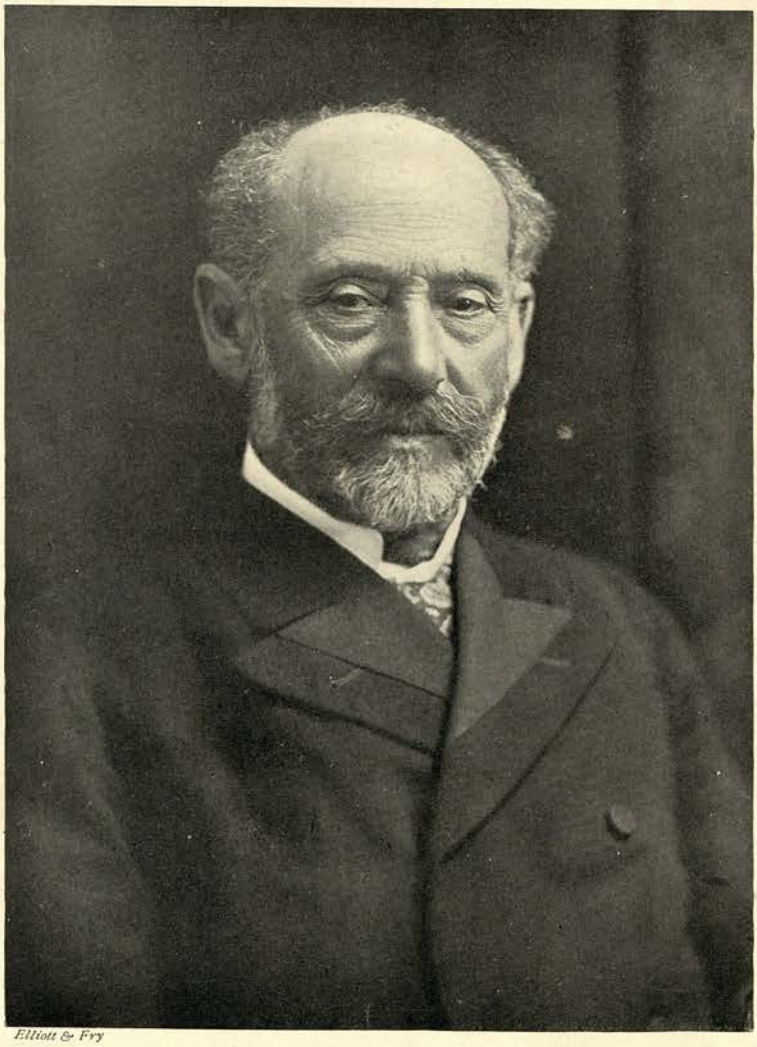

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THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD . . .

A COMPREHENSIVE NARRATIVE OF THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONS AS RECORDED BY THE GREAT WRITERS OF ALL AGES

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TOGETHER WITH A CHAPTER ON

TURKEY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY

A. VAMBÉRY

AND

A SUMMARY OF EARLY JAPANESE HISTORY

BY

CAPTAIN F. BRINKLEY

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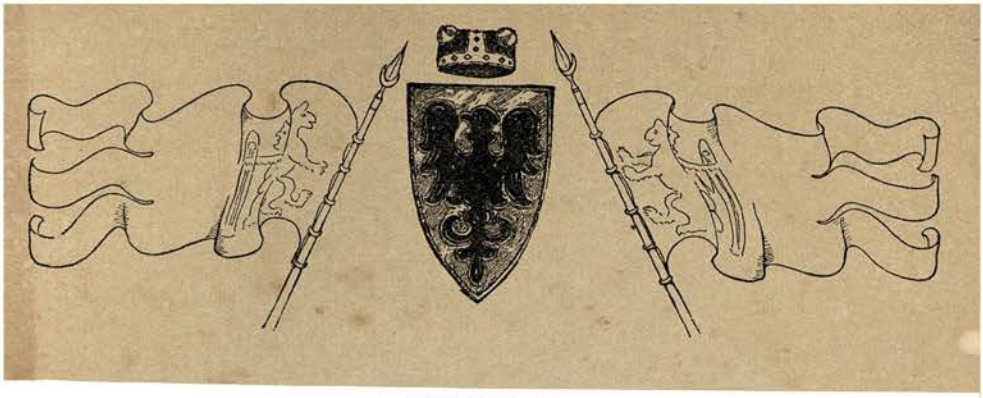

BOOK I

THE HISTORY OF POLAND

CHAPTER I

THE EARLIEST YEARS OF POLAND

[TILL 1382 A. D.]

AMIDST the incessant influx of the Asiatic nations into Europe, during the slow decline of the Roman Empire and the migrations occasioned by their arrival, we should vainly attempt to trace the descent of the Poles. Whether they are derived from the Sarmatians, who, though likewise of Asiatic origin, were located on both sides of the Vistula long before the irruptions of the kindred barbarians, or from some horde of the latter, or, a still more probable hypothesis, from an amalgamation of the natives and newcomers, must forever remain doubtful. All that we can know with certainty is that they formed part of the great Slavonic family which stretched from the Baltic to the Adriatic, and from the Elbe to the mouth of the Dnieper (ancient Borysthenes). As vainly should we endeavour, from historic testimony alone, to ascertain the origin of this generic term "slav," and the universality of its application. Conjecture may tell us that, as some of the more powerful tribes adopted it to denote their success in arms (its signification is glorious), other tribes, conceiving that their bravery entitled them to the same enviable appellation, assumed it likewise. It might thus become the common denomination of the old and new inhabitants, of the victors and the vanquished; the more readily as most of the tribes comprehended under it well knew that the same cradle had once contained them.

Other people, indeed, as the Huns or the Avars, subsequently arrived from more remote regions of Asia, and in the places where they forcibly settled introduced a considerable modification of customs and of language; hence the diversity in both among the Slavonic nations—a diversity which has induced some writers to deny the identity of their common origin. But as, in the silence of history, affinity of language will best explain the kindred of nations, and will best assist us to trace their migrations, no fact can be more indis-

[*ca.* 800 A.D.]

putable than that most of the tribes included in the generic term "slavi" were derived from the same common source, however various the respective periods of their arrival, and whatever changes were in consequence produced by struggles with the nations, by intestine wars, and by the irruption of other hordes dissimilar in manners and in speech. Between the Pole and the Russian is this kindred relation striking; and though it is fainter among the Hungarians from their incorporation with the followers of Attila, and among the Bohemians from their long intercourse with the Teutonic nations, it is yet easily discernible.[1]

Of these Slavonic tribes, those which occupied the country bounded by Prussia and the Carpathian Mountains, by the Bug and the Oder—those especially who were located on both banks of the Vistula—were the progenitors of the present Poles. The word Pole is not older than the tenth century, and seems to have been originally applied not so much to the people as to the region they inhabited; *polska* in the Slavonic tongue signifying a level field or plain.

EARLY RULERS

The Poles as a nation are not of ancient date. Prior to the ninth century they were split into a multitude of tribes independent of each other, and governed by their respective chiefs; no general head was known except in case of invasion, when combination alone could save the country from the yoke. Like all other people, however, they lay claim to an antiquity sufficiently respectable; their old writers assure us that one of the immediate descendants of Noah colonised this part of ancient Sarmatia. But the absurdity of the claim was too apparent to be long supported, and less extravagant historians were satisfied with assigning the period of their incorporation as a people to Leszek or Lech I, who reigned, say they, about the middle of the sixth century. As the laws of evidence became better understood, even this era was modestly abandoned, and the authentic opening of Polish history was brought down three centuries—namely, to the accession of Semowit, 860 A.D. Finally, it was reserved for the Polish writers of our own day to abstract another century from the national existence, and hail Mieczyslaw I as the true founder of the monarchy.[2]

But though the severity of historical criticism has rejected as fabulous, or at least doubtful, the period antecedent to Mieczyslaw I, many transactions of that period are admitted as credible. Tradition, indeed, is the only authority for the existence of preceding rulers, but it cannot be wholly disregarded: its first beams are visible through the darkness of time, and enable us to perceive that some of those rulers existed, whatever we may think of the events recorded concerning them. For this reason they may properly occupy

[1] The Lithuanians, though their history is so closely connected with that of the Muscovites and Poles, are not originally Slavonic, a fact sufficiently clear from their language. By some they have been deemed of Gothic, by others of Alanic descent. Many Gothic words, indeed, are to be found in their language, but more Latin and Greek; the basis, however, is none of the three, but something perhaps resembling the Finnish.

[2] During the reign of the Jagellos the kings were elected, but the election was always confined to one family, which was indisputably hereditary: the eldest son was elected if at a suitable age; if too young, one of the uncles was chosen. The laws of succession seem not very clearly defined in any country during the Middle Ages. What confirms still more strongly the propriety of the division of rulers into those who held the crown by heredity and those who held by election is the fact that, previous to the time of Henri de Valois, the Polish monarchs styled themselves *hæredes regni Poloniæ*, and that, from the accession of the French prince, the nobles in the pacta conventa insisted on the disuse of the hereditary title.

a place in the present introduction. According to ancient chroniclers, one of the most famous dukes of the Poles was Leszek I, who lived about the middle of the sixth century. One day as he was clearing away the ground which he had marked out for the site of a residence, he found an eagle's nest; hence he called the place Gnesen, from the Slavonic word *gniazda*, a nest; hence, too, the representation of that bird on the banners of the nation. A multitude of huts soon surrounded the ducal abode; a city arose, destined for some centuries to be the capital of the country, and eventually the archiepiscopal see of the primate. From this prince Poland was sometimes called Lechia.

Of the immediate descendants of Leszek nothing is known. We are told only that their sceptre was one of iron, and that the indignant natives at length abolished the ducal authority, and established that of voivodes, or palatines, whose functions appear to have been chiefly, if not wholly, military. Experience, however, taught that one tyrant was preferable to twelve; they accordingly invested with the supreme power one of the palatines and deposed the rest—one whose virtues and genius rendered him worthy of the choice. Cracus repressed the licentious, encouraged the peaceable, established tribunals for the administration of justice, and triumphed over all his enemies, domestic and foreign. He founded Cracow, whither he transferred the seat of his government. His son, Leszek II, ascended the ducal throne by a fratricide: he assassinated his elder brother in a wood, but he had the address to conceal for a time his share in that dark deed. But divine justice slumbered not—his crime was discovered, and he was deposed and banished by his indignant subjects. The tender affection, however, which they bore to the memory of Cracus induced them to elevate his daughter Wanda to the throne.

This princess was of surprising beauty, of great talents, and of still greater ambition. Power she deemed too sweet to be divided with another, and she therefore resolutely refused all offers of marriage. Incensed at her haughtiness, or in the hope of accomplishing by force what persuasion had attempted in vain, Rüdiger, one of her lovers, who was a German prince, adopted a novel mode of courtship. At the head of an army he invaded her dominions. She marched against him. When the two armies met, Rüdiger again besought her to listen to his suit, and thereby spare the effusion of blood. The maiden was inexorable; she declared that no man should ever share her throne; that she would never become the slave of a husband, since, whoever he might be, he would assuredly love her person much less than her power.

Her answer, being spread among the officers of Rüdiger, produced an effect which he little foresaw. Filled with admiration at the courage of the princess, whom they perceived hurrying from rank to rank in the act of stimulating her followers to the combat, and convinced that all opposition to her will would be worse than useless, they surrounded their chief, and asked him what advantage he hoped to gain from such an expedition. "If thou shouldst defeat the princess, will she pardon thee the loss of her troops? If thou art subdued, will she be more disposed to love thee?" The passion of Rüdiger blinded him to the rational remonstrances of his followers; he persisted in his resolution of fighting; they refused to advance; in utter despair he laid hands on himself, and turned his dying looks towards the camp of the Poles. Wanda, we are told, showed no sign of sympathy at the tragical news, but returned triumphant to Cracow. Her own end was not less violent. Whether, as is asserted, to escape similar persecution, or, as is equally probable, from

remorse at her own cruelty, having one day sacrificed to the gods, she threw herself into the waters of the Vistula and there perished.

With this princess expired the race of Cracus. Again, it is said, the fickle multitude divided the sovereign power, and subjected themselves to the yoke of twelve palatines. The two periods have evidently been confounded; either the power never existed, or—an hypothesis, however, not very probable—as this form of government was common to the Slavonic tribes, it may have been the only one admitted in Poland prior to the domination of the Piasts. Anarchy, we are told, was the immediate effect of this partition of power. The new chiefs were weak, indolent, and wicked, the tyrants of their subjects and enemies of each other. In vain did the people groan; their groans were disregarded, and their efforts to shake off the bondage they had imposed on themselves were rendered abortive by the power of their rulers, who always exhibited considerable energy when their privileges were threatened.

The general wretchedness was increased by an invasion of the Hungarians, who had sprung from the same origin as the Poles, and who were inclined to profit by the dissensions between the chiefs and people. The palatines, whose duty it was to defend the country which they oppressed, were too conscious of their own weakness, and still more of their unpopularity, to risk an action with the enemy. Nothing but subjugation and ruin appeared to the dismayed natives, when both were averted by the genius of one man.

Though but a simple soldier, Przemyslaw aspired to the glory of liberating his country. One dark night he adopted an expedient which had the merit of novelty at least to recommend it, and which has never since been imitated by any other general. With the branches and barks of trees he formed images of men with lances, swords, and bucklers; these he smeared with certain substances proper to reflect the rays of the sun and render the illusion more striking. He placed these on a hill on the border of a forest directly opposite to the Hungarian camp. The stratagem succeeded; the following morning some troops of the enemy were despatched to dislodge the audacious few who appeared to confide in the excellence of their position. As the assailants approached the plain, the reflection ceased, and they were surprised to find nothing but fantastic forms of trees. The same appearance, however, of armed soldiers was discovered at a distance; and it was universally believed that the Poles had fallen back to occupy a more tenable post. The Hungarians pursued until, artfully drawn into an ambuscade, they were enveloped and massacred.

How to insure the destruction of the rest was now the object of Przemyslaw; it was attained by another stratagem scarcely less extraordinary. He clothed some of his followers in the garb and armour of the slain Hungarians, and marched them boldly towards the enemy's camp, while another body of Poles, by circuitous paths, hastened towards the same destination. Having thus reached the outposts, the former suddenly fell on the astonished Pannonians; while the latter, rushing forwards from another direction, added to the bloody horrors of the scene. In vain did the invaders attempt a combined defence; before they could be formed into anything like systematic order they were cut off almost to a man, notwithstanding individual acts of bravery which called forth the admiration of the assailants.[1]

The victor was rewarded with a sceptre; the twelve palatines were deposed, and he was thus confirmed in an authority undivided and absolute.

[1] Of this expedition no mention is made by the Hungarian writers; it is probably fabulous.

[800-815 A.D.]

Under the name of Leszek I, which he assumed from reverence to the celebrated founder of Gnesen, he reigned with equal glory and happiness. Unfortunately, however, for the natives, he left no children; the palatines armed, some to enforce the restitution of their alleged rights, others to seize on the supreme power. But the voice of the country, to which experience had at length taught a good lesson, declared so loudly against a partition of sovereignty that the chiefs ceased to pursue a common interest; each laboured for himself. According to ancient usage, the people were assembled to fill the vacant throne by their suffrages. But to choose, where the pretensions of the candidates were, to outward appearance, nearly balanced, and yet where the consequences of an improper choice might be forever fatal to liberty, was difficult. Where the risk was so great, they piously concluded that it was safer to leave the event to the will of the gods than to human foresight.

A horse-race was decreed, in which the crown was to be the prize of victory. One of the candidates had recourse to artifice: the course, which lay along a vast plain on the banks of the Pradnik, he planted with sharp iron points, and covered them with sand. In the centre, however, he left a space over which he might pass without danger; but lest he should accidentally diverge from it, he caused his horse to be shod with iron plates, against which the points would be harmless. Everything seemed to promise success to his roguish ingenuity, when the secret was discovered by two young men, as they were one day amusing themselves on the destined course. One of them was silent through fear, the other through cunning. On the appointed day the candidates arrived, the race was opened, and the innumerable spectators waited the result with intense anxiety. The inventor of the stratagem left all the rest far behind him except the youth last mentioned, who kept close to his horse's heels; and who, just as the victor was about to claim the prize, exposed the unworthy trick to the multitude. The former was immediately sacrificed to their fury; and the latter, as the reward of his courageous conduct, notwithstanding the meanness of his birth, was invested (804) with the ensigns of sovereignty [with the title of Leszek II].

The new duke was humble enough to remember and rational enough to acknowledge his low extraction. He preserved with religious care the garments which he had worn in his lowly fortunes, and on which he often gazed with greater satisfaction than on his regal vestments. His temperance, his love of justice, his zeal for the good of his people, are favourite themes of the old chroniclers. Leszek III (810) inherited the virtues no less than the name of his father; for though of his twenty-one sons one only was legitimate, incontinency would scarcely be considered a blemish in a pagan and a Slav. After a short but brilliant reign, ennobled by success in war and wisdom in peace, he divided his dominions among his sons, subjecting all, however, to the authority of his lawful successor, Popiel I (815). Of this prince little is known beyond his jealousy of his brothers and his addiction to debauchery. After a base and ignoble life he was succeeded by his son, Popiel II, while yet a child.

The fostering care of the uncles, whose fidelity appears to have been as rare as it was honourable, preserved the throne to the chief of their house. But the prince showed them no gratitude; he was, indeed, incapable of such a sentiment; every day he exhibited to his anxious guardians some new feature of depravity, which, with a commendable prudence, they endeavoured to conceal from the nation, in the hope that increasing years would bring reformation. Their pious exhortations were in vain; he proceeded from bad to worse;

he associated with none but the dissipated—"with drunkards, spendthrifts, and fornicators," or with mimics and jesters. To correct one of his vices at least, a wife was procured for him: the expedient failed; it had even a mischievous effect, since his consort was avaricious and malignant, and was but too successful in making him the instrument of her designs. On reaching his majority his passions burst forth with fury; no woman was safe from his lust, no man from his revenge. His extortions, his debaucheries, his cruelty at length exhausted the patience of his people, who resolved to set bounds to his excesses. The formidable confederacy was headed by his uncles, who sacrificed the ties of blood to their patriotism or their ambition. To dissolve it, and at the same time to gratify his revenge, he was stimulated alike by his own malignity and by the counsels of his wife. He feigned sickness, sent for his uncles, as if to make his peace with them, and poisoned them in the wine which was produced for their entertainment. He even carried his wickedness so far as to refuse the rites of sepulture to his victims.

But, say the chroniclers, divine justice prepared a fit punishment for this Sardanapalus and Jezebel. From the unburied corpses sprang a countless multitude of rats, of an enormous size, which immediately filled the palace and sought out the guilty pair and their two children. In vain were great numbers destroyed; greater swarms advanced. In vain did the ducal family enclose themselves within a circle of fire; the boundary was soon passed by the ferocious animals, which, with unrelenting persistency, aimed at them and them alone. They fled to another element, which availed them as little. The rats followed them to a neighbouring lake, plunged into the water, and fixed their teeth in the sides of the vessel, in which they would soon have gnawed holes sufficient to let in the water and sink it, had not Popiel commanded the sailors to land him on an island near at hand. In vain; his inveterate enemies were on shore as soon as he. His attendants now recognised the finger of heaven, and left him to his fate. Accompanied by his wife and children, he now fled to a neighbouring tower; he ascended the highest pinnacle: still they followed; neither doors nor bars could resist them. His two sons were first devoured, then the duchess, then himself, and so completely that not a bone remained of the four.

With Popiel was extinguished the legitimate race of royalty; but the sons of the murdered uncles remained, the eldest of whom, with the aid of his brother, aspired to the throne. Again the palatines stepped forth to vindicate the ancient form of government. The two parties disputed, quarrelled, and, lastly, armed their adherents to decide the question by force; but the more enlightened portion of the nation was not convinced that a problem affecting the happiness or misery of millions ought to be resolved in such a way. Two assemblies were successively convened at Kruswick, to discuss the respective claims of monarchy and oligarchy; but the forces, if not the arguments, of the two parties were so nearly equal that nothing was decided. Both were preparing to try the efficacy of arms, when heaven, in pity to the people, again interfered, and miraculously filled the vacant throne.

FOUNDATION OF THE HOUSE OF PIAST (842 A.D.)

There dwelt in Kruswick a poor but virtuous man, named Piast—so poor, indeed, that his wants were but scantily supplied by a small piece of ground which he cultivated with his own hands, and so virtuous that the blessings of thousands accompanied his steps. He had a wife and a son, both worthy

of him. He lived contented in his poverty, which he had no wish to remove, since he had wisdom enough to perceive that the state most exempt from artificial wants is the most favourable to virtue, and consequently to happiness. When the time arrived that his son should be first shorn of his locks of hair and receive a name—a custom of great antiquity among the pagan Slavs [1]—he invited, as was usual on such occasions, his neighbours to the ceremony. On the day appointed two strangers arrived with the rest, and were admitted with the hospitality so honourable to the people. Piast laid before his guests all he could furnish for their entertainment: that all, he observed, was little, but he hoped the spirit with which it was offered would compensate for the lack of good cheer. They began on the scanty stock of viands, when, lo—a miracle!—both were multiplied prodigiously; the more they ate and drank, the more the tables groaned under the weight of the viands. The portent was spread abroad with rapidity. Numbers daily flocked to the peasant's house to share his hospitality and to witness the miraculous increase of his provisions.

A scarcity of these good things at that time afflicted the place, through the influx of so many thousands who met for the choice of a government. All hastened to Piast, who entertained them with princely liberality during several successive weeks. "Who so fit to rule," was the universal cry, "as this holy man, this favourite of the gods?" Prince and palatine desisted from their respective pretensions, and joined their suffrages to that of the people. Piast was unanimously elected, in the year 842, to the vacant dignity; but so great was his reluctance to accept the glittering honour that he would have remained forever in his then humble condition, had not the two identical strangers, whom he found to be gods, and whom later Christian writers consider two angels, or at least two blessed martyrs, again favoured him with a visit, and prevailed on him to sacrifice his own ease to the good of the nation. The reign of Piast was the golden age of Poland. No foreign wars, no domestic commotions; but respect from without, abundance and contentment within, signalised his wise, firm, and paternal administration. The horror with which he regarded the scene of Popiel's guilt and punishment made him abandon the place of his birth and transfer his court to Gnesen, which thus became a second time the capital of the country.

Semowit's was no less glorious. He was the first chief who introduced regular discipline into the armies of Poland. Before his time they had fought without order or system; their onset had been impetuous, and their retreat as sudden. He marshalled them in due array; taught them to surrender their own will to that of their officers; to move as one vast machine obedient to the force which rules it; and whenever fortune was adverse, to consult their safety not in flight, but in a closer and more determined union, in a vigorous, concentrated resistance. The Hungarians, the Moravians, the Russians, who had insulted the country under the feeble sway of Popiel, and who had despised the inexperience of the son of Piast, were soon taught to fear him and to sue for peace. Semowit was satisfied with the terror produced by his arms; he thirsted not after conquest; he loved his subjects too well to waste their blood in gratification of a selfish ambition. Their welfare was his only

[1] The shaven crowns of the Polish nobles who visited Paris to offer Henry of Anjou the sceptre of Poland were an extraordinary spectacle to the Parisians. "*Ils admiraient surtout*," says De Thou, "*les têtes rasées, n'offrant qu'une touffe de cheveux au-dessus.*" The origin of this custom might be connected with religion, but convenience perpetuated it. Long hair, which could be seized by the hands of an enemy in the heat of battle, often occasioned the destruction of the wearer.

care, their gratitude and affection his only reward. An able captain, an enlightened statesman, an affable, patriotic sovereign, his person was adored during life, and his memory long revered after death.

His son and successor, Leszek IV (892), successfully imitated all his virtues but one. This prince refrained from war, making all his glory to consist in promoting the internal happiness of the people. His moderation, his justice, his active zeal, his enlightened care, were qualities, however, not very acceptable to a martial and ferocious people, who longed for war, and who placed all greatness in conquest. Of the same pacific disposition, and of the same estimable virtues, was Semomyslaw (921), the son and successor of Leszek. For the same honourable reason, the reign of this prince furnishes no materials for history. The tranquil, unobtrusive virtues must be satisfied with self-approbation, and a consciousness of the divine favour; only the more splendid and mischievous qualities attain immortality. That men's evil deeds are written in brass, their good ones in water, is more than poetically just.[1] Semomyslaw, however, has one claim to remembrance which posterity has not failed to recognise: he was the father of Mieczyslaw, the first Christian duke of Poland, with whom opens the authentic history of the country.

MIECZYSLAW I, BOLESLAW I, AND MIECZYSLAW II

This fifth prince of the house of Piast is entitled to the remembrance of posterity, not merely from his being the first Christian ruler of Poland, but from the success with which he abolished paganism and enforced the observance of the new faith throughout his dominions. He who could effect so important a revolution without bloodshed must have been no common character.

When the duke assumed the reins of sovereignty both he and his subjects were strangers to Christianity, even by name. By the persuasion of his nobles, he demanded the hand of Dabrowka, daughter of Boleslaw, king of Hungary. Both father and daughter refused to favour so near a connection with a pagan; but both declared that if he would consent to embrace the faith of Christ his proposal would be accepted. After some deliberation he consented; he procured instructors, and was soon made acquainted with the doctrines which he was required to believe and the duties he was bound to practise. The royal maiden was accordingly conducted to his capital (965), and the day which witnessed his regeneration by the waters of baptism also beheld him receive another sacrament, that of marriage.

The zeal with which Mieczyslaw laboured for the conversion of his subjects, left no doubt of the sincerity of his own. Having dismissed his seven concubines, he issued an order for the destruction of the idols throughout the country. He appears to have been obeyed without much opposition.

While he was occupied in forwarding the conversion of the nation, he was not unfrequently called to defend it against the ambition or the jealousy of his neighbours. In 968 he was victorious over the Saxons, but desisted from hostilities at the imperial command of Otto I, whose feudatory he acknowledged

[1] Solignac (*Histoire de Pologne*) has totally misrepresented the character of these two princes. He represents them as weak and useless, as fallen and slothful. On the contrary, that their administration was vigorous, active, and beneficial in a very high degree, is confirmed by every ancient chronicler of the country. I am at a loss to account for this perversion of truth, perhaps I might say carelessness, in a writer justly held in esteem.

[973–999 A.D.]

himself. Against the son of that emperor, Otto II, he leagued himself with other princes who espoused the interests of Henry of Bavaria; but, like them, he was compelled to submit, and own not only the title but the supremacy of Otto, in 973. He encountered a more formidable competitor in the Russian grand duke, Vladimir the Great, who after triumphing over the Greeks invaded Poland in 986, and reduced several towns. The Bug now bounded the western conquests of the descendants of Rurik, whose object henceforth was to push them to the very confines of Germany. But Mieczyslaw arrested, though he could not destroy, the torrent of invasion; if he procured no advantage over the Russian, he opposed a barrier which induced Vladimir to turn aside to enterprises which promised greater facility of success. His last expedition (989–991) was against Boleslaw, duke of Bohemia. In this contest he was assisted with auxiliaries furnished by the emperor Otto III, whose favour he had won, and by other princes of the empire. After a short but destructive war the Bohemian, unable to oppose the genius of Mieczyslaw, sued for peace; but this triumph was fatal to the peace of the two countries. Hence the origin of lasting strife between two nations whose descent, manners, and language were the same, and between whom, consequently, less animosity might have been expected.

But contiguity of situation is seldom, perhaps never, favourable to the harmony of nations. Silesia, which was the frontier province of Poland, was thenceforth exposed to the incursions of the Bohemians, and doomed to experience the curse of its limitrophie position. Mieczyslaw died in 999, universally regretted by his subjects.

BOLESLAW (999–1025 A.D.)

Boleslaw I, surnamed Chrobry, or the "lion-hearted," son of Mieczyslaw and Dabrowka, ascended the ducal throne in 999, in his thirty-second year, amidst the acclamations of his people.

From his infancy this prince had exhibited qualities of a high order—great capacity of mind, undaunted courage, and an ardent zeal for his country's glory. Humane, affable, generous, he was early the favourite of the Poles, whose affection he still further gained by innumerable acts of kindness to individuals. Unfortunately, however, his most splendid qualities were neutralised by his immoderate ambition, which, in the pursuit of its own gratification, too often disregarded the miseries it occasioned.

The fame of Boleslaw having reached the ears of Otto III, that emperor, who was then in Italy, resolved on his return to Germany to take a route somewhat circuitous, and pay the prince a visit. He had before vowed a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Adalbert, whose hallowed remains had just been transported from Prussia to Gnesen. He was received by Boleslaw with a magnificence which surprised him, and a respect which won his esteem. No sooner were his devotions performed than he testified his gratitude, or perhaps consulted his policy, by elevating the duchy into a kingdom, which he doubtless intended should forever remain a fief of the empire. Boleslaw was solemnly anointed by the archbishop of Gnesen; but the royal crown, it is said, was placed on his head by imperial hands. To bind still closer the alliance between the two princes, Rixa, a niece of Otto, was affianced to the son of the new king. The emperor returned home with an arm of St. Adalbert, which he probably considered as cheaply procured in exchange for a woman and a title.

The king was not long allowed to wear his new honours unmolested; he soon proved that they could not have been placed on a worthier brow. His first and most inveterate enemies were the Bohemians, who longed to grasp Silesia. Two easy triumphs disconcerted the duke of that country, who began to look around him for allies. The same disaster still attended his arms; his fields were laid waste, his towns pillaged, his capital taken, with himself and his eldest son; the loss of sovereignty, of liberty, and soon of his eyes, convinced him, when too late, how terrific an enemy he had provoked. For a time his country remained the prey of the victor; but the generosity or policy of Boleslaw at length restored the ducal throne to Ulrich, the second son of the fallen chief. All Germany was alarmed at the progress of the Polish arms. Even the emperor, Henry of Bavaria, joined the confederacy now formed to humble the pride of Boleslaw. Superior numbers chased him from Bohemia, dethroned Ulrich, and elevated the elder brother, the lawful heir, to the vacant dignity. The king returned to espouse the interests of Ulrich; but, though he was often successful, he was as often not indeed defeated, but constrained to elude the combined force of the empire. Ulrich did at length obtain the throne, not through Boleslaw but through Henry, whose cause he strengthened by his adhesion.

Peace was frequently made during these obscure contests, and the king was thereby enabled to repress the incursions of his enemies on other parts of his frontier; but none could be of long continuance, where, on both sides, the love of war was a passion scarcely equalled in intensity even by ambition. In one of his expeditions Boleslaw penetrated as far as Holstein, reducing the towns and fortresses in his way, and filling all Germany with the deepest consternation. His conquests, however, were but transiently held; if he found it easy to make them, to retain them in opposition to the united efforts of the princes of the empire required far more numerous armies than he could raise. He fell back on Silesia to repair the disasters sustained by the arms of his son Mieczyslaw, whose talents were inadequate to the command of a separate force.

To recount the endless alternations of victory and failure during these obscure contests would exhibit a dry record—dry as the most lifeless chronicle of the times. It must be sufficient to observe that what little advantage was gained fell to the lot of Boleslaw until the Peace of Bautzen, in 1018, restored peace to the lacerated empire.

But the most famous of the wars of Boleslaw were with the dukes of Russia. After the death of Vladimir the Great, who had imprudently divided his estates among his sons, the eldest, Sviatopolk, prince of Tver, endeavouring to unite the other principalities under his sceptre, was expelled the country by the combined forces of his enraged brothers. He took refuge in Poland, and implored the assistance of the king. Boleslaw immediately armed, not so much to avenge the cause of Sviatopolk as to regain possession of the provinces which Vladimir had wrested from Mieczyslaw. He marched against Iaroslav, who had seized on the dominions of the fugitive brother, and whom he encountered on the banks of the Bug.

For some time he hesitated to pass the river in the face of a powerful enemy; but a Russian soldier from the opposite bank one day deriding his corpulency, he plunged into the water with the most intrepid of his followers, and the action commenced. It was obstinately contested, but victory in the end declared for the king. He pursued the fugitives to the walls of Kiev, which he immediately invested and took. Sviatopolk was restored, but he made an unworthy return to his benefactor; he secretly instigated the Kievans to massacre the Poles, whose superiority he envied, and whose presence annihilated

[1018-1025 A.D.]

his authority. His treachery was discovered, and his capital nearly destroyed by his incensed allies, who returned home laden with immense plunder. The Russians pursued in a formidable body, and the Bug was again destined to behold the strife of the two armies. Again did victory shine on the banners of Boleslaw, who, on this occasion, almost annihilated the assailants. Thus ended this first expedition; the second was not less decisive. Iaroslav had reduced the Polish garrison left by the king in Kiev, had seized on that important city, and penetrated into the Polish provinces, which submitted at his approach.

A third time was the same river to witness the same sanguinary scenes. As usual, after a sharp contest, the Russians yielded the honour of the day to their able and brave antagonist, who hurried forward in the career of conquest; but his name now rendered further victories unnecessary; it struck terror in the hearts of the Russians, who hastened to acknowledge his supremacy. On this occasion he appears to have conducted himself with a moderation which does the highest honour to his heart: he restored the prisoners he had taken, and, after leaving garrisons in the more important places, returned to his capital to end his days in peace.

Towards the close of life Boleslaw is said to have looked back on his ambitious undertakings with sorrow; they had added nothing to his prosperity, but had exhausted his people. He now began to regret that he had not devoted his time and talents and means to objects which would have secured for them happiness, for himself a glory far more substantial than his brilliant deeds could bestow. Perhaps, too, he began to be apprehensive of the account which a greater potentate than himself might exact from him. Certain it is that the last six years of his reign were passed in the most laborious efforts to repair the evils he had occasioned—to improve alike the temporal and moral condition of his people. He administered justice with impartiality. Delinquents he punished with inflexible severity; the meritorious he honoured and enriched. Knowing the infirmity of his own judgments, he associated with him twelve of his wisest nobles. With their aid he redressed the wrongs of his subjects, not only in his capital but in various parts of his kingdom, which he traversed from time to time to inquire into the way justice was administered by the local magistrates. Nothing escaped his activity; it destroyed oppression and insured triumph to innocence.

Perhaps the severity of his labours, which allowed of no intermission by day, and which were often continued during the silence of night, hastened his end. Having convoked an assembly at Gnesen, in which his son was nominated his successor, he prepared for the approaching change. With his dying breath he exhorted that prince to favour the deserving, by conferring on them the distinction of wealth and honours; to love his God; to reverence the ministers of religion; to cherish virtue; to flee from pleasure; to reign by justice, and to inspire his subjects with love rather than fear. He died shortly afterwards, in 1025, leaving behind him the reputation of the greatest sovereign of his age; and, what is far more estimable, the universal lamentations of his subjects proved that he had nobly deserved their affectionate appellation, Father. Poland had never seen such a king as the last six years of his life exhibited: he was the true founder of his country's greatness.

Mieczyslaw II ascended the throne of his father in 1025, in his thirty-fifth year—an age when the judgment is reasonably expected to be ripened and the character formed. But this prince had neither; and he soon showed how incapable he was of governing so turbulent a people as the Poles, or of repressing his ambitious neighbours. Absorbed in sloth, or in pleasures still more shameful, he scarcely deigned to waste a glance on the serious duties of

royalty, and it was soon discovered that his temperament fitted him rather for the luxurious courts of southern Asia than for the iron region of Sarmatia.

Iaroslav, the restless duke of Kiev, was the first to prove to the world how Poland had suffered by a change of rulers. He rapidly reduced some fortresses, desolated the eastern provinces, and would doubtless have carried his ferocious arms to the capital, had not the Poles, without a signal from their king, who quietly watched the progress of the invasion, flocked to the national standard and compelled this second Sardanapalus to march against the enemy. The duke, however, had no wish to run the risk of an action; with immense spoil, and a multitude of prisoners, he returned to his dominions in the consciousness of perfect impunity. Mieczyslaw, thinking that by his appearance in the field he had done enough for glory, led back his murmuring troops to his capital; nor did the sacrifice of his father's conquests draw one sigh, even one serious thought, from the confirmed voluptuary, who esteemed every moment abstracted from his sensual enjoyments as a lamentable loss of time and life—a loss, however, that he was resolved to repair by more than usual devotion to the only deities he worshipped. For the mead of Odin, the purple juice of Bacchus, and the delights of the Cytherean goddess he deemed no praise too exalted, no incense too precious.

From this dream of sensuality he was at length rudely awakened, not by the revolt of the Bohemians or that of the Moravians, whose countries his father had rendered, for a short time, tributary to Poland; not by the reduction of his strongest fortresses, nor even by the escape of whole provinces from his feeble grasp, but by the menaces of his people, who displayed their martial lines in front of his palace, and insisted on his accompanying them to crush the widespread spirit of insurrection. He reluctantly marched, not to subdue, but to make an idle display of force which he knew not how to wield. The Bohemians were too formidable to be assailed; the Moravians easily escaped his unwilling pursuit, and suffered him to wreak his vengeance—if, indeed, he was capable of such a sentiment—on a few miserable villages, or on such straggling parties of their body as accident threw in his way. As the enemy no longer appeared openly, he naturally wished it to be believed that none existed, and his discontented troops were again led back from the inglorious scene. He now hoped to pass his days in unmolested enjoyment; but—vexation on vexation!—the Pomeranians revolted. His first impulse was to treat with his rebellious subjects, and grant them a part at least of their demands, as the price of the ease he courted; but this disgraceful expedient was furiously rejected by his nobles, who a third time forced him to the field. In this expedition he was accompanied by three Hungarian princes, who had sought a refuge in his dominions from the violence of an ambitious kinsman. Through their ability, and the valour of the Poles, victory declared for him. With all his faults he was not, it appears, incapable of gratitude, since he conferred both the hand of his daughter and the government of Pomerania on Béla, the most valiant of the three princes. Now he had surely done enough to satisfy the pugnacious clamours of his people. The Bohemians, the Moravians, and the Saxons, whom Boleslaw the Great had subjugated, were, indeed, in open and successful revolt; but he could safely ask the most martial of his nobles what chance existed of again reducing those fierce rebels. And though his cowardice might be apparent enough, no wise man would blame the prudence which declined to enter on a contest where success could scarcely be considered possible.

But Mieczyslaw was indifferent to popular opinion. To avoid the grim visages of his nobles, which he hated no less than he feared, he retreated wholly

[1034-1036 A.D.]

from society, and, surrounded by a few companions in debauchery, abandoned himself without restraint to his favourite excesses. The consequences were such as might be expected. Already enfeebled in the prime of life, this wretched voluptuary found his body incapable of sustaining the maladies produced by continued intemperance, his exhausted mind still less able to bear the heavy load of remorse which oppressed it. Madness ensued, which soon terminated in death.

Fortunately for humanity, there are few evils without some intermixture of good. If Mieczyslaw the Idle was cowardly, dissipated, and despicable, there were moments when he appeared sensible of the duties obligatory on his station. To him Poland was indebted for the distribution of the country into palatinates, each presided over by a local judge, and consequently for the more speedy and effectual administration of justice. He is also said to have founded a new bishopric.

THE INTERREGNUM; CASIMIR I

Poland was now doomed to experience the fatal truth, that any permanent government, no matter how tyrannical, weak, or contemptible, is beyond all measure superior to anarchy. Mieczyslaw the Idle left a son of an age too tender to be intrusted with the reins of the monarchy, and his widow Rixa was accordingly declared regent of the kingdom and guardian of the prince. But that queen was unable to control the haughtiness of chiefs who despised the sway of a woman, and who detested her as a German—of all Germans, too, the most hated, as belonging to the archducal house of Austria. She added to their discontent by the evident partiality she showed towards her own countrymen, of whom it is said numbers flocked to share in the spoils of Poland. Complaints followed on the one side, without redress on the other; these were succeeded by remonstrances, then by menaces, until a confederacy was formed by the discontented nobles, whose ostensible object was to procure the dismissal of foreigners, but whose real one was to seize on the supreme authority. They succeeded in both: all foreigners were expelled the kingdom, and with them the regent. Whether Casimir, her son, shared her flight or immediately followed her is uncertain, but Europe soon beheld both in Saxony, claiming the protection of their kinsman, the emperor Conrad II.

The picture, drawn even by native historians, of the miseries sustained by the country after the expulsion of the queen and prince, is in the highest degree revolting. There was, say they, no authority, no law, and consequently no obedience. Innumerable parties contended for the supreme power, and the strongest naturally triumphed, but not until numbers were exterminated. As there was no tribunal to which the disputants could appeal, no chief, no council, no house of legislature, the sword only could decide their pretensions. The triumph was brief: a combination still more powerful arose to hurl the successful party from its blood-stained pre-eminence; and this latter, in turn, became the victim of a new association, as guilty and as short-lived as itself. Then the palatines or governors of provinces asserted their independence of the self-constituted authority at Gnesen. The whole country, indeed, was cursed by the lawless rule of petty local sovereigns, who made an exterminating war on each other, and ravaged each other's territories with as much impunity as greater potentates. One Masos, who had been cup-bearer to the late king, seized by force on the country between the Vistula, the Narew, and the Bug, which he governed despotically, and which to this day is named from him, Masovia.

But a still greater evil was the general rising of the peasants, whose first object was to revenge themselves on the petty tyrants that oppressed them, but who, through the very success of the attempt, were, as must in all times and in all places be the case, only the more incited to greater undertakings. However beautiful the gradation of ranks which law and custom have established in society, the lowest class will not admire it, but will assuredly endeavour to rise higher in the scale, whenever opportunity holds out a prospect of success. Hence the necessity of laws backed by competent authority to curb this everlasting tendency of the multitude. Let the barrier which separates the mob from the more favoured orders be once weakened, and it will soon be thrown down to make way for the most tremendous of inundations, one that will sweep away the landmarks of society, level all that is noble or valuable, and leave nothing but a vast waste, where the evil passions of men may find a fit theatre for further conflict.

Such, we are told, was the state of Poland during the universal reign of anarchy. The peasants, from ministers of righteous justice, became plunderers and murderers, and were infected with all the vices of human nature. Armed bands scoured the country, seizing on all that was valuable, consuming all that could not be carried away, violating the women, massacring old and young; priests and bishops were slain at the altar, nuns ravished in the depths of the cloisters. To add to horrors which had never before, perhaps, been paralleled among Christian nations, came the scourge of foreign invasion, and that, too, in the most revolting forms. On one side Predislaw, duke of Bohemia, sacked Breslaw, Posnania, and Gnesen, consuming everything with fire and sword; on another advanced the savage Iaroslav, who made a desert as he passed along. Had not the former been recalled by preparations of war against his own dominions, and had not the latter thought proper to return home when he had amassed as much plunder as could be carried away, and made as many captives (to be sold as slaves) as his followers could guard, Poland had no longer been a nation. Even now she was little better than a desert. Her cities exhibited smoking ruins, and her fields nothing but the furrows left by "the plough of desolation." Countless thousands had been massacred; thousands more had fled from the destroying scene. Those who remained had little hope that the present calm would continue; the evil power was rather exhausted than spent. But the terrific lesson had not been lost on them; they now looked forward to the restoration of the monarchy as the only means of averting foreign invasion, and the heavier curse of anarchy. An assembly was convoked by the archbishop at Gnesen. All, except a few lawless chiefs who hoped to perpetuate a state of things where force only was recognised, voted for a king; and, after some deliberation, an overwhelming majority decreed the recall of Prince Casimir.

But where was the prince to be found? No one knew the place of his retreat. A deputation waited on Queen Rixa, who was at length persuaded to reveal it. But here, too, an unexpected difficulty intervened: Casimir had actually taken the cowl in the abbey of Cluny.[1] The deputies were not dismayed; they proceeded to his cloister, threw themselves at his feet, and besought him with tears to have pity on his country: "We come unto thee, dearest prince, in the name of all the bishops, barons, and nobles of the Polish kingdom, since thou alone canst restore our country and thy rightful heritage." They prayed him to return them good for evil, and drew so pathetic a picture of the woes of his native land that he acceded to their wishes. He allowed an application to be

[1 Röpell[d] denies the authenticity of this legend.]

[1040-1058 A.D.]

made to Benedict IX to release him from his monastic engagements, who, after exacting some concessions from the Polish nobles and clergy, absolved him from his vows. He accordingly bade adieu to his cell, and set out to gratify the expectations of his subjects, by whom he was received with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of joy, and justly hailed as their saviour.

Casimir, surnamed the Restorer, proved himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him by his people; no higher praise can be given him than that he was equal to the difficulties of his situation. His first care was to repair the evils which had so long afflicted the country. The great he reduced to obedience—some by persuasion, others by firm but mild acts of authority; and, what was more difficult, he reconciled them to each other. The affection borne towards his person and the need which all had of him rendered his task not indeed easy, but certainly practicable. The submission of the nobles occasioned that of the people, whose interests were no less involved in the restoration of tranquillity and happiness. Where there was so good a disposition for a basis, the superstructure could not fail to correspond. The towns were rebuilt and repeopled, industry began to flourish, the laws to resume their empire over brute force, and hope to animate those whom despair had driven to recklessness.

Nor was this politic prince less successful in his foreign relations. To conciliate the power of Iaroslav, the fiercest and most formidable of his enemies, he proposed an alliance to be still more closely cemented by his marriage with a sister of the duke. His offer was accepted, and he was also promised a considerable body of Prussian auxiliaries to assist him in reconquering Silesia, Pomerania, and the province of Masovia, which still recognised the rebel Masos.

This adventurer gave him more trouble than could have been anticipated. Though signally defeated by the king, he had yet address enough to assemble another army, chiefly of pagan Prussians, much more numerous than any he had previously commanded. Casimir was for a moment discouraged; his forces had been weakened even by his successes, and he apprehended that, even should victory again declare for him, he would be left without troops to make head against his other enemies. At this time he is said to have looked back with sincere regret to the peaceful cloister he had abandoned. But this weakness soon gave way to thoughts more worthy of him: he met the enemy on the banks of the Vistula, when a sanguinary contest afforded him an occasion of displaying his valour no less than his ability. He fought like the meanest soldier, was severely wounded, and was saved from destruction by the devotion of a follower. But in the end his arms were victorious: fifteen thousand of the rebels lay on the field; Masos was glad to take refuge in Prussia, by the fierce inhabitants of which he was publicly executed as the author of their calamities.

The rest of the reign of Casimir exhibits little to strike the attention. Bohemia was restrained from disquieting him, rather through the interference of his ally the emperor Henry III than by his own valour. Silesia was surrendered to him; Prussia acknowledged his superiority, and paid him tribute; Pomerania was tranquillised, and Hungary sought his alliance. But signal as were these advantages, they were inferior to those which his personal character and influence procured for his country. Convinced that no state can be happy, however wise the laws that govern it, where morality is not still more powerful, he laboured indefatigably to purify the manners of his people, by teaching them their duties, by a more extended religious education, and by his own example as well as that of his friends and counsellors. For the twelve monks whom he persuaded to leave their retirements at Cluny, to assist him

in the moral reformation of his subjects, he founded two monasteries, one near Cracow, the other on the Oder, in Silesia. Both establishments zealously promoted his views; instruction was more widely diffused, and the decent splendour of the public worship made on the minds of the rude inhabitants, not yet fully reclaimed from paganism, an impression which could never have been produced by mere preaching. Before his death this excellent prince could congratulate himself that he had saved millions, and injured no one individual; that he had laid the foundation of a purer system of manners; that he was the regenerator no less than the restorer of his country. His memory is still dear to the Poles.

BOLESLAW II (1058–1082 A.D.)

Boleslaw II, surnamed the Bold, was only sixteen when he assumed the reins of government. But long before that period he had exhibited proofs of extraordinary capacity, and of that generosity of sentiment inseparable from elevation of mind. Unfortunately, however, he wanted the more useful qualities of his deceased father; those which he possessed were splendid indeed, but among them the sparks of an insatiable ambition lay concealed, which required only the breath of opportunity to burst forth in flames.

That opportunity was not long wanting. A few years after his accession, three fugitive princes arrived at his court, to implore his aid in recovering their lost honours. None indeed of the three had any well-grounded claim to sympathy, since all had forfeited the privileges of their birth by misconduct of their own; but the "protector of unfortunate princes" was a title which he most coveted, and all were favourably received.

The first of these, Jaromir, brother of Wratislaw, duke of Bohemia, had early entered the church, allured by the prospect of the Episcopal throne of Prague; but he soon became disgusted with a profession which set a restraint on his worst passions, and ambitious of temporal distinctions, he left his cloister, plunged into the dissipations of the world, but was soon compelled by his brother to return to it. He escaped a second time, and endeavoured to gain supporters in his wild attempts to subvert the authority of Wratislaw; but finding his freedom, if not his existence, perilled in Bohemia, he threw himself into the arms of Boleslaw. The result was a war between the two countries, which was disastrous to the Bohemians, but to which an end was at length brought by the interference of the Germanic princes. Jaromir was persuaded to resume his former vocation, and to bound his ambition within the limits of a mitre; the marriage of Wratislaw with the sister of the Polish king secured for a time the blessings of peace to these martial people.

The second expedition, in favour of Béla, prince of Hungary, who aspired to the throne of his brother Andrew, was no less successful. Andrew was defeated, and slain in a wood, probably by his own domestics, and Béla was crowned by the conquering Boleslaw. This was not all. Seven years afterwards he again invaded Hungary, to espouse the interests of Geisa, the son of Béla, who had been killed in a hut which the violence of a storm had tumbled on the royal guest. Solomon, the son of Andrew, had been crowned by the influence of the emperor Henry III. Again was he joined by numerous partisans of the exiled prince. Solomon fled into lower Hungary, but he there occupied a position so strong by nature as to defy the force of his enemies. In consternation at the evils which impended over the kingdom, some prelates undertook the appropriate task of effecting an accommodation between the

[1072-1076 A.D.]

contending princes. Through their influence an assembly was held at Mofo, which was attended by the rival claimants; and it was at length agreed that Solomon should retain the title of king; that Geisa and his brothers should be put into possession of one-third of the country, to be governed as a duchy; and that the Polish monarch should be indemnified by both for the expenses he had incurred in the expedition. The reigning king was to be crowned anew, and to receive the ensigns of his dignity from the hands of Geisa.[1]

But the most splendid of the warlike undertakings of Boleslaw was his expeditions into Russia. His ostensible object was to espouse the cause of Iziaslav. "I am obliged to succour that prince," said he, "by the blood which unites us, and by the pity so justly due to his misfortunes. Unfortunate princes are more to be commiserated than ordinary mortals. If calamities must necessarily exist on earth, they should not be allowed to affect such as are exalted for the happiness of others." This show of generosity, however, though it had its due weight with him, was not the only cause of his arming. The recovery of the possessions which his predecessors had held in Russia and of the domains which he conceived he had a right to inherit through his mother and his queen (like his father, he had married a Russian princess) was the aim he avowed to his followers. He accordingly marched against Ucheslav, who had expelled Iziaslav from Kiev; both were sons of Iaroslav, who had committed the fatal but in that period common error of dividing his dominions among his children, and thereby opening the door to the most unnatural of contests.

The two armies met within a few leagues of Kiev. The martial appearance and undaunted mien of the Poles struck terror into Ucheslav, who secretly fled from his tent. He had not gone far before his pusillanimity made him despicable even in his own eyes; he blushed and returned. Again was he seized with the same panic fear; he fled with all haste towards Polotsk, and his army, deprived of its natural head, disbanded. Kiev was invested; it surrendered to the authority of Iziaslav; Polotsk followed the example, but Ucheslav first contrived to escape. Boleslaw remained some time at Kiev, plunged in the dissipation to which his temperament and the loose morals of the inhabitants alike inclined him. He was not, however, wholly unmindful of his military fame, since he forsook the luxurious vices of that city for the subjugation of Przemyslaw, an ancient dependency of Poland. Probably he would at the same time have amplified his territories by other conquests, had he not been summoned into Hungary to succour, as before related, the son of the deceased Béla.

On the pacification of that kingdom he returned to Russia, to inflict vengeance on the brothers of Iziaslav, whom they had again expelled from Kiev. Though he was resolved to restore that prince, he was no less so to make him tributary to Poland. He speedily subjugated the whole of Volhinia, with the design of having a retreat in case fortune proved inconstant. Such precautions, however, were useless; in a decisive battle fought in the duchy of Kiev, he almost annihilated the forces of the reigning duke Vsevolod. Kiev was again invested; but as it was well supplied with provisions, and still better defended by the inhabitants, it long set his power at defiance. Perhaps Boleslaw, who was impetuous in everything, and with whom patience was an unknown word, would soon have raised the siege, and proceeded to less tedious conquests, had not a contagious fever suddenly broken out among

[1] Bonfinius is unwilling to allow Boleslaw much honour in the Hungarian war; he scarcely, indeed, condescends to mention him. The Poles have perhaps here exaggerated the exploits and influence of their monarch.

the besieged, and driven the greater portion of them from the city. Those who remained were too few to dream of defending it any longer; they capitulated, and admitted the victor just as the fury of the plague had exhausted itself. Iziaslav was restored, and the other provinces of the dukes given to his children.

Boleslaw might have held them by the right of conquest, but he preferred leaving friends rather than enemies behind him; he preferred having these territories tributary to him, and dependent on him as sovereign paramount, rather than incorporating them at once with his dominions, and thereby subjecting himself and successors to the necessity of perpetually flying to their protection against the inevitable struggles of the Russians for freedom. Even this advantage he must either have perceived would be transient, or he must have had little sagacity. Ambition, however, seldom reasons; and Boleslaw, from his great success, might almost be justified in believing that for him was reserved a fortune peculiar to himself.

The generosity with which he behaved to the Kievans, the affability of his manner, and a mien truly royal soon rendered him a favourite with them. He plunged into dissipation with even more than his former ardour. Ere long his officers, then his meanest followers, so successfully imitated his example that, according to the statements of both Russian and Polish historians, all serious business seemed suspended, and pleasure was the only object of old and young, of Pole and Muscovite. Iziaslav, from gratitude no less than policy, endeavoured to make the residence of his benefactor as agreeable as he could. On one occasion, when desirous of a visit from Boleslaw, he offered to the king as many marks of gold as the royal horse should take steps from the palace of the king to that of the duke—a distance, we are told, considerable enough to enrich the monarch.

The cruelty of the king is said to have sunk deep into the hearts of his subjects. There is more reason for believing that the excesses to which he abandoned himself after his return to Poland produced that effect. His character —outwardly at least—had changed; his industry, his love of justice, his regal qualities, had fled. His virtuous counsellors were dismissed, and none were retained near his person but such as consented to share his orgies. To increase the general discontent, impositions, arbitrary and enormous, were laid on an already burdened people.

Had conduct such as this been practised by almost any other sovereign of Poland, the popular indignation would have been appeased only by his deposition. But the son of Casimir, independently of his former merit and of his splendid deeds in war, required to be treated with greater indulgence. His reformation, not his ruin, was the prayer of his subjects. Such was the impetuosity of his disposition, and such the cruelties he had practised since his fatal residence at Kiev, that Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, was the only man whom history mentions courageous enough to expostulate with him on his excesses and to urge the necessity of amendment. Mild and even affectionate as was the manner of this excellent prelate, the only effect which it had was to draw on him the persecution of the king. But persecution could not influence a man so conscious of his good purposes and so strong in his sense of duty. He returned to his exhortations; but finding that leniency had no good result, he excommunicated the royal delinquent. Rage took possession of the soul of Boleslaw.

Stanislaus had now recourse to one of the last bolts which the church held in the storehouse of her thunders: he placed an interdict on all the churches of Cracow—a measure at all times more violent than just, and in the present case not likely to have any other effect than to harden impenitence. Now

[1079-1082 A.D.]

no longer master of his fury, the king swore the destruction of the prelate, whose steps he caused to be watched by his creatures. Hearing one day that Stanislaus was to celebrate mass in a chapel situated on a hill beyond the Vistula, he took with him a few determined followers, and on reaching the extensive plain in the centre of which the hill lay he perceived from afar his destined victim ascending to the chapel. He was at the doors of the sacred edifice before the conclusion of the office; but, eager as was his thirst for instant vengeance, he forbore to interrupt the solemn act of worship in which Stanislaus and the attendant clergy were engaged. When all was over, he ordered some of his guards to enter and assassinate the prelate. They were restrained, say the chroniclers, by the hand of heaven; for in endeavouring to strike him with their swords, as he calmly stood before the altar, they were miraculously thrown backwards on the ground. They retreated from the place, but were again forced to return by Boleslaw. A second and a third time, we are told, was the miracle repeated, until the king, losing all patience, and fearless alike of divine and human punishment, entered the chapel himself, and with one blow of his ponderous weapon dashed out the brains of the churchman. If the miracle be fabulous, the tragedy at least was true.

Neither Boleslaw of Poland nor Henry of England could murder an ecclesiastic with impunity; and, enemies as we must all be to the extravagant pretensions of the church in these ages, we can scarcely censure the power which was formidable enough to avenge so dark a deed. Gregory VII, who then filled the chair of St. Peter, hurled his anathemas against the murderer, whom he deposed from the royal dignity, absolving his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and at the same time placing an interdict on the whole kingdom. The proud soul of Boleslaw disdained submission to the church; he endeavoured to resist the execution of its mandates; but he speedily found that, in an age when the haughtiest and most powerful monarchs were made to bend before the spiritual throne, such resistance could only seal the fate denounced against him. He was now regarded with horror by clergy and people. In daily fear of assassination by his own people, who universally avoided him, he fled into Hungary, accompanied by his son Mieczyslaw, in the hope of interesting in his behalf the reigning king of that country. But Wladislaw, the brother of Geisa, who had succeeded Solomon, though he pitied the fugitive, had no wish to bring down on his own head the thunders of Gregory; and Boleslaw, after a short stay, was compelled to seek another asylum. His end is wrapped in great obscurity. One account says that he retired to a monastery in Carinthia, to expiate his crime by penance; another, that his senses forsook him, and that in one of his deranged fits he destroyed himself; a third, that he was torn to pieces by his own dogs when hunting; and a fourth, that, being compelled to occupy a mean situation, he preserved his incognito until the hour of death, when he astonished his confessor by the disclosure of his birth and crimes. Of these versions of the story it need scarcely be added that the first is the only one probable.

Had Boleslaw known how to conquer his own passions with as much ease as he conquered his enemies,[1] he would have been one of the greatest princes that ever filled a throne. His character differed at different periods. Before his expedition to Russia he was the model of sovereigns; active, vigilant, just, prudent, liberal, the father of his subjects, the protector of the unfortunate, the conqueror and bestower of kingdoms. Afterwards his elevation of mind gave way to meanness, his valour to cowardice, his justice to tyranny, his

[1] In the intervals between the expeditions into Bohemia and Hungary, he reduced the Prussians who had revolted.

boundless generosity to a pitiful selfishness, which valued no person or thing except in so much as its own gratification was concerned. At one time he was the pride, at another the disgrace, of human nature.

WLADISLAW I, SURNAMED THE CARELESS (1082–1102 A.D.)

After the disappearance of Boleslaw and his son the state remained almost a year without a head; perhaps it would have remained so much longer but for the incursions of two neighbouring powers, the Russians and the Hungarians, the latter of whom reduced Cracow. In great consternation the nobles then raised to the throne Wladislaw, son of Casimir, and brother of the unfortunate Boleslaw.

The first act of Wladislaw was to despatch a deputation to Rome to procure a reversal of the interdict. The churches were in consequence opened, and permission given that Poland should again be ranked among Christian nations; but the royal dignity was withheld. Wladislaw was allowed to reign as duke, but no prelate in Poland dared to anoint him king. It cannot but surprise us, in these times, that the chief of a great people should have incurred the humiliation of submitting to the papal pretensions; but perhaps Wladislaw expected the return of his brother, over whose fate a deep mystery was believed to hang, and had no very strong wish to assume a title which he might hereafter be compelled to resign. The example, however, was disastrous for the country; during more than two hundred years the regal title was disused; nor could the rulers of Poland, as dukes, either repress anarchy at home or command respect abroad so vigorously as had been done by the kings their predecessors.

But whether Boleslaw should return or not, Wladislaw, sensible that he had a powerful party in his interests, resolved to marry, and perpetuate his authority in his offspring. Judith, daughter of Andrew, king of Hungary, was selected as the duchess of Poland. As, however, in two years from her arrival this princess exhibited no signs of pregnancy, both Wladislaw and his clergy were apprehensive that she was cursed with barrenness, and no less so of the consequences which such a misfortune might produce. Recourse was had to the interference of heaven; prayers, alms, pilgrimages, were employed in vain, until the bishop of Cracow advised her to implore the intercession of St. Giles, who had done wonderful things in this way. Pilgrims with rich presents were accordingly sent to a monastery in Lower Languedoc, where that saint had spent and ended his days. Her prayers were heard; for who could doubt that the son which she afterwards brought forth was miraculously vouchsafed to her? Her child was christened Boleslaw; but the mother did not long live to enjoy her happiness.

Soon after his marriage Wladislaw surprised his subjects by the recall of his nephew, Mieczyslaw. By some this step was imputed to magnanimity, by others to policy. Certain it is that the young prince was very popular in Hungary, and the duke might have reason to fear for the prospects of his infant son should the interests of the exile be espoused by that country. However this be, he received Mieczyslaw with much apparent cordiality, and, in four years from his arrival, procured him the hand of Eudoxia, a Russian princess; but the prince became a greater idol in Poland than he had ever been in Hungary, and the apprehensions of the duke naturally acquired threefold strength. Things were in this state when news of the sudden death of Mieczyslaw was spread over the country, and caused a sincerer national grief

[1089-1096 A.D.]

than had ever been felt since the loss of Casimir. That his death had been violent was the general impression, and suspicion pointed to the duke as the murderer, merely because no other man was supposed to be so deeply interested in his removal. Wladislaw, however, was not a man of blood; on the contrary, he was remarkable beyond any prince of his age for the milder virtues of humanity; and some better foundation than suspicion must be found before impartial history will allow his memory to be stained with so dark a crime.

It was the misfortune of Wladislaw that, during the greater part of his reign, his dominions were exposed to the incursions of his fierce neighbours; and a still heavier one that he had neither the vigour nor the talents to repress them. The Russians were the first to revolt; the conquests made by Boleslaw the Bold were lost with greater rapidity than they had been gained. Before the duke could think of recovering them (if such, indeed, was ever his intention), the Prussians, a people more savage, though much less stupid, perhaps, than the ancient Muscovites, prepared to invade his dominions. With great reluctance he marched against them. The steady valour of his followers enabled him, or rather his general, Sieciech, to triumph over the undisciplined bravery of these pagan barbarians. But no sooner did the victors retire from the forests of Prussia than the natives again rose, massacred the garrisons which had been left in their fortresses, and joined in pursuit of the Poles. An obstinate and bloody battle ensued on the banks of the Netze, which arrested the advance of the enemy, but so weakened the invaders that they were compelled to return in search of fresh reinforcements.

Having gained these (chiefly Bohemian mercenaries), they again directed their march to the Netze, and assailed the strong fort of Nackel on the bank of that river; but on this occasion, we are told, they were seized with an unaccountable dread: they stood so much in fear of an irruption into their tents by the wild defenders of the fort that they could scarcely be persuaded to snatch a few moments of repose. Every bush, every tree, every rocky height to their alarmed imaginations seemed peopled with the terrific enemy; and one night, when it had covered the plain before them with these visionary beings, they left their tents to run the risk of an action. The besieged, in the mean time, penetrated to their tents, which they plundered and set on fire, and massacred all whom the light attracted to the place. The loss of the Poles in this most inglorious scene was so severe that they were compelled to retreat. To veil their cowardice, they averred that they had been driven back by supernatural means; that armies of spectres had arisen to oppose them. Absurd as was their plea, it was generally believed; the pagans were thought to be in league with the powers of darkness; so that in the following year, when Wladislaw returned to vindicate the honour of his arms, not a few wondered at his temerity. This time he was more successful; Prussia and Pomerania submitted, but with the intention of revolting whenever fortune presented them with the opportunity.

The wars of the duke with Bohemia were less decisive. Bretislaw, duke of that country, resolved to claim the rights which the emperor Henry, in a fit of displeasure with Wladislaw, had a few years before pretended to bestow on his father—rights involving even the possession of the Polish crown, which Henry, as lord paramount, claimed the power of transferring—invaded Silesia, and wrapped everything in flames. By the duke's command reprisals were made in Moravia, a dependency of the Bohemian crown. The Pomeranians advanced to the assistance of Bretislaw and threw themselves into the strongest fortress in Silesia. They were reduced by Boleslaw, son of Wladislaw, who,

though only in his tenth year, began to give indications of his future greatness. The army indeed was commanded by Sieciech, the Polish general, but the glory of the exploit belonged only to the prince. It is certain that from this time jealousy took possession of the general's heart, and that he did all he could to injure the prince in the mind of Wladislaw, over whom his influence was without a rival—an influence which he exerted solely for his own advantage, and very often to the detriment of the people. Hence the dissensions which began to trouble the peace of the duke—dissensions, too, in which another individual was destined to act not the least prominent part.

Before his marriage with the princess Judith the duke had a natural son named Sbigniew, whose depravity is represented as in the highest degree revolting, and who became a dreadful scourge to the kingdom. The youth, indeed, owed little gratitude to a parent by whom he had been grossly neglected. From a peasant's hut, in a mean village, he had been sent to a monastery in Saxony, where it was intended he should assume the cowl. During his seclusion in the cloister the tyrannical conduct of Sieciech, to whom the duke abandoned the cares and the rewards of sovereignty, forced a considerable number of Poles to expatriate themselves and seek a more tranquil settlement in Bohemia. With the view of disquieting Poland, Bretislaw persuaded these emigrants to espouse the cause of Sbigniew, whom he drew from the monastery to procure for him the sovereignty of Silesia. The hope of crushing the haughty favourite, and of living in peace under the sway of one of their native princes, made them readily join the standard of the new chief.

At the head of these men, Sbigniew boldly advanced to the gates of Breslau, the governor of which he knew to be unfriendly to the favourite. As his avowed object was merely to effect the removal of an obnoxious minister, the city at length received him. Wladislaw advanced to support his authority: Sbigniew fled, collected an army of Prussians, and again took the field. The father conquered; the rebellious prince fell into the hands of Sieciech, his greatest enemy, by whom he was thrown into a dreary dungeon; but the advantage was counterbalanced by the incursions of the Bohemians, who ravaged Silesia, and whom the duke was too timid or too indolent to repress; and ere long the bishops procured the liberation of Sbigniew, whose influence they well saw would soon annihilate that of the detested favourite.

The youth, indeed, was more than pardoned; he was raised to the highest honours, and associated with his brother Boleslaw in the command of an army which was despatched against those inveterate rebels, the Pomeranians. The two brothers, however, disputed and effected nothing, when Wladislaw, alarmed at the prospect of the civil wars which might arise after his decease, took the fatal resolution of announcing the intended division of his states between his two sons: to Boleslaw he promised Silesia, the provinces of Cracow, Sendomir, and Sieradz, with the title of duke of Poland; to Sbigniew, Pomerania, with the palatinates of Leuszysa, Cujavia, and Masovia. This expedient, which he adopted in the belief that it would prevent all further contention between the princes, became the source of the worst troubles; the example, as we shall hereafter perceive, proved fatal to the prosperity and even threatened the existence of Poland.

For a time, indeed, the two youths were united. Both burned for the destruction of Sieciech, and each had need of the other to secure the common object. With the troops which they had obtained to oppose a pretended invasion of the Bohemians, they forced the feeble and infirm Wladislaw to exile his favourite to a distant fortress. But even this did not satisfy them; they besieged the place. Wladislaw, by means of a disguise, threw himself

into it, resolved to share the fate of his favourite. His unnatural sons had the army and, what was more, the hearts of the Poles in their favour; nor would they lay down their arms until the odious minister was banished the country; they then submitted to their parent.

During the few remaining months of this feeble duke's life Poland was governed by the two princes. Its frontiers were frequently a prey to the Pomeranians and Prussians; the valour of Boleslaw chastised their presumption. As for Sbigniew, his ambition indeed was boundless and his disposition restless; but his abilities were slender, and his weakness betrayed him into situations from which he found it hard to escape. There is reason to believe he was meditating the means of weakening, if not of supplanting, his brother, when the death of the aged duke suspended for a moment his criminal designs.

Wladislaw deserved a better fate. He appears to have been a Christian and a patriot, a mild and benevolent monarch. That his weakness of mind rendered him the instrument of others, and his infirmity of body prevented him from long enduring the iron labours of war, can scarcely be attributed to him as a fault, however disastrous both proved to his subjects. Even for the fatal division of his dominions between his children—fatal more as an example to others than for the positive evil it produced in this case, though that evil was great—he had precedents enough, not only in the early history of Poland but in the neighbouring country of Russia.

BOLESLAW III, SURNAMED THE WRY-MOUTHED (1102–1139 A.D.)

Scarcely were the last rites paid to the deceased duke than Sbigniew began to show what the nation had to expect from his perversity, and from the imprudence which had left him any means of mischief. He forcibly seized on the ducal treasures at Plock, which, however, the authority of the archbishop of Gnesen compelled him to divide with his brother Boleslaw. He hoped, too, to usurp the provinces and title of that prince, whose assassination he had probably planned; and his rage may be conceived on learning that Boleslaw was about to marry a Russian princess, to perpetuate the hereditary dignity in the legitimate branch of the family. Instead of attending the nuptials, he proceeded into Bohemia, and at the head of some troops, furnished him by the duke of that country, he invaded Silesia. But his followers, who neither respected nor feared him, soon abandoned him and returned to their homes, before Boleslaw could march to the defence of that province. The latter despatched one of his generals to make reprisals in Moravia, and after the conclusion of his marriage feasts he himself hastened to humble the presumption of the Bohemians. But they fled before him, and left him nothing but the satisfaction of laying everything waste with fire and sword.

Though Sbigniew had thus signally failed, his disposition was too restless to suffer him to remain long at peace either with his country or his brother. In the Pomeranians, whose spirit was in many respects kindred to his own, he found ready instruments. They armed with the intention of retreating to their forests whenever a large Polish force appeared on their frontiers, and of emerging from their recesses on its departure. Boleslaw, however, took a circuitous route, and fell by surprise on their town of Colberg. The place was valiantly defended, and the duke was obliged to raise the siege.

A second expedition was not more decisive: the barbarians fled before him. Soon he was constrained to make head a third time against not only

them and his rebellious brother, but the Bohemians, the cause of whose exiled duke he had espoused. The latter retreated; their cowardice ashamed him, since it rendered his success too easy. He now marched into Pomerania and furiously assailed Belgard. The place was defended with great obstinacy; even women and children appeared on the walls to roll stones or pour boiling pitch on the heads of the Poles. The duke was undaunted; with a buckler in one hand and a battle-axe in the other, he hastened to one of the gates, passed over the ditch by means of long planks, and assailed the ponderous barrier with the fury of a demon. Boiling water, pitch, stones, missiles, fell on him in vain: he forced the door, admitted his soldiers, and with them made a terrible slaughter of the people, sparing neither age nor sex, and desisting only from the carnage when their hands were tired with the murderous work. No people in Europe, not even excepting the Russians, have shown themselves so vindictive in war as the Poles. The fall of this town was followed by that of four others no less considerable, and by the submission of the whole country.

In this expedition Boleslaw exhibited another proof of his fearless intrepidity. He had been invited to pass a few days at the house of a noble in the country, to be present at the consecration of a new church. Whilst there he set out early one morning for the chase, accompanied by eighty horse. He was suddenly enveloped by three thousand Pomeranians. He tranquilly drew his sabre, and, followed by his heroic little band, speedily fought his way through the dense mass which encompassed him. This was not all: disdaining to flee, he turned round on the enemy and again passed through them. His followers were now reduced to five; yet he was foolhardy enough to plunge a third time into the middle of the Pomeranians. This time, however, he was well-nigh paying dear for his temerity: his horse was killed; he fought on foot, and was on the point of falling, when one of his officers arrived with thirty horse, and extricated him from his desperate situation. Is this history, or romance?

Sbigniew, disconcerted at the success of his brother, now sued for pardon through the duke of Kiev, father-in-law of Boleslaw. He readily procured it on engaging to have no other interests, no other friends or enemies than those of his brother. Yet at this very moment he was in league with the Bohemians to harass the frontiers of Poland. He had scarcely reached his own territories when, on Boleslaw's requesting the aid of his troops, he refused it with expressions of insult and defiance; he knew that both Bohemia and Pomerania were arming in his cause. The patience of Boleslaw was worn out. With a considerable body of auxiliaries from Hungary and Kiev he invaded the territories of his brother, whose strongest places he reduced with rapidity; all were ready to forsake the iron yoke of a capricious, sanguinary, and cowardly tyrant. Sbigniew implored the protection of the bishop of Cracow, and by the influence of that prelate obtained peace, but with the sacrifice of all his possessions except Masovia. He was too restless, however, to remain long quiet; so that, in the following year, an assembly of nobles was convoked to deliberate on the best means of dealing with one who violated the most solemn oaths with impunity. It was resolved that he should be deprived of Masovia, and forever banished from Poland.

At this time Boleslaw was engaged in a serious war not only with the Bohemians but with Henry V, emperor of Germany, who espoused their interests. He was victorious; but, like the enemy, having occasion to recruit his forces, he abandoned the field. Hearing that the town of Wollin in Pomerania had revolted, he marched to reduce it. He had invested the place, when he was suddenly assailed in his rear by a troop of the natives, whom he

[1108-1114 A.D.]

soon put to flight, several prisoners remaining in his hands. One of these refused to raise the visor of his helmet; it was forcibly unlaced, and then was discovered Sbigniew! A council of war was assembled, and the traitor was condemned to death; but he was merely driven from the country by Boleslaw, who warned him, however, that his next delinquency—nay, his next appearance in Poland—should be visited with the last punishment. But Gnievomir, one of the most powerful Pomeranian chiefs, who had some time before embraced Christianity, had sworn fealty to Boleslaw, and had now both abjured his new religion and joined the party of Sbigniew, was not so fortunate as that outlaw; he was hewn to pieces in presence of the Polish army—a barbarous act, but one which had for a time a salutary effect on the fierce pagans.

In the war which followed with the imperialists, who were always ready to harass a power which refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the empire, which they hated and dreaded at the same time, nothing is more deserving of remembrance than the heroic defence made by the city of Glogau against the power of Henry. The women and children shared in the toils and the glory of the men. The emperor was often driven from the walls, his works demolished, the breaches repaired; but he as often returned, and vowed he would never leave the place until it fell into his power. At length both sides agreed to a suspension of hostilities, on the condition that if Boleslaw did not relieve the place within five days it should be surrendered to Henry, to whom hostages were delivered.

The Polish duke was not far distant; but he was waiting for the arrival of his reinforcements from Russia and Hungary, without whose aid he durst not attack the combined force of the empire; he exhorted the inhabitants to hold out at the expiration of the period limited, assuring them that he would hang them if they surrendered. The time expired; the citizens refused to fulfil their engagements. The indignant Henry moved his legions to the walls, placing in front the hostages he held. Not even the sentiments of nature affected them so powerfully as their hatred of the German yoke and their apprehensions of Boleslaw; they threw their missiles, beheld with indifference the deaths of their children transfixed by their own hands, and again forced the imperialists to retire from the walls. Boleslaw now approached; he enclosed the Germans between himself and the ramparts, and held them as much besieged in the plain as were his subjects in the city. For several succeeding days his cavalry harassed them in their intrenchments, but no general engagement took place.

Irritated at the delay, he had then recourse to a diabolical expedient: he procured the assassination of the Bohemian chief for whose cause Henry had armed, and in the very tent of that emperor. The Bohemians, as he had foreseen, now insisted on returning to their homes. Henry, weakened by their desertion, slowly retreated; the Poles pursued until both armies arrived on the vast plain before Breslau, where the emperor risked a battle. It was stoutly contested; but in the end the Germans gave way, and the Poles committed a horrible carnage on such as were unable to flee. Peace was soon after made between the emperor and duke; the latter, who was a widower, receiving the hand of Adelaide, and his son Wladislaw that of Christina (or Agnes), the one sister, the other daughter, of Henry.

During the following four years Boleslaw was perpetually engaged in war, either with the Bohemians or the Pomeranians, or, as was more frequently the case, with both at the same time. His own ambition was as often the cause of these wars as the restlessness of the enemy. He appears, indeed, to have been so far elated with his successes as to adopt a haughty, domineering tone

towards his neighbours—a tone to which they were never willing to submit. Yet he had many great traits of character; he often behaved nobly to the vanquished Bohemian duke; and he even so far mastered his aversion as to recall his exiled brother, who never ceased either to importune for his return or to plot against his peace.

Sbigniew made a triumphal entry into Poland—the very reverse of one that became a pardoned criminal. Every man who considered his ungrateful character, his insolence, his incorrigible depravity, and the irascible disposition of the duke, foresaw the fatal termination of his career. In a few short months Boleslaw yielded to the incessant arguments of his courtiers, and Sbigniew was assassinated.

During the succeeding years of his life Boleslaw endeavoured to stifle his remorse by such works as he hoped would propitiate the favour of heaven. Having quelled repeated insurrections in Pomerania, he undertook to convert it to the true faith. His efforts were to a certain extent successful, not, perhaps, so much through the preaching of his ecclesiastics, especially of Otto, bishop of Bamberg, as through the sums which he expended in disposing the minds of the rude but avaricious chiefs to the doctrines of Christianity. Many towns publicly embraced the new religion. For a time Stettin stood out; but the golden argument, or at least the promise of an exemption from imposts, brought about its conversion. Idols were in most places demolished, churches erected, priests ordained, and bishops consecrated.

Still the voice of inward conscience spoke out too loud to be silenced, and the unhappy duke had recourse to the usual expedient of the times. He built churches and monasteries, fasted, subjected himself to rigorous acts of penance, and visited, in the garb and with the staff of a pilgrim, the shrines of several saints. Not only did he thus honour the relics of St. Adalbert at Gnesen, and the tomb of St. Stephen of Hungary, but it is said he ventured on a long and painful pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Giles in Languedoc, the efficacy of whose intercession had been so signally experienced by his mother. On his way he relaxed not from the severe austerities he had imposed; with naked feet he daily stood in the churches, joining with the utmost fervency in the canonical hours, in the penitential psalms, and all other offices of devotion; at every chapel or oratory he turned aside to repeat his prayers or offer gifts; he relieved all the poor he approached, and wasted himself with vigils. On reaching the end of his journey he practised still greater austerities; during fifteen successive days he lay prostrate before the tomb of St. Giles. Such, indeed, was his abstinence, his contrition, his humility, that the monks were as edified by his visit as he himself. He returned safely to his country, lightened, in his own mind at least, of no small burden of his guilt, and purified completely in the eyes of his subjects. If his reformation was in some respects mistaken, it was certainly sincere, and charity may hope availing.

But a mortification more bitter than any which religious penance could inflict awaited him. Until within four years of his death his arms were almost invariably successful. He had repeatedly discomfited the Bohemians and Pomeranians; he had humbled the pride of emperors; had twice dictated laws to Hungary, and gained signal triumphs over the Russians.[1] It was now his turn to meet with a reverse of fortune. He was surprised and defeated on the banks of the Dniester by a vastly superior force of Hungarians and Russians:

[1] The old Polish histories lead Boleslaw into Denmark. This is a fable arising probably from an alliance (obscurely hinted at) between him and Nicholas, the usurper of that kingdom, in which both engaged to act in concert in subduing the wild inhabitants on the southern coast of the Baltic.

[1129-1139 A.D.]

the Polish historians throw the blame on the palatine of Cracow, who retired from the field in the heat of the action. After a precipitate retreat, Boleslaw deliberated what vengeance should be inflicted on a man through whose cowardice his arms had been thus fatally dishonoured. His first impulse was to execute the recreant; but vengeance gave way to a disdainful pity. The palatine was left with life and liberty; but the reception of a hare-skin, a spindle, and distaff, from the hands of the duke, was an insult too intolerable to be borne, and he hanged himself.

One of the last acts of Boleslaw was to redeem as many of the prisoners made on this occasion as could be mustered. The blow fell heavily on his heart. The victor in forty-seven battles, the bravest prince of the age, could not review his disgrace at an age when his bodily strength had departed, and when no one was to be found on whom he could devolve the task of repairing it. After a year's indisposition—more of the mind than of the body—in which he followed the fatal precedent of his father, by dividing his dominions among his sons, death put a period to his temporal sufferings. With him was buried the glory of Poland until the restoration of the monarchy. His character must be sufficiently known from his actions.

ARISTOCRATIC RULERS (1139-1295 A.D.)

The period from the death of Boleslaw the Wry-mouthed to the restoration of the monarchy is one of little interest; it exhibits nothing but the lamentable dissensions of the rival princes, and the progressive decay of a once powerful kingdom. By the will of the late duke, Poland was thus divided among his sons:

The provinces of Cracow, Leuszysa, Sieradz, Silesia, and Pomerania fell to the eldest, Wladislaw, who, to preserve something like the unity of power, was also invested with supreme authority over the rest. Those of Masovia, Cujavia, with the territories of Dobrezyn and Kulm, were assigned to the second brother, Boleslaw. Those of Gnesen, Posen, and Halitz were subjected to Mieczyslaw, the third brother. Those of Lublin and Sandomir were left to Henry, the fourth in order of birth. There remained a fifth and youngest son, Casimir, to whom nothing was bequeathed. When the late duke was asked the reason why this best beloved of his children was thus neglected, he is said to have replied by a homely proverb: "The four-wheeled chariot must have a driver"—a reply prophetic of the future superiority of one whose talents were already beginning to open with remarkable promise. It is more probable that his tender years alone were the cause of his present exclusion; and that, as the provinces before enumerated were intended to be held not as hereditary, but as movable fiefs, reversible to the eldest son, as lord paramount, on the death of the possessors, he was secure of one in case such an event should happen during his life.

The fatal effects of this division were soon apparent. The younger princes were willing, indeed, to consider their elder brother as superior lord; but they disdained to yield him other than a feudal obedience, and denied his authority in their respective appanages. In an assembly at Kruswick, however, they were constrained not only to own themselves his vassals but to recognise his sovereignty, and leave to his sole decision the important questions of peace and war.

But such discordant materials could not be made to combine in one harmonious frame of government. Wladislaw naturally considered every appear-

ance of authority independent of his will as affecting his rights of primogeniture. His discontent was powerfully fomented by the arts of his German consort, who incessantly urged him to unite under his sceptre the dissevered portions of the monarchy. Her address prevailed. To veil his ambition under the cloak of justice and policy, he convoked an assembly of his nobles at Cracow. To them he exposed, with greater truth than eloquence, the evils which had been occasioned in former periods of the national history from the division of the sovereign power, and he urged the restoration of its union as the only measure capable of saving the country either from domestic treason or from foreign aggression. But they were not convinced by the arguments of one whose ambition they justly deemed superior to his patriotism; those arguments, indeed, they could not answer, but they modestly urged the sanctity of his late father's will, and the obligation under which he lay of observing its provisions.

Disappointed in this quarter, he had recourse to more decisive measures. He first exacted a heavy contribution from each of the princes. His demand excited their astonishment, but they offered no resistance to it. With the money thus summarily acquired he not only raised troops, but hired Russian auxiliaries to aid him in his design of expelling his brethren from their appanages. Their territories were soon entered, and, as no defence had been organised, were soon reduced; and these unfortunate victims of fraternal violence fled to Posnania, the only place which still held for Henry. In vain did they appeal to his justice no less than his affection, in vain did they endeavour to bend the heart of the haughty Agnes, whom they well knew to be the chief author of their woes. A deaf ear was offered to their supplications, and they were even given to understand that their banishment from the country would follow their expulsion from their possessions.

This arbitrary violence made a deep impression on the Poles. The archbishop of Gnesen espoused the cause of the deprived princes. Uszebor, palatine of Sandomir, raised troops in their behalf. The views of both were aided far beyond their expectation by a tragic incident. Count Peter, a nobleman of great riches and influence, who had been the confidential friend of Boleslaw the Wry-mouthed, and who lived in the court of Wladislaw, inveighed both in public and private against the measures of the duke. But as his opposition was confined to speaking, it did not wholly destroy his favour with the latter. One day, both being engaged in hunting, they alighted to take refreshment. As they afterwards reclined on the hard, cold ground (it was the winter season), Wladislaw observed: "We are not so comfortably situated here, Peter, as thy wife now is, on a bed of down with her fat abbot Skrezepiski!" "No," replied the other; "nor as yours in the arms of your page Dobiesz!" Whether either intended more than as a jest is doubtful, but the count paid dear for his freedom. The incensed Agnes, to whom the duke communicated the repartee, contrived to vindicate herself in his eyes; but she vowed the destruction of the count. She had him seized at an entertainment, thrown into prison, and deprived both of his tongue and eyes.

The popular indignation now burst forth in every direction. Uszebor defeated the Russian auxiliaries; the Pomeranians poured their wild hordes into Great Poland; the pope excommunicated the princess, because through her he was disappointed of the aids he solicited against the infidels; and the same dreaded doom was hurled at the head of the duke by the archbishop of Gnesen, the staunch advocate of the exiled princes. Wladislaw himself was defeated, and forced to take refuge in Cracow. Thither he was pursued by his indignant subjects, who would probably have served him as he had done Count

[1146-1174 A.D.]

Peter, had he not precipitately abandoned both sceptre and consort and fled into Germany to implore the aid of his brother-in-law, the emperor Conrad. Cracow fell; Agnes became the captive of the princes whose ruin she had all but effected. Her mean supplications moved their contempt as much as her ambition and cruelty had provoked their hatred. She was, however, respectfully conducted over the frontiers of the duchy, and told to rejoin her kindred.

By the princes and nobles, Boleslaw, the eldest of the remaining brothers, was unanimously elected to the vacant dignity. The new duke had need of all his talents and courage—and he possessed both in no ordinary degree—to meet the difficulties of his situation. By confirming his brothers in their respective appanages, and even increasing their territories, he effectually gained their support; but he had to defend his rights against the whole force of the empire, which espoused the cause of the exiles. In a personal interview, indeed, he disarmed the hostility of Conrad, who was too honest to oppose a man whose conduct he could not fail to approve; but Frederick Barbarossa, the successor of that emperor, was less scrupulous, or more ambitious. A resolution of the diet having summoned the Polish duke to surrender his throne to Wladislaw, or acknowledge his country tributary to the empire, he prepared to defend his own dignity and the national independence.

Aided by his brothers, whose privileges he had so religiously respected, and by his subjects, whose welfare he had constantly endeavoured to promote, he feared not the result, though an overwhelming force of imperialists and Bohemians rapidly approached Silesia. Had he ventured, however, to measure arms with the formidable Barbarossa, neither the valour of his troops nor the goodness of his cause would have availed him much; but by hovering about the flanks of the enemy, by harassing them with repeated skirmishes, and, above all, by laying waste the country through which they marched, he constrained them to sue for peace. The conditions were that Wladislaw should have Silesia, and that Barbarossa should be furnished with three hundred Polish lances in his approaching expedition into Italy. The former died before he could take possession of the province; but through the interference of the latter it was divided among his three sons, who held it as a fief of Poland, and did homage for it to Duke Boleslaw.[1]

The subsequent exploits of Boleslaw were less successful. In one expedition, indeed, he reduced the Prussians, who, not content with revolting ever since the death of Boleslaw the Wry-mouthed, had abolished Christianity and returned to their ancient idolatry; but, in a second, his troops were drawn into a marshy country, were there surprised, and almost annihilated. This was a severe blow to Poland; among the number of the slain was Henry, the duke's brother, whose provinces of Sandomir and Lublin now became the appanage of Casimir.

To add to the general consternation, the sons of Wladislaw demanded the inheritance of their father; the whole nation, indeed, began to despise a ruler who had suffered himself to be so signally defeated by the barbarians. By a powerful faction of nobles Casimir was invited to wrest the sceptre from the hands which held it. Fortunately for Boleslaw his brother had the virtue to

[1] From the latter of these conditions, and the concurrent testimony of the German histories, it is not certain that Poland was altogether so independent of the empire as the national writers pretend. It is certain that the former unanimously term the country as tributary as Bohemia itself. *Servit et ipsa (Polonia) sicut Boëmia, sub tributo imperatoriæ majestatis*, are the words of Helmotd, who wrote in the time of Barbarossa. Another authority adds that Boleslaw, before he could obtain peace, was obliged to approach the emperor with naked feet and a sword held over his head. This is incredible.

reject with indignation the alluring offer; and he himself, with his characteristic address, succeeded in pacifying the Silesian princes. His reverses, however, and the little consideration shown him by his subjects, sank deep into his heart and hastened his death. To his surviving son, Leszek, he left the duchies of Masovia and Cujavia; but, in conformity with the order of settlement, the government of Poland devolved on Mieczyslaw (1174).

This prince, from his outward gravity and his affectation of prudence, had been surnamed the Old; and the nation, on his accession, believed it had reason to hope a wise and happy administration. But appearances are proverbially deceitful, and gravity more so than any other. He had scarcely seized the reins of government before his natural character, which it had been his policy to cover, unfolded itself to the universal dismay of his people. His cruelty, his avarice, his distrust, his tyranny made him the object alike of their fear and hatred. They were beset with spies; were dragged before his inexorable tribunal for fancied offences; were oppressed by unheard-of imposts, which were collected with unsparing vigour; and were subjected to sanguinary laws emanating from his caprice alone. Confiscation, imprisonment, and death were the instruments of his government.

The people groaned; the nobles, whose privileges had increased inversely with the decline of the monarchy, and whose pride made them impatient of a superior, openly murmured; the clergy execrated one whose exactions weighed even on them. At length the archbishop of Cracow, after vainly endeavouring to effect his reformation, and employing, like the prophet of old, a striking parable to convict him of his injustice from his own lips, joined a conspiracy formed against him. Cracow was the first to throw off its allegiance; the example was followed by the greater part of the kingdom, and with such rapidity that before he could dream of defending his rights his brother Casimir was proclaimed duke of Poland (1178 A.D.).[b]

NATIONAL PROGRESS; EXTINCTION OF THE DYNASTY OF THE PIASTS

Casimir was the youngest brother of Boleslaw IV. It was not ambition that induced him to take possession of the throne from which Mieczyslaw was ejected, for, on the contrary, he even requested to be allowed to resign it to him, pledging himself to the voyavods for his better conduct. This offer was, however, refused, the Poles not being willing to trust themselves to their former tyrant, and the only fruit of the negotiation was the proof of Casimir's mild and generous disposition.

He was engaged in various wars with the Russians, though not of sufficient consequence to Poland to merit detail; in all which, however, he rendered himself conspicuous for clemency and benevolence, "smoothing the rugged brow" of war, and binding up the wounds which his sword had made.

The following anecdote is given as an admirable illustration of the mildness and benevolence of this amiable prince: "He was one day at play and won all the money of one of his nobility, who, incensed at his ill fortune, suddenly struck the prince a blow on the ear, in the heat of his uncontrolled passion. He fled immediately from justice, but, being pursued and overtaken, was condemned to lose his head. The generous Casimir determined otherwise. 'I am not surprised,' said he, 'at the gentleman's conduct; for, not having it in his power to revenge himself on fortune, no wonder he should attack her favourite in me.' After these generous words he revoked the sentence,

[1178-1191 A.D.]

returned the nobleman his money, and declared that he alone was faulty, as he encouraged, by his example, a pernicious practice that might terminate in the ruin of hundreds of the people."

This prince was indeed a father to his subjects: he viewed the oppression of the nobles over the serfs with an eye of sorrow; and though it was not in his power to change the constitution of Polish society by emancipating them and making them perfectly independent, what he could do, he did, in protecting them by strict laws from wanton cruelty. He has left behind him the character of the most amiable monarch that ever swayed the Polish sceptre. He had faults, but they were almost lost in the number of his noble qualities and his virtues. He was a lover of peace, and the friend of the people.

His manners were of the most conciliating kind,

> And e'en his failings lean'd to virtue's side.

His clemency was not the result of fear, nor his bounty the ostentation of pride. Like Aristides, he never swerved from duty and equity, and, unlike him, he tempered right with mercy; he has therefore even one claim more than the Athenian to that rare and enviable appellation which his subjects bestowed on him—the Just.

After several succeeding reigns in which nothing occurred worthy to be remembered, we find Wladislaw [1] III on the throne in 1306. He had been deposed, but after five years he was reinstated in his authority. The regal title had been revived by one of the preceding princes in the year 1296, but the Poles were determined not to bestow it on Wladislaw until he had rendered himself deserving of it by reforming his mind and character as a prince.

The first opportunity he had of meriting well of his country was in its defence against new enemies and invaders—no less than the Teutonic knights. This military order had obtained a settlement in Prussia, and were continually infesting the northern frontier. The Germans who accompanied Frederick Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, to the crusades in 1188, being left by his death without a commander, were at length formed by Henry, king of Jerusalem, into a religious and martial order, called the knights of St. George. This title was afterwards changed to knights of St. Mary. They were required to be of noble parentage, to defend the Christian religion, and promulgate it to the utmost extent of their power. In the year 1191 Pope Celestine III granted them a bull addressed to them under the title of the Teutonic knights of the Hospital of St. Mary the Virgin. In the beginning of the thirteenth century Kulm, in Prussia, was allotted to them, under the condition that they should turn their arms only against their pagan neighbours. This injunction, however, was soon set at naught; after conquering all Polish Prussia (as it is now called) and building Marienburg, they invaded the Polish territory, and overran the greater part of Pomerania.

Wladislaw, when they had been denounced by the pope as out of the pale and protection of the church, soon checked their inroads. After several battles, in which the Poles were always superior, a great and last effort was made, but still fortune declared against the Teutonic knights; for, according to the Polish historians, four thousand of them were left dead on the field, besides thirty thousand auxiliaries, either slain or taken captive. Wladislaw had it now in his power to exterminate the order; but, at the sacrifice of

[1] Surnamed Loketiek on account of his diminutive stature, meaning but an ell in height.

policy, he contented himself with taking possession of his own territory, and binding them down by a treaty.

Having thus fought the battles of his country, he returned, to obtain the crown which his subjects could no longer refuse. However, to give the ceremony the sanction of religion, Wladislaw sent an ambassador to Rome, to persuade the pope, more perhaps by a liberal sum of money than words, to ratify it with his authority. This confirmation being obtained, the ceremony of coronation was performed with great pomp in the cathedral at Cracow. Death, however, shortly transferred the diadem from his head to that of his son, Casimir, in the year 1333, to whom he gave these instructions on his death-bed: "If you have any regard for your honour or your reputation, take care to yield nothing to the knights of the Teutonic order and the marquis of Brandenburg. Resolve to bury yourself under the ruins of your throne rather than abandon to them the portion of your heritage which they possess, and for which you are responsible to your people and your children. Do not leave your successors such an example of cowardice, which would be sufficient to tarnish all your virtues and the splendour of the finest reign. Punish the traitors; and, happier than your father, drive them from a kingdom where pity opened an asylum for them, for they are stained with the blackest ingratitude."[c]

CASIMIR (III) THE GREAT (1333-1370 A.D.)

Notwithstanding the dying injunctions of his father, Casimir made no attempts to expel the Teutonic knights from his dominions. The reason doubtless was his inability to carry on the war with any prospect of success. His situation was not without its difficulties: the Bohemian king still aspired to the Polish throne; two of his own palatines were in the interests of that monarch; and the internal state of the kingdom, the nullity of the laws, the insecurity of property and persons, were evils which loudly called for reparation. Peace with these enterprising monks was indispensable to the reforms he meditated; it was at length concluded through the mediation of the Hungarian king, but on conditions deeply mortifying to the nation. Cujavia and the territory of Dobrzyn were restored; but Casimir renounced for himself and successors Kulm, Michalow, and Pomerania. The clergy, the barons, the equestrian order, long refused to sanction so unexpected a concession; but the arguments of the king convinced them that no better terms could be procured, and they reluctantly concurred.

In his proposed reformation of abuses, Casimir first applied his attention to one which threatened to dissolve the frame of society. The highways were infested by numerous parties of robbers, chiefly disbanded soldiers, who plundered alike travellers and peasantry, and long defied punishment. Many of them were doubtless protected by certain nobles, whose interests in return they zealously espoused. They were now pursued to their last hiding-places, were brought before the tribunals of the country, and punished with inflexible severity. The scaffolds of Cracow and the provincial towns continually smoked with the blood of the guilty. His severity not only struck a salutary terror into the hearts of the lawless, but impressed the whole nation with a high idea of his vigour.

Casimir at length aspired to the noble ambition of becoming the legislator of his people. He found the laws barbarous, but so sanctioned by time and custom that their abrogation or improvement was a work of great delicacy.

[1347 A.D.]

Nor were the judges who administered them a less evil; their sentences were not according to equity, but capricious or venal; corruption had seized on all, from the princely palatine to the lowest link in the judicial chain. To frame a body of laws uniform in their character and of universal application, he convoked at Wisliza a diet of bishops, palatines, castellans, and other magistrates, and, in concert with the best informed of these, he digested a code which was thenceforth to be received as obligatory and perpetual. It was comprised in two books, one for Little, the other for Great Poland. Their provisions were on the whole as good as could be expected in an age when feudality reigned undisputed, and when civil rights were little understood. They secured to the peasant, no less than to the noble, the possession and the rights of property, and subjected both, in an equal manner, to the same penalties and tribunals. In other respects the distinction between the two orders was strongly marked. Hitherto the peasants had been *adscripti glebæ*, slaves to their masters, who had power of life and death over them, and were not allowed to change owners. Serfdom was now abolished; every serf employed in cultivating the ground, or in colonisation, was declared entitled to the privileges of the peasant; but the peasants were still chained by a personal, though not a territorial, dependence. Of this order there were two descriptions: those who, as serfs previously, could do nothing without their master's permission; and those who, as born free or made so, could offer their industry to whatever master they pleased. Yet even one of the latter class—free as he would be thought—who, by his agreement with his feudal superior, could migrate to another estate with or without that superior's permission, was affected by the system. If he sued another at the law, and sentence was pronounced in his favour, his lord shared the compensation awarded. The murderer of a peasant paid ten marks; five went to the lord, the other five to the family of the deceased. The reason of these regulations, apparently so arbitrary, was, that as the time of the peasant, so long as he remained on his lord's estate, belonged to that lord, so any injury inflicted on him which interfered with his labour, or diminished in any way the profits of his industry, must be felt by the other; by his death he left his family chargeable to the owner of the estate; the lord then, as he participated in the injury, had a claim to share also the compensation. The peasants not free—those who could not migrate as they pleased, and whose families were subject to the same dependence—were yet entitled to a share of the profits arising from their industry, and with these were qualified to purchase their freedom. On their decease their effects devolved, not as heretofore to their lords, but to their surviving kindred. If ill-treated themselves,

POLE
(Thirteenth Century)

or if their wives and daughters were persecuted by their masters, they could remove as free peasants to another estate; the freed peasant could even aspire to the dignity of a noble. Money, or long service in the martial retinue of the great barons, or success in war, or royal favour, could procure that distinction. The importance of the several orders was carefully graduated by the code under consideration. The murder of a free peasant was redeemed by ten marks; of a peasant recently ennobled, or, in more correct language, recently admitted to the privileges of a gentleman, fifteen marks; of a common noble (Anglicè, gentleman), thirty marks; of a baron or count, sixty marks. These distinctions in time gradually disappeared; all were merged in the common designation of *noble*; every noble was thenceforth equal; but the more the order was confounded in itself, the more it laboured to deepen the line of demarcation between itself and the inferior order of peasants. In the following reigns, indeed, the salutary regulations made in favour of the latter by this prince were disregarded. The nobles again assumed over them a despotic authority, and arrogated to themselves a jurisdiction which rightly belonged to the local magistrates. Until within a very modern period, this judicial vassalage subsisted in Poland. The lord of the soil held his court for the trial of his peasantry as confidently as any judge in the realm; in capital cases, however, the culprit lay within the jurisdiction of the palatinal courts.[b]

The whole life of this king was a long chain of treaties; he wanted and he was obliged to have peace with all hostile powers before he could start the great work which he had made the aim of his life. He did not, however, conclude peace in a frivolous and light way at any price; on the contrary, he wisely hesitated as long as it was possible before he gave his last word, for he found it difficult to ask the country to make a sacrifice before it had comprehended that it would do so for its own benefit. The treaty of Kalish in 1343, and that of Bohemia a little later, left his hands free so that he could begin his great task of reconstructing the internal organisation of his kingdom. The country he had inherited from his father was no realm, but an incoherent complexity of provinces dependent upon the personality of the king. For this country to become a realm a soul had to be infused into it, and the soul of states is law. In place of the crumbling exercise of the tottering laws of usage he put the written constitutional laws. He touched, however, these time-honoured institutions with no violent hand; success never crowns such a proceeding; on the contrary, he allowed space for development, and towards the end of his life assembled all the state factors and explained to them the meaning of his actions and endeavours; he expresses the tendency of his whole life and the aim of the next future in the following words: "The same people under one sovereign ought not to enjoy various rights, otherwise it is similar to that monster with several heads. It is therefore useful for the state if it proceeds according to one law, no matter in what province." Casimir was, however, far from disguising from himself the fact that the equality of all the elements forming the state is suitable for nomads—for the patriarchal conditions of the nations—but could never be practised in a cultured state such as Casimir was endeavouring to make Poland. And even if he had wished it, the community had reached such a point of development from which it could indeed advance but not go backwards. And here we discover in Casimir an inclination to imitate his German, Bohemian, and Hungarian neighbours in the feudal system. He forces the Masovian line of his house to become his liegemen, enters for some time with Wladislaw the White into a similar relationship, and on his death-bed bequeaths a great part of northern Poland to his grandson Casimir of Stettin, as a feudal tenure. One perceives

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his endeavours to have princes of vassalage. His inclination towards the feudal system appears still more in his fostering of the nobility, to whom he voluntarily accorded an influence over public affairs. The more the idea of property vanishes, the more the principle of noble birth prevails, and the king does not hesitate to countenance it and bestows coats-of-arms upon those families who did not possess them. He encourages the abolition of the old-established system of equality existing among the nobles in favour of a new organisation which made the Polish nobility more similar to the feudal; in a word, he recognises the growing power of the nobility and allows it full development. He is, however, also endeavouring to create and foster for himself and the state a counterweight. This and his care for the national wealth were the cause of the king's inexhaustible endeavours in the development of the towns and in the increase of settlements with German rights. In this respect the reign of Casimir is especially epoch-making.

German colonisation had in his time invaded the greatest part of the Polish realm as far as the district on the other side of the Vistula, and one of the first acts of Casimir was to endow the most important towns in the newly acquired south Russian provinces with German right to transplant German settlers into the thinly populated districts. Not without reason do the patriotic Polish authors of this period complain that the reign of Casimir was in so far destructive to the national spirit, for through his endeavours Germanism came so much to the front that it pervaded every phase of life of the community. German was spoken in the courts of justice, and the German language was employed in business and commerce; nay, it was preached even in the churches of the most important towns, and German expressions penetrated into the Polish language. It is a fact almost unheard of in the history of the world that without any previous conquest one nationality grew through another to such an extent that even now, after centuries, traces are still easily recognised. If, however, the national spirit suffered by it, the national wealth and the welfare of the inhabitants gained. Casimir had received from his father an impoverished land full of tears, and he left it at his death in such a state of bloom and welfare that it could vie with the most prosperous country of the time. Everywhere it was the result of German settlement where German right was guaranteed. Where German right was granted to a town or a borough, the place after a short time became prosperous, enlarged, and enriched. In order to establish a firm foundation for the future, the king ordered the German right to be put in the form of a code as the national laws; he also established courts of appeal for those laws, and thus clearly showed his desire to nationalise those useful institutions which had assumed an indestructible extent during his reign, and to guarantee their coexistence together with national institutions.[d]

As from his union with the princess Anne of Lithuania Casimir had only a daughter,[1] his attention was anxiously directed towards the choice of a successor. Though several princes remained of the house of Piast, he did not consider any one of them sufficiently powerful either to repress the insurrectionary disposition of his nobles, or to make head against the military monks, whose ambition he so justly dreaded. He proposed Louis, king of Hungary, the son of his sister, and therefore a Piast, to the diet he had convoked at Cracow. He thus recognised in that body a right to which they had never dared to make a claim. They felt their importance, and resolved to avail themselves of it. He encountered great opposition. One party would have him to

[1] Cunegund, afterwards married to Romulus, son of the emperor Charles IV. By a third marriage he had two other daughters.

nominate the duke of Masovia; another, the duke of Oppelen; both reproached him for his partiality to a foreigner, in prejudice of the male descendants of his house. Fortunately for his views, they opposed each other with so much animosity that, in the end, both adopted his proposition as a means of avoiding the shame of a defeat. But though they thus united in the election of Louis, they resolved to derive their own advantage from it. The sceptre of Casimir, though never swayed more rigorously than justice permitted, they felt to be one of iron, after the long impunity they had enjoyed during two centuries. Some years afterwards they sent deputies to Breda, to inform Louis that, though in compliance with the wishes of their king they had concurred in his election, they should yet consider themselves free to make choice of any other prince if he refused them certain concessions. He was not to invest Hungarians or any other foreigners with the offices of the state; he was to declare the Polish equestrian order exempt from contributions, to confirm them in their utmost privileges, and even to support their retinues in his warlike expeditions. The Hungarian king had the weakness to comply with these and other demands, and thereby to forge chains for his successors. Hence the origin of the *pacta conventa*, or the covenants between the nobles and the candidate they proposed to elect—covenants exclusively framed for their own benefit, and for the detriment alike of king and peasantry.

Casimir was a man of peace. War he desired not, yet he never shunned it when it was forced upon him, or when the voice of his nobles demanded it. Both he and they, perhaps, feared the knights too much to engage with them; but he triumphed over the Silesians (now subject to the Bohemians), the Russians, the Lithuanians, and Tatars; he subdued Volhinia and Podolia, with the palatinates of Brescia and Beltz. These successes, with the alliance of two princes so powerful as Louis and the emperor, rendered him formidable to his neighbours, and deterred his enemies of Pomerania from their cruel aggressions.

But the great qualities of this prince were sullied by some excesses. He was much addicted to drunkenness, and immoderately so to women. Long before his father's death he had dishonoured the daughter of an Hungarian noble, and fled from the vengeance of her friends. To none of his wives (and he had three) did he dream of fidelity. After the death of the princess Anne, he married Adelaide, a German princess; but her jealousy, and still more her reproaches, incensed him so much that he exiled her to a fortress. His career of intemperance was thenceforth the more headstrong. He soon became enamoured of a Bohemian lady, whom all his arts, however, failed to seduce, and who declared she would yield only to marriage. (How his engagement with Adelaide was to be set aside, we are not informed; perhaps he had the art to convince her that he had obtained a divorce.) He feigned to comply; but instead of the bishop of Cracow, whom she wished to perform the ceremony, and whose authority she conceived would sanction the act, he substituted a monk (the abbot of Tynieck), who assumed the pontifical robes, and thus became a participator in the most detestable of deceptions. Her he soon discarded, to make way for a Jewess named Esther, by whom he had two sons. During this concubine's favour Poland was the paradise of the Israelites; the privileges, indeed, which at her entreaties he granted to them, remained in force long after his reign, and, no doubt, were the cause why they have continued for so many ages to regard this kingdom with peculiar affection, and to select it as their chief residence. After Esther, or perhaps contemporary with her, we find a multitude of favourites. His licentiousness knew no bounds; he established a regular seraglio, which he filled with frail

[1356-1370 A.D.]

beauties. The bishops murmured, but dared not openly reproach him; the pope expostulated, but in vain. A priest of Cracow at length had the courage to reprove him; but as he was quickly thrown into the Vistula, his fate deterred others from imitating his temerity. Age effected what reason and religion had attempted in vain. After his union with a third wife (a Piast), he became less notorious for his amours; and as the fire of lust expired before the chilling influence of age, his subjects had the consolation of finding that their wives, sisters, and daughters were safe from pollution.

Casimir's death was occasioned by a fall from his horse while hunting. The accident might not have been fatal, had he not turned a deaf ear to the advice of his physicians. To this day his memory is cherished by his country, which justly regards him as the greatest prince of a great line. Of his genius, his patriotism, his love of justice, his success in improving the condition of his people, his acts are the best comment; but his splendid qualities must not blind us to his vices—vices which not only sully the lustre of his character, but must have had a pernicious influence on the minds of a people with whom the obligations of religion and morality were not in that age usually strong.

During the reign of this last male prince of the house of Piast, the Flagellants, a numerous sect of enthusiasts, so called from the rigour of their self-inflictions, entered Poland from Hungary; they went naked to the waist, wore crosses on their lower garments, and entered every town two by two, with caps descending to their eyes, and exhibiting on their breasts and backs the wounds caused by their merciless whippings. Twice a day, and once during the night, did they inflict upon themselves this horrible penance—sometimes in the churches, sometimes in the public cemeteries, vociferating the whole time, "Mercy!" After which, joining in a song alluding to our Saviour's passion, they would suddenly throw themselves on the ground, regardless of stones, flint, or mud; one of their lay preachers would then pass from one to another, saying, "God forgives thee thy sins!" Thirty days' continued suffering they considered a full atonement for sin; hence they dispensed with the sacraments, which they taught were abrogated, grace being obtained and guilt removed by this penance alone. They took in a strange sense that most Christian of truths, "without shedding of blood there can be no remission." The success of these madmen in making proselytes would appear incredible, had we not instances enough in our times how easily heresy and fanaticism—and those, too, of the worst kind—may be propagated among the vulgar. Hungary, Poland, Germany, Italy, France, and even England, were overrun by the Flagellants. They were long treated with respect even by those who considered them as displaying more zeal than knowledge; but, in the end, it was found that their vices were superior to both. Men and women roamed together from kingdom to kingdom; and while thus publicly enduring so severe a discipline, made ample amends for it in secret; they lived in the worst species of fornication. Until their knavery was discovered, and they were scouted by the very populace, pope and prince vainly endeavoured to repress them.[b]

LOUIS (1370–1382 A.D.)

On the death of Casimir, there being no immediate heirs, his sister's son, Louis, king of Hungary, was called to the Polish throne.

As Louis was the sovereign of another kingdom, the Polish nobles, apprehending that their interests would be compromised to those of his other subjects, made him agree to certain stipulations as a safeguard before they would

allow him to take possession of the insignia of authority. There had always been some form of this kind on the accession of the preceding kings, but it was merely a formal coronation oath, binding the new monarch to preserve the interests of his people. In the present case it became something more than a mere matter of form, being made in fact a "corner-stone" of the Polish constitution. This bond between the king and his subjects was called the *Pacta Conventa*, and—subject to the alterations made by the diets—has continued to be administered to the monarchs on oath ever since, and is the Magna Charta of Poland. The conditions required of Louis were as follows: He was obliged to resign all right to most of the extensive domains annexed before to the crown, and make them the benefices of his officers or *starostas*, whom he could not remove without consulting the senate, or assembly of nobles. He was not to exact any personal service, to impose any taxes, or wage war without their consent. Nor was he to interfere with the authority of the lords over their serfs. The power of the king was thus limited to little more than that of a guardian of the laws.

Louis agreed to these demands, but his conduct afterwards proved that it was not with an intention of observing them. He fixed his residence entirely in Hungary, and, regardless of the complaints of the Poles, filled all the principal offices with Hungarians. Great disturbances ensued, and the neighbours of Poland, taking advantage of the discord, made frequent incursions. Happily, however, death removed the author of these troubles after he had reigned twelve years, and, having no male heirs, Louis terminated the dynasty of the Piasts in the year 1382.

In this first period were laid the foundations of all the most important Polish institutions, its laws, diets, orders, and not only political establishments, but those of learning also.

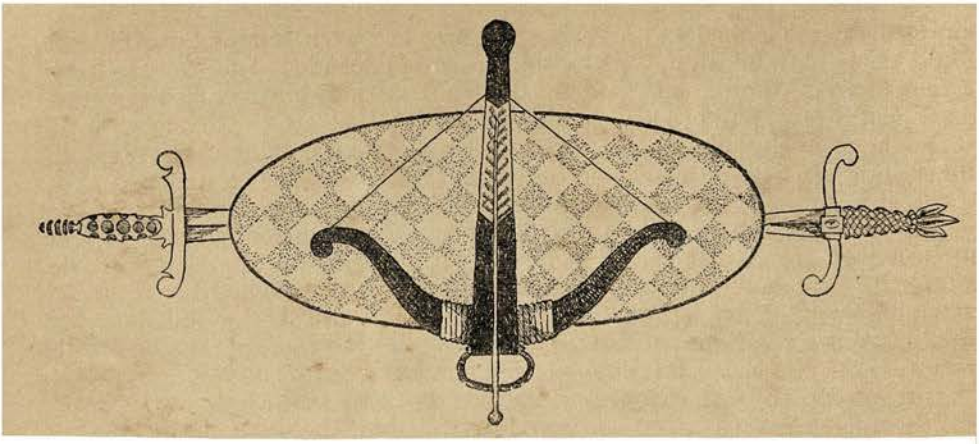
The laws, we have seen, were formed into a regular code by Casimir; Wladislaw first assembled his nobles in a diet in the year 1331, and his successor, Casimir, followed his example. These convocations were not merely assemblies of one order, but were formed by the kings on the very principle of balance of power, between the aristocracy, consisting of the influential nobles, and the numerous barons who possessed the title of noblemen, but, in fact, constituted a separate interest. This is a distinction of no small importance; all the army, at least those who fought on horseback, were styled nobles, for *miles* and *nobilis* were synonymous.

The commercial classes were not admitted to any great privileges, since at that time they consisted chiefly of foreigners and Jews. The latter people, indeed, had obtained possession of most of the ready money in Poland, as well as elsewhere. Boleslaw II granted them a charter in 1264, and the same protection was extended to them by Casimir the Great. It is said that this prince was interested in their favour by Esther, a young Jewess, of whom he was enamoured. Cracow was in his time one of the Hanse towns in alliance with forty other cities in Europe. The Exchange, still standing, impresses us with a high idea of the commerce of this age, thus intrusted to the Jews. So sedulously did this industrious people avail themselves of their advantages, that at the marriage of Casimir's granddaughter, Elizabeth, Wierzynck, a Jewish merchant of Cracow, requested the honour of being allowed to make the young bride a marriage present of 100,000 florins of gold, an immense sum at that time, and equal to her dowry from her grandfather.

With regard to the learning of this period, we first meet with the monkish historian, Gallus, who wrote between the years 1110 and 1135. His history commences in 825, and extends to 1118. According to the custom of his

[1382 A.D.]

order, he wrote in bad Latin verse. He was followed by Matthew Cholewa, bishop of Cracow, and Vincent Kadlubek. This latter writer was also diocesan of the same see, and was born about the year 1160. He wrote in the time of Casimir the Just, and in his history attempts to penetrate the mysteries of the Polish origin. But the circumstance which most conduced to the promotion of learning in Poland was the foundation of the University of Cracow, by Casimir the Great, in 1347. It was regulated in imitation of that of Paris, and such eminence had its professors attained in a short time that Pope Urban V estimated it, in 1364, as equal to any of the universities of Europe.[c]



CHAPTER II

ZENITH AND DECLINE

[1382–1696 A.D.]

HEDWIG (1382–1386 A.D.)

THE death of Louis was speedily followed by troubles raised chiefly by the turbulent nobles. Sigismund advanced to claim his rights. Semowit, duke of Masovia, and a Piast, also aspired to the throne; a civil war desolated several provinces. The latter prince might have united the suffrages in his favour had he not exhibited great ferocity, rashness, impatience, and other qualities sufficient to disgust the Poles with his pretensions. The factions at length agreed that the crown should be offered to Hedwig, youngest daughter of the late king, and granddaughter of Casimir the Great, on condition that she should accept as husband any one of the princes whom her subjects might propose to her. As this princess was only in her fourteenth year, the deputies treated with her mother, Elizabeth. That queen, however, being bent on the succession of her eldest daughter, Maria, to whom the Poles had sworn obedience, had recourse to policy. She accepted the throne, indeed, for Hedwig; but, on the plea that the princess was too young to undertake the onerous duties of government, she despatched Sigismund to act as regent, in the view that he would be able to reconcile the people to his authority. Her stratagem failed; he was not even allowed to enter the country; and a messenger was sent to inform her that if Hedwig was not given to the nation in two months a new election would be made. This menace had the desired effect; Hedwig arrived in Poland, and was immediately crowned at Cracow.

The beauty of this princess, her affability, her virtues, discernible even at that tender age, and above all her crown, soon brought her many suitors. Among them was the duke of Masovia; but the evils his ambition had brought on the country (his ravages had never ceased since the death of Louis) caused his rejection. The most powerful was Jagello, son of Gedymin, duke of Lithuania, and his proposals most advantageous to the nation. He offered not only to abjure paganism, and to introduce the Christian faith into his hereditary dominions—Lithuania, Samogitia, and a portion of Russia—but to incor-

porate these dominions with the Polish crown, and even to reconquer Silesia, Pomerania, and the other territories formerly dependent on it. His pretensions were instantly supported by the whole nation; but a difficulty intervened which threatened to blast its fairest hopes.

Young as was the queen, she had long loved and been affianced to William, duke of Austria. She remembered his elegant form, his pleasing manners, and, above all, the tender affection he had shown her in her childhood, and she could not avoid contrasting him with the rude, savage, uncomely pagan. Her subjects well knew what passed in her mind; they knew, too, that she had written to hasten the arrival of Duke William; they watched her day and night, intercepted her letters, and kept her like a prisoner within her own palace. When her lover arrived he was not permitted to approach her. She wished to see him once—but once—to bid him a last adieu; in vain. Irritated, or perhaps desperate at the refusal, she one day seized a hatchet, with which she threatened to break open her iron gates to admit the duke, and it was not without difficulty that she was forced to desist from her purpose. This was a paroxysm of the passion scarcely to be wondered at in one of her strong feelings. But she was blessed with an understanding remarkably clear for her years: in her cooler moments she perceived the advantages that must accrue to her people from her acceptance of Jagello; and, after a few violent struggles with nature, she resolved to see the formidable barbarian, and, if possible, to subdue the repugnance she felt for him. He arrived, and did not displease her. His baptism by the name of Wladislaw—a name dear to the Poles—his marriage, and coronation followed.[e]

Through the marriage of Hedwig with Jagello Lithuania and Poland were united under one crown.[a] This duchy was an immense accession to the geographical magnitude of Poland. It extended from Poland on the west, beyond the Dnieper or Borysthenes on the east, and from Livonia on the north. The Lithuanians and Samogitians, who are different clans of the same origin, are now generally believed to have sprung from a different stem from the Poles. They spoke a language widely dissimilar to the Polish or the Russian. Their religion was a singular medley of idolatry: they believed in a supreme god or Jupiter, whom they called the omnipotent and all-wise spirit. They worshipped the god of thunder under the name of Perkunas; they paid homage to a god of the harvests; there were also maintained priests who were continually feeding a sacred fire in honour of Parni, the god of the seasons; and their flamen was called Ziutz. Trees, fountains, and plants all came in for a share of their veneration. They had sacred serpents called Givoïte, and believed in guardian spirits of bees, cattle, etc. As to their government, it was, like that of all other barbarous nations, despotic; and the nobles were less numerous and more tyrannical to the lower orders than in Poland. Ringold was the first who united the various provinces, and assumed the title of grand duke of Lithuania in 1235.

In 1320 we find the famous Gedymin on the ducal throne. He wrested Volhinia, Severia, Kiev, and Tchernizov from the Russians. He divided this dukedom between his sons, but Olgerd made himself the sole possessor. Jagello, one of his thirteen sons, succeeded him in 1381. When raised to the throne of Poland, he appointed his cousin, Witold, to the government of Lithuania.

This province did not so readily coalesce with Poland as was expected. Jagello did not find the people very docile disciples; for, though the Romish faith was partially disseminated in Lithuania proper, and Vilna made the seat of a bishop, the districts which had been subject to Russia had long adopted

the doctrines of the Greek church, and obstinately adhered to their tenets; while the Samogitians refused to accept any modification of the Christian religion; and though the episcopal city Miedniki was built at this time, they clung firmly for a long period to their own strange and wild superstitions. In the latter part of this reign (in 1434), however, the union of the Roman and Greek churches took place at the convent of Florence, and the bishop of Kiev adopted the Roman ritual, but the Greek clergy were allowed the privilege of marriage.

Nor was the political union effected without opposition. The Lithuanian nobles were afraid of losing their ascendency over their serfs by their connection with the less despotic Polish barons; and Witold, urged on by the emperor Sigismund, who was jealous of the growing power of Poland, revolted, and was making preparations for his coronation, when he suddenly died in 1430.

Jagello established the Polish law on a firmer foundation in the diets of 1422 and 1423, and gave an additional sanction to the code of Wislica, which Casimir had begun. To him the Poles are indebted for their famous law that no individual is to be imprisoned until convicted.

This monarch was obliged to fight as well as preach and legislate; he was in the early part of his reign continually occupied in checking the encroachments of the Teutonic knights. He defeated them in a great battle at Grunewala in 1410, and they were happy to obtain peace in 1422. Having thus laid the foundation of Poland's greatness, he died in 1433.

His son, Wladislaw, was not much more than nine years old when the crown of Poland was placed on his head. His mother and some of the nobles were his guardians during his nonage. Scarcely had he escaped from his pupilage, when he served his maiden campaign against the Turks. The descendants of Osman, not content with their conquests in Asia, had crossed the Hellespont to lay low the tottering eastern empire. They ravaged Transylvania and a great portion of Hungary, and, the Hungarians opposing them in vain, conferred their crown on Wladislaw, who immediately took the field. Murad headed the Moslem army, and Wladislaw the Poles; an experienced warrior was thus pitted against a boy. But the battle is not always to the strong; like a spent wave, as if exhausted with victory, the Turks made but a feeble attack on that Polish army. The Moslems were defeated with the loss of 30,000 men, and were obliged to sue for peace. A treaty was concluded with mutual oaths, and Wladislaw was presented with the Hungarian crown which he had so nobly defended.

But this success only urged him, like the gamester, to try the chance of another cast. Treaties were nothing, oaths were nothing; the pope's legate, who accompanied the youthful king, produced his authority, and silenced all scruples of conscience. But the Turkish swords, which before were blunt with service, were now whetted with revenge, and for once the Moslem crescent was the banner of justice. Murad regained his laurels on the plains of Varna; the Poles were routed, and Wladislaw fell a victim to his own rashness and perfidy. Thus perished this young Polish king, in his twenty-first year, 1444 A.D., an event which spared the lives of many thousands of human beings.

THE DEFEAT OF THE TEUTONIC KNIGHTS

The reign of Casimir IV, who succeeded his brother, forms a brighter era in Polish history. His predecessor's fate seems to have given him a distaste for the dangers of war, and the early part of his reign was passed in rather

disgraceful peace. His first undertaking was against those inveterate and formidable enemies of his kingdom, the Teutonic knights, whom he defeated. The Prussians, wearied with the oppression of these fanatical brigands, rebelled against them, and placed themselves under the protection of Casimir in 1454. The knights did not surrender their conquests without a struggle, and the war was prolonged twelve years. The Poles overran all the Prussian territory which continued to side with the oppressors. So great was the devastation that out of twenty-one thousand villages which are said to have existed before this time in Prussia, scarcely more than thirteen thousand survived the flames, and nearly two thousand churches were destroyed.

The knights were at length obliged to submit; and a treaty was concluded, by which they surrendered all Polish Prussia and held the remaining portion as a fief of Poland. Casimir formed this new addition of territory into four palatinates, under the same government as the rest of his kingdom, excepting certain commercial privileges granted to the trading towns. Dantzic, Thorn, Elbing, and Kulm were important acquisitions, being of great mercantile consequence. Dantzic was one of the principal Hanse towns, commanding the commerce of the Baltic, and Casimir conferred on it the exclusive privilege of navigation on the Vistula. Moldavia, also, was now tributary to Poland, so that this kingdom had then the means of uniting the commerce of northern Europe with that of the south.

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

The system of internal policy was also undergoing several changes. In the early part of this reign the senate confirmed the decree that the king was not to make war without their permission. In the year 1467 the foundation of the Polish diet, or parliament, was laid. Before that period the senate consisted only of the bishops and great officers of the kingdom, who formed the king's council, subject also to the interference of the nobility.

Learning began to be cultivated by the Polish gentlemen in this reign, and the Latin language was now generally introduced. It is said that, in a conference with the king of Sweden, Casimir, being addressed in Latin, was obliged to employ a monk as interpreter; and, ashamed of his ignorance, he enjoined the study of that language among the gentlemen of Poland by an edict. It has continued ever since almost a living language in that country.

The first printing-press was erected at Cracow in 1474. The Polish language began to be cultivated and used by authors, and even written elegantly. Schools were generally established, to which the sons of the citizens, or even serfs, had the same access as the nobles. Kromer, the historian, called the Livy of Poland, son of a peasant, and raised to the bishopric of Ermland (Warmia), and Janicki, of the same origin, noted for his Latin poems, and crowned with the laurel wreath by Pope Clement VII, were among the numerous authors who lived in this reign. The name of Gregory of Sanok, the Polish Bacon, must not pass unnoticed. He held a professorship in the University of Cracow some time, in which office he introduced a spirit of liberal and independent inquiry, for which we could scarcely give the age credit. He hated the scholastic dialect, says his biographer, ridiculed astrology, and introduced a simple mode of reasoning. He was also a great admirer and patron of elegant learning, and was the first who introduced the works of Vergil into notice in Poland.

The diets, up to this period, had been general assemblies of all the nobles, that is, of the army; but the inconvenience of holding meetings of more than

a hundred thousand horsemen obliged the Poles to adopt the form of representation which had become almost universal in Europe. Dietines, or *Colloquia*, had long been held by each of the palatines in their palatinates, for the administration of justice, and these now began to appoint deputies for the management of the public business. In the course of time every district assumed the same privilege, and at length, in 1468, sent two deputies to a general diet. This first diet was convened to debate on the propriety of renewing the war against the Teutonic knights, of which we have already seen the conclusion. The system, however, was only gradually introduced. The nobles of many of the provinces refused to give up their rights to a deputy, and Regal Prussia, in particular, was so tenacious of this privilege that it has reserved, even to modern times, the power of sending as many nobles to the diet as it pleases. The deputies also were bound to act precisely according to the instructions of their constituents, and the nobles still maintained their custom of general meetings, or confederations, when occasion required. The towns also at this time enjoyed the elective franchise.

Casimir, having thus spent nearly forty-eight years in the service of his kingdom, extending its territory, conquering its enemies, framing its constitution, and civilising it with arts and learning, left it to the care of his third son, John Albert, 1492 A.D.

Good fortune and faction raised John Albert above his two elder brothers, but courage and policy maintained him in his elevation. The latter of these cardinal virtues in a king was not, however, always exhibited in the present monarch's counsels. He had admitted an Italian, Buono Accorso, formerly his tutor, into his confidence, and showed much deference to his opinions. According to his advice he attempted to lessen the preponderance of the nobility in the political scale. The plan was prudent, and if it could have been effected and their power withheld till the *tiers-état* was sufficiently strengthened with wealth and arts to counteract its undue influence, Poland might, like England, have enjoyed a firmly balanced constitution, in which the dissentient ranks are so well adjusted that disorder and its remedy are always produced simultaneously.

Albert impoliticly gave publicity to a design in which concealment was the principal requisite to insure success. Unfortunately, a circumstance which happened shortly after the disclosure rendered the king still more an object of suspicion to the nobles. The Polish troops were waylaid by an ambuscade, during a campaign against the Wallachians, and a great number of nobles, who almost entirely composed the army, were put to the sword. This event, coupled with the king's dénouement, engendered a suspicion of treachery, and made the nobles the more on the alert, not only to preserve their privileges, but to intrench on those of the king and the people. The Lithuanian nobles, in particular, were strenuous in their opposition to the king's design; their principles had always been more exclusive than those of the Poles, but the danger which threatened their privileges united both in the common cause. From this time we may date their despotism over the serfs, who, not having allies in the commercial classes, were obliged to submit quietly.

The influence of the trading classes was checked by two causes. In the first place, every gentleman who had a house and a few acres of land could enjoy all the privileges of nobility; hence none but the lower order, or foreigners, would engage in mercantile pursuits; and, secondly, the towns were composed chiefly of German strangers, Jews, and even Armenians, who had been long considered almost out of the pale of the law, and could not be admitted to the rights of naturalisation. From this time, therefore, we may

date the origin of the exclusive influence of the nobles; they became resolute in maintaining arbitrary authority over their serfs; the commercial class were included in the proscription of rights, being interdicted by the diet in 1496 from becoming proprietors of land or possessors of church preferment.

But what Albert unintentionally pulled down from one part of the constitution, he rebuilt in another; and to make amends for having thus weakened the political power of the people, he fortified their juridical rights. In his time the law courts were submitted to more fixed regulations, and corruption and oppression of the people exposed and punished.

In the reign of his successor, Alexander, who came to the throne in 1501, the crown was still more debased. The king was prohibited from raising any money or using the revenue without the consent of the diet. This law, called *Statutum Alexandrinum*, is said to have been passed to check Alexander's prodigality to musicians, to whose art he was passionately attached. All the Polish laws were revised and corrected at this period by the chancellor Laski, after whom the code is named.

THE REIGNS OF SIGISMUND I AND OF SIGISMUND AUGUSTUS

When Sigismund I came to the throne, in 1507, he found that it was not a bed of roses. Faction rose up against him as a many-headed monster, and it required a powerful and long arm to decapitate the ever-growing heads and perseverance with resolution to sear the wounds. But the Polish monarch was not to be soon intimidated; he defeated the Lithuanians, who had revolted, and routed the Russian auxiliaries of the rebels. The latter success was in a great measure owing to the artillery, which was now introduced into the Polish army, or rather among their Bohemian allies and fellow subjects.

Albert, marquis of Brandenburg and nephew of Sigismund, had been elected master of the Teutonic order, in the hope that his connection with the Polish kings might be the means of advancing their interest. No sooner was he invested with this authority than he renounced all allegiance to Poland, and refused to submit to his liege lord Sigismund. He was, however, soon brought to obedience, and obliged to resign his authority as master. This resignation was the knell of the Teutonic knights; they were now deprived of all standing ground in Prussia, and were obliged to retire to Marienthal, in Franconia. The Poles were thus delivered from one enemy, but little did they imagine that the successors, whom they appointed to the vacated authority, would eventually be their destroyers. Sigismund formed eastern Prussia into a duchy in 1525, and intrusted it to Albert as a fief. Polish or western Prussia was hence called Regal Prussia, to distinguish it from the duchy.

But when the king had quelled all foreign troubles, he found others at home of a more insidious and less tractable nature. His wife, Bona, was the prime mover of these intrigues; she had obtained a complete ascendency over the mind of her husband, who was now no more than a puppet which played her own game. The nobility, being summoned by the king to assemble at Leopol or Lemberg in Galicia, obeyed his orders, but it was to make universal complaints against the queen and the administration. This confederation they styled Rokosz, in imitation of the Hungarians, who in cases of public emergency held their assemblies in the plain of Rokosz, near the city Pesth. The confederation was not formed of very stubborn materials, for they were all dispersed, we are told, by a shower of rain. This assembly and protest,

however trifling in themselves, were of much importance as establishing a precedent which was but too often and obstinately imitated in following times.

No sooner had Sigismund Augustus, the son of the preceding monarch, ascended the throne, than factions were formed against him, because he had married without the consent and concurrence of the diet. The object of his choice was Barba Radziwill, widow of a Lithuanian noble of no great consequence. This marriage had been contracted secretly before his father's death, but he publicly acknowledged it on coming to the crown. Firm in his affection, and faithful to his vows, he would not break his domestic ties, although his constancy might cost him a kingdom. The contest did not, however, come to this crisis, for the king dexterously turned the attention of the nobles to their own interests, and heard no more objections to his marriage. But Sigismund did not long enjoy the domestic happiness which he so well deserved, for in the course of six months death made him a widower.

GROWTH OF POLAND

Sigismund was not entirely freed from war, but he found time to cultivate the arts of peace very successfully. In this reign Livonia and Courland were annexed to the Polish crown. The order of the knights of Christ, having the same statutes as the Templars, was founded in 1202 by the bishop of Riga, who conferred on them the right to a third part of Livonia, which they were to conquer and convert to Christianity, and this grant was also confirmed by the pope. The first grand master was Winno, who denominated the order Ensiferi. In 1238 they formed a solemn compact with the Teutonic knights and adopted their statutes. They reduced Livonia and Courland, and in 1521 purchased their independence of the grand master of the Teutonic order. The Reformation began now to spread in Livonia, and greatly weakened the power of the knights. At this time they had imprisoned the bishop of Riga, Sigismund's cousin, and massacred the envoys whom he sent to demand the release of his kinsman.

Sigismund was arming to wreak vengeance on them, when, dreading the encounter, they submitted, and formed an alliance with Poland. The czar of Moscow, provoked at this step, invaded Livonia, and the knights, not able to defend themselves, sued for assistance from Sigismund, who repelled the Russians. Livonia was surrendered to Poland in 1561; and Kettler, the grand master, was invested with the duchy of Courland as a fief. He was bound to furnish the king as his vassal with two hundred horse or five hundred infantry, and was not allowed to maintain more than five hundred regular troops.

The war in which Sigismund was engaged with the Russians led to a consolidation of the union between Poland and Lithuania. At the commencement of hostilities the czar was victorious, and even invaded Lithuania. The Polish nobles refused to march to the assistance of their fellow-subjects save under the condition that the union should be consummated. This was readily granted, and in 1569 the desired arrangement was definitely concluded in a diet of both provinces at Lublin. Lithuania was united to Poland under the same laws, privileges, and government. It was agreed that the diets composed of representatives of both these countries should meet at Warsaw, which is a central town, and neither in Poland proper nor Lithuania, but in Masovia.

THE ADVANCED CIVILISATION OF POLAND UNDER THE JAGELLOS

The genius of Copernicus, the great precursor of Newton, had lately shone forth,

— velut inter ignes
Luna minores.

He was born in 1473 at Thorn, where his father, a citizen of Cracow, had settled after the accession of Polish Prussia to Poland. At the age of nineteen he was sent to the University of Cracow, where he pursued his mathematical studies under the noted Brudzewski. Adam Zaluzianski is the Polish Linnæus, and in this same age published a work entitled *Methodus Herbaria*, in which he exhibits his sexual arrangement of plants. There were perhaps more printing presses at this time in Poland than there have ever been since, or than there were in any other country of Europe at the time. There were eighty-three towns where they printed books, and in Cracow alone there were fifty presses. The chief circumstance which supported so many printing houses in Poland at this time was the liberty of the press, which allowed the publication of writings of all the contending sects which were not permitted to be printed elsewhere.

Nor were the Poles less advanced in that most enlightened feeling of civilisation, religious toleration. When almost all the rest of Europe was deluged with the blood of contending sectaries; while the Lutherans were perishing in Germany, while the blood of above a hundred thousand Protestants, the victims of the war of persecution and the horrid massacre of St. Bartholomew, was crying from the ground of France against the infamous Triumvirate and the hypocritical Catherine de' Medici; while Mary made England a fiery ordeal of persecution, and even the heart of the Virgin Queen was not entirely cleansed of the foul stuff of bigotry, but dictated the burnings of the Arians, Poland opened an asylum for the persecuted of all religions, and allowed every man to worship God in his own way. "Mosques," says Rulhière,[c] "were raised among churches and synagogues. Leopol has always been the seat of three bishops, Greek, Armenian, and Latin, and it was never inquired in which of their three cathedrals any man, who consented to submit to the regulations of government, went to receive the communion. Lastly, when the Reformation was rending so many states into inimical factions, Poland, without proscribing her ancient religion, received into her bosom the two new sects." All parties were allowed a perfect liberty of the press; the Catholics printed their books at Cracow, Posen, Lublin, etc., while the followers of the Confession of Augsburg published theirs at Paniowica, Dabrowa, and Szamotuly; the reformers, at Pinczow, Brzesc, Knyszyn, Nieswiez; the Arians, at Rakow and Zaslaw, and the Greek sectarians in Lithuania, at Ostrowo and Vilna.

In 1540 it was ascertained that there were not in the whole of Poland more than five hundred Christian merchants and manufacturers, while there were three thousand two hundred Jewish, who employed nine thousand six hundred artisans in working gold, silver, etc., or manufacturing cloths. In the reign of Sigismund Augustus the Jews were prohibited from dealing in horses or keeping inns. Such was the state of his kingdom, when Sigismund died in 1572. With this monarch ended the line of kings of the house of Jagello.

Having thus arrived at another era in our historical narrative, let us cast a brief view on the tract we have travelled over. Under the dynasty of the

Jagellos, which lasted 186 years, Poland had attained its perfect growth and dimensions, and its constitution had also arrived at equal maturity. Jewel after jewel has since been stolen from the crown, till it has become but a simple badge of official distinction. There being no third order whom the kings could raise up against the nobles, which would have rendered the monarchy limited, but shielded it from total subjection to the aristocracy, there was no alternative but to make the government a perfect despotism as in Russia, to preserve the regal authority. This was attempted, as we shall see, in after years, but the kings who undertook it had not sufficient genius or perseverance, and the aristocracy had attained too great an ascendency by the diet and confederation. Besides, the chief military forces of the kingdom were not composed of a distinct order, who might be won over to the regal side, but of the nobility and their retinues; nor had the king that powerful engine, wealth, in his power, all the revenue being at the disposal of the diet, which was composed of the aristocracy. Under these circumstances the king could only be "a judge," as one of the future monarchs expressed himself, and the state that anomaly, a republic of aristocrats.

THE CROWN A PRIZE OF COMPETITION

Sigismund's funeral bell was the tocsin of anarchy in Poland. Being without a male heir, this last of the Jagellos restored the crown to his subjects for their disposal, a trust which occasioned them much perplexity. The nobles, among whom had sprung up that spirit of equality and jealousy which had so intrenched on the regal authority, would not bend to a rival of their own order; and with the same feeling which has made them in late years rather submit to the domineering and treacherous interference of foreign powers than bear any stretch or even appearance of power in their peers, they preferred to look abroad for a king. The Polish crown thus became a prize of competition for foreign princes, and it still possessed sufficient temptations to have many candidates; for besides the opportunity that a monarch, backed with extraneous forces, might have of extending the authority, there remained still many important privileges like interstices between the enclosures of the laws. The neighbouring potentates now began a struggle for Poland, and at length the unhappy country became the prey of their conflicting interests in addition to the evils of civil dissension.

During the interregnum which succeeded the death of Sigismund, the archbishop of Gnesen, on whom the authority devolved at such times, convoked the diet to debate on the choice of a new king. In this meeting, which was held in 1573, the laws were passed which regulated the elections. The motion made by John Zamoyski, representative of Belz, in Galicia, that all the nobles should have a voice in the nomination, was carried, and it was agreed that they should meet in a plain near Warsaw. In this diet also the coronation oath, or *pacta conventa*, was revised. The principal articles were the same as have been ever since administered to the kings-elect, stripping the monarch of all active power, making the crown elective, and requiring regular convocations of the diet every two years. They bound him also to observe perfect toleration of religious principles, promising among themselves (*inter nos dissidentes de religione*), as well for themselves as their posterity, never to take up arms on account of diversity in religious tenets. The Roman Catholic, however, remained the state religion, and the kings were bound to be of that profession of faith.

[1573-1575 A.D.]

The nobles accordingly assembled at Warsaw, armed, and with all their pomp of retinue. Several candidates were nominated, among whom were Ernest, son of the emperor Maximilian of Austria, and Henry, duke of Anjou, son of Catherine de' Medici, and brother of Charles IX, the reigning king of France. The latter was the successful competitor, and an embassy was sent to Paris to announce the decision. We cannot refrain from inserting, at full length, the description given of this Polish deputation by an eye-witness then living at Paris:[b]

"It is impossible to express the general astonishment when we saw these ambassadors in long robes, fur caps, sabres, arrows, and quivers; but our admiration was excessive when we saw the sumptuousness of their equipages, the scabbards of their swords adorned with jewels, their bridles, saddles, and horse-cloths decked in the same way, and the air of consequence and dignity by which they were distinguished. One of the most remarkable circumstances was their facility in expressing themselves in Latin, French, German, and Italian. These four languages were as familiar to them as their vernacular tongue. There were only two men of rank at court who could answer them in Latin, the baron of Millau and the marquis of Castelnau-Mauvissière. They had been commissioned expressly to support the honour of the French nation, that had reason to blush at their ignorance on this point. They (the ambassadors) spoke our language with so much purity that one would have taken them rather for men educated on the banks of the Seine and the Loire than for inhabitants of the countries which are watered by the Vistula or the Dnieper, which put our courtiers to the blush, who knew nothing, but were open enemies of all science; so that when their guests questioned them, they answered only with signs or blushes."[d]

Thus was Henry called to the throne, and he who was engaged at the very moment of his election in fighting against the Protestants now took the oath of toleration to all dissenters and sectaries. He accepted the crown reluctantly; for, although all was ready for the king's departure to Poland, this prince did not hurry to set out. However honourable the object of his voyage, he regarded it as an exile. But no sooner had he reached Poland than he was informed of the death of his brother and the vacancy of the French throne. Not choosing to forfeit his hereditary right and the substantial authority of the crown of France, and knowing that the Poles would not allow him to swerve from his oath, which bound him to reside in Poland, he took the singular resolution to abscond and leave the country by stealth. He was overtaken a few leagues from Cracow by one of the Polish nobles, but resolutely refused to return.

This singular and unexpected event renewed the factions, some of which called Maximilian of Austria to the throne, but were at last obliged to yield to the opposite party, who chose Anne, the sister of Sigismund, and Stephen Báthori, duke of Transylvania, for her husband, 1575 A.D.

THE REIGN OF BÁTHORI (1575-1586 A.D.)

This prince was possessed of rare qualities and high talent, having raised himself by his valour, and without the least violence or collusion, to the dukedom of Transylvania; and he was now called spontaneously to the Polish throne. Nor did he degenerate after his exaltation, vanquishing the Russians in a series of battles. Peace was at length concluded by the interposition of Possevin, the Jesuit, and legate from the pope.

This was the circumstance which gave the Jesuits an introduction into Poland. Their order was then noted only for its learning, and Báthori, imagining he was acting for the improvement of his people, intrusted to them the care of the University of Vilna, which he had just founded. Succeeding years, however, showed them in a very different character in Poland from teachers and peacemakers.

But the most politic act of this king was the addition to the strength of the nation effected by establishing a standing army and introducing an improved discipline. He now also brought the Cossacks under some military order. It was that Cossack tribe called Zaporog (Cosaci Zaporohenses) that was thus rendered serviceable to Poland. They inhabited, or rather frequented, the islands and swamps of the Dnieper, which formed a barrier against their warlike neighbours. In the reign of Sigismund I they were first armed against the Tatars, and a Polish officer, Daszkiewicz, was appointed their governor, but no further notice was taken of them till the time of Báthori.

NATIONAL POLISH COSTUME

The absurd and monstrous descriptions of this people and their manners, which were founded on rumour, have been fully credited by modern writers; and Voltaire, who is one of the greatest among fabulists, does not fail to magnify the wonders. We shall endeavour to throw a little clearer light on the manners of this tribe, from two old authors of credit. The Cossacks were the southern borderers of Poland, and, like all other people similarly situated, were continually carrying on an irregular and predatory war; hence their name, which implies plunderers. The Ukraine also means frontier country, and in course of time all its inhabitants were designated Cossacks. "They were," says Chevalier, "only a military body, and not a nation, as some have imagined. We cannot compare them better than to the 'Francarchers' formerly established in France by Charles VII." They made periodical naval expeditions every season against the Turks, and have even advanced within two leagues of Constantinople. Their rendezvous was in the islands of the Dnieper, and when winter approached they returned to their homes. They generally mustered five thousand or six thousand men; their boats were sixty feet long, with ten or twelve oars on each side, but this must be understood only of their war-boats.

The other author whom we shall quote was one who lived at that period, and frequently had the command of the Cossack troops, no less than the father of the famous Sobieski. Even then, it seems, they were the subject of curiosity and fable. "I will describe," says he, "their origin, manners, and customs, which I am acquainted with by hearsay, and have myself witnessed. They are chiefly of Russian origin, though many criminal refugees

from Poland, Germany, etc., are to be found among them. They profess the religion of the Greek church. They have fixed their residence in those naturally fortified places which are watered by the Dniester. Their business is war, and when they are shut up as it were in their nest, they consider it illegal to neglect athletic sports for any other pursuits. They live sparingly, by hunting and fishing. They support their wives and families with plunder. They are governed by a *præfect* (*hetman*), whose sceptre is a reed, and who is chosen by acclamation in a tumultuous manner. He has absolute power of life and death. He has four counsellors. The Poles have given them the town Trychtymirow, in Kiev.

"Long habit has fitted them for maritime warfare. They use boats on the sides of which they can occasionally fasten flat bundles of reeds, to buoy them up, and resist the violence of the waves and winds. With these boats they sail with great rapidity, and very often take the laden Turkish vessels. Not many of them use lances, but they are all furnished with arquebuses, and in this kind of warfare the kings of Poland can match the infantry of all the monarchs in the world. They fortify their camps with wagons ranged in several rows; this they call *Tabor*, and make them their last refuge from an overbearing enemy. The Poles were obliged to furnish them with arms, provisions, and forage for their horses." Such were the men whom Báthori enlisted in the Polish service. In the year 1576 he divided them into six regiments, and appointed superior and subordinate officers over them. "They were then only infantry," says Chevalier, "but Báthori joined to them two thousand horse, and in a short time they consisted chiefly of cavalry." Their chief was called *hetman*, or *attaman*, and the king presented him with the following articles as ensigns of authority: a flag, a horse-tail, a staff, and a mirror. Rozinski was their first hetman appointed by Báthori.

It is said that the king had formed a design of extending the regal authority, but death frustrated it, in 1586. Few monarchs are more respected by the Poles than the one whom we have just described; and, compared with many of the Polish sovereigns, he certainly deserved the title conferred on him, "*In republicâ plus quàm rex.*"

SIGISMUND'S WARS WITH TURKEY, RUSSIA, AND SWEDEN

Violent factions, in consequence of this event, were formed at the diet of election, and both Maximilian of Austria and Sigismund, prince of Sweden, were next elected to the throne. Sigismund's party prevailed, and took Maximilian prisoner, 1587 A.D. The successful competitor did not make an ungenerous use of his advantage, but liberated him, and rejected the offered ransom, saying: "I will not add insult to misfortune. I shall give Maximilian his liberty, and not oblige him to buy it."

Sigismund's family was related to the Jagellos on the female side, which reconciled the Poles to his accession. His reign commenced with war, for the Turks, continually harassed by the Cossacks, and not being able to revenge themselves on that vagrant people any more than if they were an annoying swarm of locusts, called the Poles to account for the actions of their dependents. After considerable slaughter, which was interesting only to the victors and the victims, and of no service but to rid the Ukraine of a few thousand cutthroat robbers, peace was effected by the intervention of an English ambassador.

Sigismund's father dying about this time, the Swedish crown was bequeathed to the Polish king; but the Swedes, who had adopted the reformed

religion of Luther ever since the time of Gustavus, were apprehensive of the government of a Roman Catholic, as Sigismund was, and as he was obliged to declare himself before he could ascend the Polish throne. Nor were their fears groundless, for his very first acts were a bad omen for the Protestant religion. He was accompanied by a popish legate, by whose advice he demanded that there should be a Roman Catholic chapel in every town, and expressed his determination to be crowned by the pope's deputy. This was borne with impatience; but when the king attempted to enforce his will with Polish troops, the murmur of discontent was raised to the shout of rebellion, and all the attempts of the king to trample down the Swedes to obedience were of no avail.[b]

Sigismund turned his attention at this time to Russia, where was being enacted the farcical romance of the false Dmitri.[1] Incited by an ambition to conquer Russia, and encouraged therein by the Jesuits, he invaded the country, ostensibly as the avenger of his murdered subjects.[a]

Zolkiewski, the maternal grandfather of Sobieski, who, as his son-in-law writes, was made both chancellor and grand general, commanded the troops, and entering Moscow took prisoner Vasili Shuïsky, the new czar, and his brother. The king's son, Wladislaw, was set on the throne, and thus Poland was once the disposer of the Russian crown. He was, however, soon deposed, and Sigismund did not attempt to reinstate him. Zolkiewski had the honour of entering Warsaw with a Russian czar in his train.

Sigismund had not abandoned his plan of regaining the crown of Sweden, and with this view he joined with Ferdinand, the emperor of Germany, and assisted him against the voyevode of Transylvania, who opposed him. The Transylvanian was in alliance with the sultan, and urged him to make a diversion on the side of Moldavia, which at that time was under the power of the Turks. The palatine of Moldavia had invited the Poles to his assistance, and accordingly the famous Zolkiewski, the conqueror of Russia, marched into that country with eight thousand regular troops, and irregular forces of Cossacks and Moldavian refugees amounting to about twenty thousand. The Turkish army was chiefly composed of Tatars, and numbered nearly seventy thousand. Zolkiewski, notwithstanding the disparity of forces, obliged the Tatars to give way; but being almost abandoned by his auxiliaries, and his little band being reduced to little better than five thousand, he was obliged to retreat.

Like all experienced generals, Zolkiewski could play the losing as well as the winning game, and an eight days' march in the face of a numerous army, used to irregular warfare, must have required some tactics and management. Historians compare this retrograde movement to "the retreat of the ten thousand," and no doubt the Polish grand general, if he had boasted a Greek tongue and a Greek sword, would have made as wonderful a narrative as Xenophon. But Zolkiewski was to suffer a different fate, for when the troops had reached the Dniester they were panic-struck at the sight of the enemy, and fled in disorder. "Zolkiewski," says the Polish historian James Sobieski, "like Paulus Æmilius, disdained to survive his defeat, and, with the same valour which had marked his life, he fell fighting for his country, and covered with wounds, on the banks of the Dniester, near the town of Mohilev." His son was taken prisoner, but both bodies were redeemed and buried in the same grave, with this inscription:

Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.

[1 For an account of the false Dmitri see Volume XVII, pages 224–229.]

This voice from the tomb urged their descendant Sobieski to exact retribution from the Turks. This was only the signal for fresh war; the sultan now headed his troops in person, but was eventually obliged to make peace.

While the Poles were thus engaged in the south, the Swedes were making inroads in the north. Sigismund had not quietly given up the crown of Sweden, but although his exertions were fruitless, he still cherished the hope of recovering it. The Polish king found an opponent in Gustavus Adolphus, who was now on the throne, and who withstood not merely the Poles, but almost all continental Europe, at least the Catholic part. Livonia, the point of junction between the two kingdoms, was the seat of war. After some trifling struggles, Gustavus took the field in 1626, and laid siege to Riga. This town surrendered in six weeks, and the Swedish king drove out the Jesuits, who were its perpetual tormentors. But Sigismund was too stubborn to be taught the inutility of resisting the great Gustavus; he would not see in him anything but a young hot-headed competitor, and not the determined champion of the Thirty Years' War. Battle lost after battle increased the demands of the Swedes, and lessened the power of the Poles. The Polish king was also the dupe of the courts of Vienna and Madrid, whose interest it was to make him divert Gustavus from the rest of Europe, and in consequence they promised to assist him with money and troops. These promises were never kept, and Sigismund continued obstinately to gnaw the file. The city of Dantzic, however, defended itself very vigorously; the Swedish admiral was killed, and Gustavus obliged to raise the siege. But the continued run of ill-fortune at length opened the eyes of the Poles to their own folly and the treachery of their pretended allies, and Sigismund was happy to make peace for six years, by which he resigned Livonia and part of Prussia, in 1629.

Sigismund terminated this reign of trouble in 1632. Ever the dupe of the Jesuits, who were in his perfect confidence, he lost one kingdom and weakened another which was so unfortunate as to continue under his power. Poland, the land of toleration, was now the scene of religious contest, and the Protestants were deprived of all places of trust and power. General dissatisfaction resulted, and the nobles had formed a confederation against their king in 1607, but not being very resolute, they failed in carrying their point. In 1609 these confederations were authorised by law. The spirit of contention, however, still continued to divide house against house, and the father against his son; intolerance added to the serf's chains and put an embargo on commerce. Such were the effects for which Poland was indebted to Sigismund III. He not only committed actual injury, but sowed fresh seeds by intrusting great power to the Jesuits. "He had, in short," says a French writer, "two faults, which generally occasion great misfortune: he was very silly and very obstinate."

A PERIOD OF DECLINE

Some time after the accession of Wladislaw VII, son of Sigismund, to the throne, died Gustavus Adolphus, which event enabled the Poles to oblige the Swedes to resign their conquests and make a firmer peace in 1635 at Stumsdorf. Had all the acts of the new king been dictated by the same good policy, Poland would have been saved much loss of strength and influence.

The Polish nobles were jealous of the independence of the Cossacks, so different from the state of their own serfs; the Jesuits could not bear to tolerate them in their adherence to the doctrines of the Greek church, and longed to make them Catholics; the king perhaps was swayed by both reasons, so that

the sovereign, nobles, and Jesuits all united to prune the almost lawless freedom of that wild but useful tribe, and from this time may be dated their alienation from the Polish interest. Wladislaw ordered forts to be erected in the Ukraine to awe them, and the Cossacks armed in defence of their right, but were defeated. In defiance of treaties, the Poles villainously butchered their hetman and many other prisoners. A compact made after this, binding the victors to withdraw their troops and restore the Cossacks to their full liberty, was as soon broken; the diet ordered the number of forces in the Ukraine to be increased, and that they should be reduced to the same state of subjection as the serfs. The Polish nobles seemed to imagine that oaths and engagements were not binding with uncivilised people, for they committed all kinds of outrages on them, both personal and general; at length an act of intolerable injustice drove the Cossacks again to rebel, and they were obtaining many advantages when death carried off their tyrant, Wladislaw, in 1648.

But the former bigot was succeeded by another: John Casimir, younger brother of the late king, was called to occupy the throne just vacated. Casimir was a Jesuit by principle, education, and character, and the pope gave him a cardinal's hat, to free him from his religious ties that he might assume the crown.

Under this king the Cossacks were as badly treated as under his predecessor. The Polish nobles continued to oppress them, and Casimir connived at the injustice; at length, however, a notorious act of villainy roused them to revolt. Chmielnicki, a man of some influence in the Ukraine, was deprived of a small tract of land by the Polish governor, and resenting the oppression, asserted his right and taunted that officer as a tyrannical upstart. The governor, incensed at his resistance, imitated the violence of the other Polish nobles, carried off Chmielnicki's wife, and set fire to his house, in which his infant child perished. Chmielnicki drew his sword to revenge his wife's honour and his child's death, and joined the rebel Cossacks, who made him their leader. It was about this time that Casimir came to the throne, and feeling that the Cossacks were the aggrieved party, he refused to prosecute the war, but endeavoured to conciliate them by writing to the hetman and confirming him in his office. The Cossack chief withdrew his forces, and negotiations were in progress; but the nobles, confederating at the instigation of the aristocrats, put an end to these pacific measures with the sword. The Cossacks taught the Poles that they could defend their own liberty as well as that of their former allies and present oppressors. The rebel forces left behind them a wake of blood and devastation. They advanced into Poland, and even invested the king in his camp at Zboro. The Cossacks were credulous, and, believing a people who had deceived them so often, consented to negotiate. It was then agreed, in 1649, that they should have the free use of their privileges and religion.

This treaty did not satisfy the nobles, who were both foiled in their undertaking and humiliated by their defeat; they therefore determined to pay no more attention to it than the preceding agreements. Before the end of the year the diet announced its intention of reducing the Cossacks to obedience. Casimir made the expedition quite a crusade, and received a sacred helmet and sword from Pope Innocent X. His preparations were on as great a scale as if he designed the subjugation of a powerful nation, instead of a few thousand rebels, as they denominated the Cossacks; besides an army of 100,000 nobles, he assembled a body of 50,000 of the foreign troops who had fought in the Thirty Years' War. The hetman, not terrified at this gigantic armament, allied himself with the Khan of the Tatars, and encountered the Poles.

Victory declared in favour of the oppressors, and the Cossacks were dispersed; but the hetman had yet sufficient resources to obtain a peace in 1651. Submission to despotism is a distasteful lot, and happily cannot under any circumstances be made a duty by the strictest treaties or vows, according to the well-known principle of moral philosophy, that improper promises are not binding; so thought the Cossacks without the aid of a system of ethics, and submitted to the Russians in 1654. Alexis was then czar; he gladly received his new subjects, and, assigning as a pretext for war an omission which the Poles had made in one of his titles, marched two armies into Poland, one towards Smolensk, and the other towards Kiev.

While the Russians were ravaging the east, another and no less formidable enemy was arming on the north. Casimir, who sunk beneath the burden of one crown, would not resign the family pretensions to another, that of Sweden; and when Christina, abdicating about this time, appointed her cousin, Charles Gustavus, her heir, he protested vehemently against the succession. Charles Gustavus armed in defence of his right; and perceiving that in one of the letters from Casimir only two *et cæteras* were used after his titles, instead of three, made it a pretext for declaring war. Charles Gustavus marched into Poland with 60,000 troops; discontent and revolt increased their number with Poles, and the Swede entered Warsaw. The contemptible John Casimir fled to Silesia, and Charles Gustavus was master of Poland.

But the nobles were soon disgusted with their new tyrant, and in 1656 they confederated in Galicia, and Casimir joined the confederacy. Fortune smiled still more favourably: Alexis, jealous of the growing power of Sweden, withdrew his troops, and even the hetman, who had received an envoy from Casimir, was satiated with revenge, and retired to the Ukraine. Charles was obliged to retrace his steps, and Casimir reached Warsaw again.

The Treaty of Oliva (1660 A.D.)

It is pretended that Charles Gustavus now proposed a partition of Poland between Prussia and Austria, but, fortunately for the kingdom, the czar declared war against Sweden, and diverted the conqueror from his design. The elector of Brandenburg concluded a treaty of peace at Wehlau, on the 19th of September, 1657, satisfied with obtaining the independence of Ducal Prussia. Austria offered assistance, now the danger was over, and the Treaty of Oliva was concluded on the 3rd of May, 1660, between Poland, Prussia, and Sweden. Casimir resigned all pretensions to the Swedish crown, and ceded Livonia to Sweden. It must not be forgotten that the *et cæteras* of the king of Sweden's title were arranged to his satisfaction in one of the articles of this treaty.

Thus was Casimir freed from this terrible coalition, which had threatened to forestall the fate of his unfortunate kingdom. But even before the Treaty of Oliva was concluded, the Poles, instead of conciliating all parties, passed a decree in the diet against the Arians, most of whom had sided with Sweden, and persecuted them with confiscation, exile, and death. Another rupture also broke out with the Cossacks; the haughty nobles infringed on the treaty they had made with them in 1658, and the Ukraine again submitted to Russia. "Since then," says Salvandy, "Warsaw has seen them keeping guard at the gates of her palace."

The Poles kept the Russians at bay, and the famous John Sobieski distinguished himself in these campaigns, but they were obliged to make peace in 1667. By the treaty, Severia and the Ukraine on the east of the Dnieper were

ceded to Russia; the Cossacks (Zaporogians) were to be under the joint dominion of both states, ready to serve against the Turks when required, and were to have the free exercise of their religion.

This reign was as unfortunate in its internal policy as in its foreign relations; the king was entirely at the mercy of his queen, his mistresses, and the Jesuits. Many of the nobles during the Swedish invasion had urged the necessity of choosing a successor to the throne who might be able to fight their cause, and many went so far as to wish the monarchy to become hereditary. The emperor was proposed by many, but the queen, Louise Marie, exerted herself to insure the succession to the French prince, Condé; and in the diet of 1661 the king himself made the proposal. This unconstitutional proceeding produced great murmurs among the nobles; the diet was dissolved, and the seeds of serious revolt were thus sown which harassed Casimir during the rest of his reign. In this diet Casimir pronounced these remarkable words, which have been construed as a singular prophecy of the dismemberment of Poland: "I hope I may be a false prophet, in stating that you have to fear the dismemberment of the republic. The Russians (Moscus et Russi) will attempt to seize the grand duchy of Lithuania as far as the rivers Bug and Narew, and almost to the Vistula. The elector of Brandenburg will have a design on Greater Poland and the neighbouring palatinates, and will contend for the aggrandisement of both Prussias. The house of Austria will turn its attention to Cracow and the adjacent palatinates." Rulhière[c] pretends that Casimir had the mysterious treaty in his eye when he spoke these prophetic words, but a more natural solution of the question is found in the letters before mentioned, which show that the apprehensions Casimir expresses were not confined to him.

Casimir, worn out by trouble, took the resolution of resigning the sceptre which he could not wield and resuming his religious habit. He had been told in the diet that the calamities of Poland could not end but with his reign, and he addressed that diet in the following words:

> PEOPLE OF POLAND: It is now two hundred and eighty years that you have been governed by my family. The reign of my ancestors is past, and mine is going to expire. Fatigued by the labours of war, the cares of the cabinet, and the weight of age; oppressed with the burdens and solicitudes of a reign of more than twenty-one years, I, your king and father, return into your hands what the world esteems above all things, a crown; and choose for my throne six feet of earth, where I shall sleep in peace with my fathers.

After his abdication he retired to France, where he was made abbot of the monastery of St. Germain-des-Prés.

It was in this king's reign that the *liberum veto*, or privilege of the deputies to stop all proceedings in the diet, by a simple dissent, first assumed the form of a legal custom. "The leaven of superstition and bigotry," says Rulhière,[c] "began to ferment and blend itself with all the other vices of the constitution; they then became closely united, and their junction defied all remedy. It was then that in the bosom of the national assemblies sprang up this singular anarchy which, under the pretext of making the constitution more firm, has destroyed in Poland all sovereign power. The right of single opposition to general decrees, although always admitted, was for a long time not acted upon. There remained but one step to complete the destructive system, and that was taken in 1652 under the reign of John Casimir. A Polish noble, named Sizinski, whom his contemporaries have denounced to the indignation of posterity, having left the diet at the period allotted for its resolutions, and by his voluntary absence prevented the possibility of any unanimity, the diet

[1667-1668 A.D.]

considered that it had lost its power by the desertion of this one deputy." A precedent so absurd but so easily imitated could not fail to have the most pernicious effects.

There can be only one opinion on this king's reign; he deserves any character rather than that of "The Polish Solomon," nor can we agree with the whole of the assertion that

> He made no wars, and did not gain
> New realms to lose them back again,
> And (save debates in Warsaw's diet)
> He reigned in most unseemly quiet.

His reign, unfortunately for Poland, was anything but an "unseemly quiet," and has added another proof of the bad effects of engrafting the sceptre on the crosier.

The introduction of the Jesuits by Báthori had a great effect on the progress of learning in Poland. The curious, however, count up 711 Polish authors in the reign of Sigismund III. The Polish language became more generally diffused in Lithuania, Galicia, Volhinia, etc., where formerly the Russian was the prevalent dialect. The close intercourse which commenced with France during the unfortunate administration of John Casimir introduced many of the comforts of civilisation; travelling was improved in Poland, inns were built on the high roads, and carriages came into general use. But sadly did learning languish in this stormy reign. The incursions of the Swedes, Cossacks, and Tatars swept away the libraries, broke up all literary society, and commerce shared the same fate.[b]

THE UNWILLING MICHAEL IS MADE KING (1668 A.D.)

A diet of convocation now assembled to elect a successor to Casimir. Its first act was to render abdication henceforth illegal in Poland.[a]

The candidates to the throne were three: the prince of Condé, supported by the primate and the great barons; the prince of Neuburg, an ally, or rather a creature, of Louis XIV; and Charles of Lorraine, a prince in the interests of Austria. The first of these candidates, however illustrious his exploits, could not be acceptable to a nation which detested alike the tyranny and arrogance of the French monarch, and which remembered but too well the disasters inflicted on the republic by one of that nation—Henry of Valois. Though the grand marshal of the crown, Sobieski, left the fields on which he had hitherto reaped his laurels to swell the partisans of Condé, the cause was hopeless; vast bodies of armed nobles flocked round the *kolo*, and insisted that the Frenchman should be excluded. The contest, which now lay between the French and Austrian interests, promised to be ruinous, and to end in blood; the adherents of each were nearly equal in number, and perfectly so in obstinacy. One morning, however, before the great dignitaries had arrived, and while the electors were ranged round the plain, under the banners of their respective palatinates, the cry of a Piast proceeded from that of Russia, and an obscure prince, Michael Korybut, was proclaimed by those immediately at hand. The cry spread with electric rapidity; it was echoed by the electors of the other palatinates, who by this unexpected nomination saw an escape from the greatest of all evils—civil war. As the senators approached, they were surprised at the universal clashing of sabres, and the howls of approbation which accompanied the name of Michael. They were compelled to join

in the vast chorus, and "Michael! Michael!" resounded with deafening acclamations. In less than two hours he was proclaimed king of Poland.

Prince Michael Korybut Wisniowiecki was the son of the ruthless Jeremy, so infamous for his persecution of the dissidents. Infirm in body and weak in mind, without influence, because without courage and riches, he saw that if he was now made the scapegoat for the hostile factions, both would afterwards unite in his pursuit. With tears in his eyes he begged to decline the proffered dignity; and when his entreaties were received with howls of "Most serene king, you shall reign!" he mounted his horse and precipitately fled from the plain. He was pursued, brought back, forced to accept the *pacta conventa* which had been prepared for the successful candidate, and to promise before the assembled multitude, whose outrageous demonstrations of homage he well knew were intended to insult his incapacity, that he would never seek to evade his new duties. To relieve his extreme poverty, some of the wealthier barons immediately filled his empty apartments with household furniture, and his still emptier kitchen with cheer, to which he had never before been accustomed. In these studied attentions there was more of contempt than of good nature. The mockery was complete, when in the diploma of his elevation it was expressed that he was the sun of the republic, the proudest boast of a mighty line of princes, one who left the greatest of the Piasts, the Jagellos, or the Vasas far behind him.

WEAKNESS OF MICHAEL'S REIGN

With the commencement of his reign Michael began to experience mortification within and danger from without. Though the public treasury was empty, though Poland had no army, even when the Cossacks and Tatars were preparing to invade her, two consecutive diets were dissolved, and their proceedings consequently nullified, by the veto. Then the quarrels of the deputies —quarrels which were not unfrequently decided by the sword—introduced a perfect contempt for the laws, as well as for all authority other than that of brute force. The poor monarch strove in vain to reconcile the hostile factions; his entreaties—he was too timid or too prudent to use threats—were disregarded, even by such as the distribution of crown benefices had at first allied with his interests. Without decision, without vigour, without money or troops, and consequently without the means of commanding respect from any one of his subjects, he was the scorn or jest of all. A resolution was soon taken to dethrone this phantom of royalty. The turbulent primate Prasmowski was the soul of the conspiracy, which was rendered still more formidable by the accession of the queen Eleanor, an Austrian princess. In the view of obtaining a divorce, and of procuring the elevation to the throne of one who had long been her lover—the prince of Lorraine—she scrupled not to plot against her husband and king. It was, in fact, but exchanging one lord for another, a beloved for a despised one; and whether the plot failed or succeeded, she was sure of a husband and a throne. Fortunately for Michael, there was another conspiracy, the object of which was to transfer the queen and the sceptre to a French prince. Thus one faction neutralised the other; but in the end one of them would doubtless have triumphed, notwithstanding the adhesion of the small nobles to the reigning king—an adhesion, however, not the result of attachment to the royal person, but solely of hostility to the great barons—had not the loud notes of warlike preparation drowned for a moment the noisy contentions of the rebels.

SOBIESKI AND THE TURKISH CAMPAIGN (1670-1673 A.D.)

During these melancholy transactions, the heroic Sobieski was gathering new laurels on the plains of Podolia and Volhinia. By several successes, though obtained with but a handful of troops, chiefly raised at his own expense, he preserved the frontier provinces from the ravages of the Cossacks, the allies, now of Muscovy, now of the Porte, as best suited their ideas of interest or of revenge. He was now opposed, however, to a new and apparently resistless enemy—the Turks, whom the perfidious policy or revenge of Louis XIV raised up against the republic. The advanced guard of that enemy, consisting of Cossacks and Tatars, whom the Porte had ordered to pass the Borysthenes, he utterly routed, retook the important frontier fortresses, and by everywhere opposing a movable rampart to the barbarians, he kept them in check, fixed the wavering fidelity of the Volhinians, who were ready to join the Muscovites, and re-established his communications with Moldavia. Europe termed these preliminary operations the miraculous campaign. But Muhamed IV now approached, accompanied by the veteran army which had reduced Candia, and which under its general, Cuprugli, had triumphed over the Venetians, the Hungarians, and the empire. About three hundred thousand Ottomans crossed the Dniester and advanced into Podolia. In the deplorable anarchy which reigned at the diet, no measures whatever had been taken to oppose the enemy. Sobieski had but 6,000 men; and notwithstanding his energetic remonstrances, he could obtain no reinforcements. He had the mortification to see the fall of Kamenets, the reduction of all Podolia, and the advance of the Turks into Red Russia, the capital of which, Leopol, was soon invested by Muhamed in person. What man could do—what no man but himself could have dared—he accomplished. He cut off an army of Tatars, leaving 15,000 dead on the field, and releasing 20,000 Polish captives, whom the robbers were carrying away. But however splendid this success, it could not arrest the arms of the Turks. As the panic-struck nobles removed as far as possible from the seat of war, Michael hastened to make peace with the Porte; as the price of which he ceded Kamenets and the Ukraine to the victors, acknowledged the superiority of the Porte over the Cossacks, and agreed to pay an annual tribute of 220,000 ducats (about £100,000 or $500,000).

Such was the humiliating state to which the republic was reduced by its own dissensions. In vain did Sobieski exclaim against the inglorious Peace of Buczacz; in no Polish breast could he awaken the fire of patriotism. It is impossible not to suspect that the money of France or of the Porte had corrupted the leaders of the various factions; a nation renowned beyond all others for its valour would surely not have thus coolly beheld its glory sullied, its very existence threatened, unless treachery had disarmed its natural defenders. At this time no less than five armed confederations were opposed to each other—of the great against the king; of the loyal in his defence; of the army in defence of their chief, whom Michael and his party had resolved to try, as implicated in the French party; of the Lithuanians against the Poles; and, finally, of the servants against their masters, of the peasants against their lords.

Though Sobieski despised Michael, he scorned to take revenge on so poor a creature; his country still remained, though humbled and degraded, and he swore to exalt her or to die. Through his efforts, and the mutual exhaustion of the contending parties, something like tranquillity was restored, and in a diet held at Warsaw the renewal of the war was decreed. As no tribute was

sent, the grand vizier did not wait for the hostile declaration: followed by his imperial master, he crossed the Danube. At the head of near forty thousand men, Poles, Lithuanians, and German auxiliaries, Sobieski opened a campaign destined to be forever memorable in the annals of the world. His plan was to meet and annihilate Kaplan Pasha, who was advancing through Moldavia; to return and fall on Hussein, another Turkish general, who with eighty thousand men held the strong position of Kotin, on the Moldavian side of the Dniester, opposite to Kamenets: the destruction of these two leaders, he hoped, would lead to the fall of the latter fortress, and enable him to contend with the sultan in person, should the monarch persist in advancing.

The mutiny of his troops, however, especially of the Lithuanians, who exclaimed that he was leading them to utter destruction, and who refused to advance into an unknown country, compelled him to begin with Hussein. With difficulty he prevailed on them to pass the Dniester, and to march on Kotin; he found the Turkish general so strongly fortified, that Paz, the Lithuanian hetman, refused at first to join in the meditated assault; but he had done such wonders in preceding campaigns with a handful of troops, that with 40,000 he thought nothing impossible. Paz, his personal enemy, he persuaded to co-operate, and the bombardment commenced while the grand assault was preparing. Fortunately for the Christian arms, the night of the 10th of November, 1673, was one of unexampled severity; the snow fell profusely, and the piercing blasts were still more fatal to the besieged, most of them from warm Asiatic climes. On the morning of the 11th Sobieski led the attack; ere long his lance gleamed on the heights, and the struggle was renewed in the heart of the Turkish intrenchments. In vain did the janissaries endeavour to prolong it; they fell in heaps, while the less courageous or more enfeebled portion of the enemy sought safety in flight. The bridge, however, which connected the two banks of the river was in the possession of the Christians, and thousands perished while endeavouring to swim over. The carnage was now terrific; 40,000 of the Moslems now lay on the plain, or floated in the stream, and an immense booty fell to the victors. Poland was saved; the fortress of Kotin capitulated. Kaplan Pasha retreated beyond the Danube; Moldavia and Wallachia declared for the republic, and would perhaps have been incorporated with it, had not the grand hetman been recalled from his career of conquest by an important though not an unexpected event.

This was no other than the death of Michael, who expired at Lemberg (Leopol) the night before the great battle of Kotin, while on his way to join the army. His demise was very agreeable to the Poles, who longed for a prince capable of restoring their ancient glory. Let him not, however, be judged with undue severity; his feebleness was no more than his misfortune, while his intentions were good. Though without vigour of understanding, he was accomplished, and even learned; he was acquainted with several languages, and addicted to literary pursuits. Knowing his own incapacity to rule so fierce a nation, compulsion alone made him ascend the throne; and if his reign was disastrous, the reason has been sufficiently explained. On the whole, he should be pitied rather than condemned.

MICHAEL IS SUCCEEDED BY JOHN (III) SOBIESKI (1674 A.D.)

Though, on the death of Michael, the number of candidates was greater than it had been on any preceding occasion, from the state of parties in the republic, no one could doubt that the chief struggle would be between those of

[1674–1676 A.D.]

France and the empire. The dukes of Lorraine and Neuburg were again proposed: the former was zealously supported by a queen lover; the latter by the money and promises of Louis. (The electors had long been sufficiently alive to the value of their votes.) That a stormy election was apprehended was evident from the care with which the szopa, or wooden pavilion of the senators, was fortified. The appearance on the plains was exceedingly picturesque: everywhere were seen small bands of horsemen exercising their daring feats; some tilting; some running at the ring; others riding with battle-axes brandished to the entrance of the szopa, and with loud hurrahs inciting the senate to expedition; others were deciding private quarrels, which always ended in blood; some were listening with fierce impatience to the harangues of their leaders, and testifying by their howls or hurrahs their condemnation or approval of the subject. At a distance appeared the white tents of the nobles, which resembled an amphitheatre of snowy mountains, with the sparkling waters of the Vistula and the lofty towers of Warsaw.

The appearance of the Lithuanians was hostile; perhaps they had some reason to suspect the nomination of Sobieski, with whom their hetman, Paz, had long been at variance; certainly they seemed resolved to support the Austrian to the last extremity. Sobieski, who in the mean time had arrived from Kotin, proposed the prince of Condé, another candidate; whether in the hope that such a proposition would succeed, or with the view of distracting the different parties and making way for his own elevation, is not very clear. He soon found, however, that the prince was no favourite on the *kolo*; and his personal friend, Jablonowski, palatine of Russia, commenced a harangue in support of his pretensions. The speaker, with great animation, and not without eloquence, showed that the republic could expect little benefit from any of the candidates proposed, and insisted that its choice ought to fall on a Piast; on one, above all, capable of repressing domestic anarchy, and of upholding the honour of its arms, which had been so lamentably sullied during the two preceding reigns. The cry of "A Piast! a Piast!" and "God bless Poland!" speedily rose from the Russian palatinate, and was immediately echoed by thousands of voices. Seeing their minds thus favourably inclined, he proposed the conqueror of Slobodisza, of Podhaic, of Kalusz and Kotin; and the cry was met with "Sobieski forever!" All the palatinates of the crown joined in the acclamation; but the Lithuanians entered their protest against a Piast. Fortunately for the peace of the republic, the grand duchy was not, or did not long continue, unanimous; Prince Radziwill embraced the cause of the crown; Paz was at length persuaded to withdraw his unavailing opposition, and John III was proclaimed king of Poland.[1]

Before the new king would consent to be crowned, he undertook an expedition to rescue Kamenets, Podolia, and the Ukraine from the domination of the Moslems. To preserve these, and if possible to add to them, Muhamed IV had taken the field with a formidable army. Kotin was retaken, the Muscovites who contended with the Porte for the possession of the provinces on the Borysthenes were expelled from the Ukraine, and several Cossack fortresses carried; but here the sultan, thinking he had done enough for glory, returned to Constantinople. John now entered on the scene, and with great rapidity retook all the conquests that had been made, except Kotin, and reduced to

[1] The *pacta conventa* signed by this king differed little from those of his predecessors. In the article that offices should be conferred on native nobles only, it was added, and on such only as have worn their honours three generations. Every third year he was to pass into Lithuania: it had before been decreed that every third diet should be held at Grodno. A pension was to be paid to Queen Eleanor.

obedience most of the Cossacks on the left bank of the Borysthenes. But this scene was doomed to be sufficiently diversified: the wicked desertion of Paz, who with his Lithuanians was averse to a winter campaign, prevented the king from completing the subjugation of the Ukraine, and even forced him to retreat before a new army of Turks and Tatars: twenty thousand of the Tatars, however, were signally defeated at Zloczow; and the little fortress of Trembowla made a defence worthy the best ages of Roman bravery. The Lithuanian soldiers being compelled by their countrymen to rejoin the king, that monarch again entered on the career of victory. The Turks were defeated at Soczawa, and were pursued with great loss to the ramparts of Kamenets. With the exception of that fortress and of Podhaic, which they had stormed, Poland was free from the invaders.

Sobieski, having thus nobly earned the crown of a kingdom which he had so often saved, returned to Cracow, where his coronation was performed with the accustomed pomp, but with far more than the accustomed joy. At the diet assembled on this occasion, a standing army of 30,000, and an extraordinary one of three times that number, were decreed; but nothing more was done, and the republic remained defenceless as before. Other salutary proposals submitted by the king, whose talents were as conspicuous in government as in the field, had no better success. The fate of the republic, however it might be delayed by monarchs so enlightened and conquerors so great as he, was not to be averted.

From these harassing cares John was summoned by a new invasion of the Turks and Tatars, amounting in number to almost 210,000, and commanded by Ibraham Pasha of Damascus, whose surname of *Shaitan*, or the devil, was significant enough of his talents and character. The Polish king, with his handful of 10,000, was compelled to intrench himself at Zurawno, where he was well defended by sixty-three pieces of cannon. His fate was considered—perhaps even by himself—as decided; all Poland, instead of flocking to his aid, hastened to the churches to pray for his deliverance. For twenty days the cannonading continued its destructive havoc, occasionally diversified by still more destructive sorties from the camp. The advantage rested with the Poles, but they were so thinned by their very successes that their situation became desperate. The Tatar khan, however, who knew that the Muscovites were laying waste that part of the Ukraine subject to Doroszensko, the feudatory of the Porte, and were menacing his own territories, clamoured for peace. It was proposed by the pasha, but on the same humiliating terms as those of Buczacz. The enraged Sobieski threatened to hang the messenger who should in future bring him so insulting a proposal.

Hostilities recommenced; though the Poles were without provisions or ammunition, he scorned to capitulate. He rode among his dismayed ranks, reminded them that he had extricated them from situations even worse than the present one, and gaily asked whether his head was likely to have suffered by the weight of a crown. When the Lithuanians threatened to desert, he only replied, "Desert who will—alive or dead I remain!" But to remain in his camp was no longer safe: one morning he issued from it, and drew up his handful of men, now scarcely seven thousand, in battle array as tranquilly as if he had legions to marshal. Utterly confounded at this display of rashness or of confidence, the Turks cried out, "There is magic in it!"—a cry in which Shaitan, devil as he was, joined. Filled with admiration at a bravery which exceeded his imagination, the pasha sued for peace on less dishonourable conditions. By the treaty two-thirds of the Ukraine was restored to Poland, the remaining third being in the power of the Porte; the question as to Podolia

was to be discussed at Constantinople; all prisoners, hostages, etc., were also restored. The conditions, indeed, were below the dignity of the republic, but that such favourable ones could be procured at such a crisis is the best comment on the valour of the king. This was the sentiment of all Europe, which resounded more than ever with his praises.

This peace was followed by the prolongation of the truce with Muscovy. Neither were the conditions of the latter so advantageous as could have been desired. Three insignificant fortresses were restored; but Severia, Smolensk, Kiev, and other possessions remained in the iron grasp of the autocrat. In vain would the king have endeavoured to wrest them from it: without money or troops, with anarchy also before his eyes, it was no slight blessing that he was able to preserve from day to day the independence, nay, the existence, of the republic.

During the four following years the king was unable to undertake any expedition for the reconquest of the lost possessions. Though he convoked diet after diet in the hope of obtaining the necessary supplies for that purpose, diet after diet was dissolved by the fatal veto; for the same reason he could not procure the adoption of the many salutary courses he recommended, to banish anarchy, to put the kingdom on a permanent footing of defence, and to amend the laws. His failure, indeed, must be partly attributed to himself; since, great as he was, he appeared as much alive to the aggrandisement of his own family as to the good of the republic. There can be little doubt—and he ought to be praised for it—that he had long meditated the means of rendering the crown hereditary in his offspring; but the little caution with which he proceeded in this great design, and the criminal intrigues of his queen, a French woman of little principle, whose influence over him was unbounded, roused the jealousy of the nobles, especially of the Lithuanians, and compelled him to suspend it. Had he shown more prudence, as well as more firmness, in his administration, and within his palace, his object might have been attained, and Poland preserved from ruin, under the sway of his family.

John Sobieski had always belonged to the faction or party in the interests of France, and, consequently, averse to that of Austria; but there was one thing in which he would not gratify the perfidious Louis XIV. As a Christian knight and a noble Pole, he had vowed inextinguishable hostility against the Moslems—a feeling, in his case, deepened by the memory of his maternal grandfather, his father, and his brother, who had all perished under the sword of the misbelievers—and he could not consequently band with the Porte against the empire. While the Turks were arming for the invasion of Germany, his alliance was eagerly sought by Louis and Leopold: he entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with the latter. To this turn in his policy he was said, perhaps injuriously, to have been not a little disposed by the promise of an archduchess for his eldest son, and by the resentment of some insults shown by the *grand monarque* to his queen.

THE RELIEF OF VIENNA (1683 A.D.)

But the money of Louis and the venality of the Polish barons opposed great obstacles to the ratification of this treaty by the diet. A conspiracy was soon set on foot, the object of which was, either to turn the king from the Austrian cause or to dethrone him. Fortunately the correspondence of the French ambassador with the unprincipled court of Paris fell into his hands, and he was enabled to frustrate the criminal design. To escape detection,

the very conspirators voted for a war with the infidels, and preparations were made for a great campaign. It was time. Vienna was invested by 300,000 Turks and Tatars, under Kara Mustapha, the vizir; the dastardly Leopold had retreated to Linz, and despatched messenger after messenger to hasten the departure of Sobieski. Germany looked to him as its saviour, and Europe as the bulwark of Christendom. Having beheld at his feet the ambassadors of the empire and the nuncio of the pope, he left Cracow, August 15th, with a small body of Polish troops, and without waiting for the Lithuanians; the chief part of his army, amounting in all to about thirty thousand men, he had previously ordered to rendezvous under the walls of Vienna.

The king found the affairs of the imperialists in a worse situation than he had conceived. The Turkish artillery had made a practicable breach, and the terrified inhabitants of the capital were in momentary expectation of an assault. One evening, however, their despair was changed to joy, as they perceived from their telescopes the appearance of the Polish hussars on the heights of Kahlenberg. Sobieski was enthusiastically invested with the chief command of the Christian army, consisting of Poles, Saxons, Bavarians, and Austrians, amounting to 70,000 men. One who had been his rival as a candidate, the duke of Lorraine, gave a noble example of magnanimity by this submission, and by zealously co-operating in all his plans. On the morning of September 12th commenced the mighty struggle between the Crescent and the Cross. Throughout the day the advantage rested with the Christians, but the vast masses of the Turks remained unbroken. Towards nightfall the Polish king had fought his way to the intrenched camp of the vizir, whom he perceived seated in a magnificent apartment tranquilly drinking coffee with his two sons.

Provoked at the sight, he rushed forward, followed by an intrepid band. With the loud war-cry of "God for Poland!" and his pious repetition of the well-known verse of Israel's prophet king, "*Non nobis, non nobis, Domine exercituum, sed nomini tuo da gloriam!*" was united that of "Sobieski!" Shouts of "Sobieski! Sobieski!" caught the ears of the Moslems, who for the first time now certainly knew that this dreaded hero was with the Christians. "Allah!" exclaimed the Tatar khan, "the king is with them sure enough!" The consternation among the infidels was extreme; but, true to the bravery of their character, they made a vigorous stand. In vain; their ranks strewed the ground; six pashas fell with them; the vizir fled, and with him the remnant of his once formidable host. The Turkish camp, with its immense riches, became the prey of the victors; not only Germany, but Europe, was saved. The hero of Christendom hastened to the cathedral of St. Stephen to join in a solemn *Te Deum* for the success of this memorable day.

It is painful to dwell on the subsequent conduct of Leopold. Instead of clasping the knees of his saviour with joy, and of blushing at his own cowardice, he met the king with coolness, nay, even with insult. His empire was saved, and as he had no need of further aid, he took care to exhibit no further gratitude. His behaviour astonished no less than incensed the Poles, many of whom, without their king's permission, returned to their homes; but Sobieski, with the rest, proceeded into Hungary in pursuit of the fugitive Moslems. By two subsequent victories won at Parkan and Strigonia, he freed most of that kingdom from the foot of the invaders, and would have extended his successes far beyond the Danube, had not the Lithuanians delayed to join him and his Polish troops insisted on returning to their country.

On his arrival he had the additional gratification of finding that one of his generals had obtained some signal successes in the Ukraine over a combined

[1683-1686 A.D.]

army of Turks and Tatars; had dethroned one hospodar of Wallachia, and elevated another better disposed to the views of the republic.

THE DOUBLE CHARACTER OF SOBIESKI

But whilst pursuing the splendid successes of this Christian hero, posterity must blush at the weakness of his policy, at the blindness with which he pursued the aggrandisement of his family; implicitly followed the counsels of his despicable queen; and trusted to the protestations of Leopold, who, when his aid was required, never hesitated at promises, and, when that aid was furnished, never thought of performing them. Though the archduchess promised to his son was resigned to the elector of Bavaria, the imperial lure of assisting him to subdue Wallachia, which was to become a permanent sovereignty in his family, again armed him against the Turks. To be freed from all apprehensions on the side of Muscovy, he forever confirmed to that power the possession of Smolensk, Siewierz, Tchernigov, and the greater portion of Kiovia, with Kiev, the capital. These possessions, indeed, he could not hope to recover; but voluntarily to have resigned them, and forever, justly excited the indignation of many, especially when they found that the czarina Sophia refused to perform conditions to which she had agreed—to join the general crusade against the Porte, and to pay the republic 200,000 rubles in return for these concessions.

Having raised about forty thousand men, the king entered into Wallachia, to conquer it for one of his sons. But the expedition had no effect, owing partly to the exceeding dryness of the season, and to the consequent sufferings of his army, and partly to the non-appearance of the contingents promised by Leopold and the hospodar. He returned, but not without loss, both from the reason already assigned, and from the activity of the Turks in his rear, who, however, dared not attack him. A second expedition was but partly successful; in fact, the infirmities of age had overtaken him, and had impaired his mental no less than his bodily vigour. His failure, however, in both expeditions was owing to circumstances over which he had no control; in neither did it dim the lustre of his martial fame.

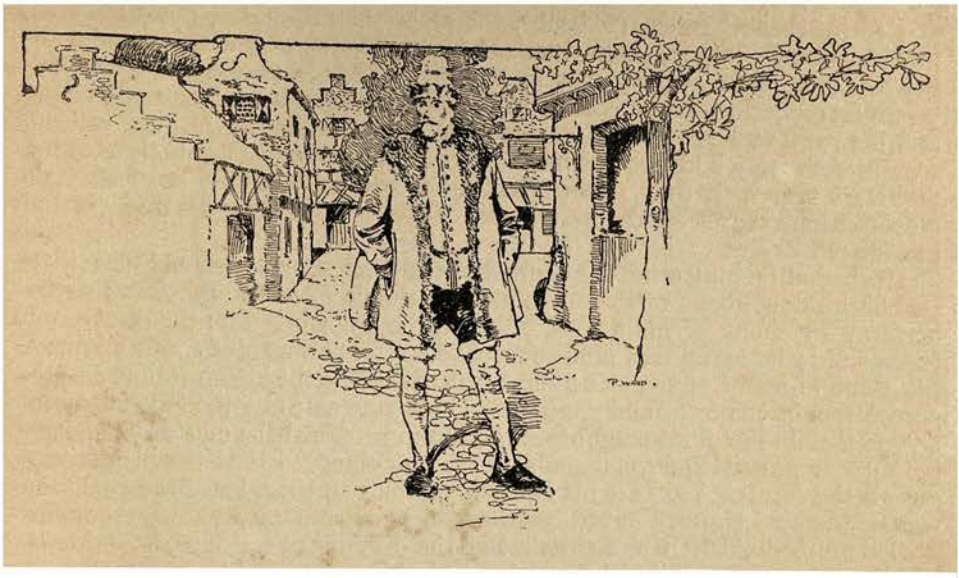
No two men could be more unlike than Sobieski in the field and Sobieski at his palace of government: in the former he was the greatest, in the latter the meanest, of men. He was justly despised for his tame submission to his worthless queen. To her he abandoned all but the load of administration; her creatures filled most offices in the state; all, too, were become venal—all conferred on the highest bidder. The bishop Zaluski, on this subject, relates an anecdote sufficiently characteristic of the court where such a shameless transaction could take place. The rich see of Cracow being vacant, the queen one day said to the bishop of Kulm, "I wager with your sincerity that you alone will have the bishopric of Cracow." Of course the prelate accepted the challenge, and, on being invested with the see, paid the amount. Zaluski himself opened a way to the royal favour by means equally reprehensible. He presented the queen with a medicine-chest, together with a book of directions for employing them, valued at a few hundred ducats: she received it with contempt. The offer of a silver altar, estimated at 10,000 crowns, of a valuable ring, and two diamond crosses gratified her avarice, and made the fortune of the giver. Her temper was about equal to her disinterestedness. On one occasion the king had promised the great seal to Zaluski; the queen to Denhov: of course the latter triumphed.

"You are not ignorant," said the king to the disappointed claimant, his intimate friend, "of the rights claimed by wives—with what importunity the queen demands everything that she likes; you only have the power to make me live tranquilly or wretchedly with my wife. She has given her word to another, and if I refuse her the disposal of the chancellorship she will not remain with me. I know you wish me too well to expose me to public laughter, and I am convinced that you will let me do what she wishes, but what I do with extreme regret." Can this be the victor of Slobodisz, Podhaic, Kotin, and Vienna?

It cannot be matter of much surprise that such a prince should have little influence in the diets, or that his measures should form the subject of severe scrutiny by many of his nobles. French money raised him up enemies on every side; so also did that of his queen, whenever he ventured on such as were unpalatable either to her or to her creatures. The man who could not preserve peace in his own family, who could not prevent his wife and eldest son, nor mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, from bringing disgrace on his palace by their unnatural quarrels, could not be expected to have much influence anywhere. In full senate he was often treated with marked disrespect; the words "tyrant! traitor!" were lavished on him; and he was once or twice invited to descend from a dignity which he dishonoured. That he seriously entertained the design of abdication, notwithstanding the decree against it during the interregnum of Michael Korybut, is certain; but if he had many enemies, he had more friends, and he was persuaded to relinquish it.

The last days of John Sobieski were passed in literary or in philosophical contemplation. Sometimes, too, he migrated from scene to scene, pitching his tent, like the Sarmatians of old, wherever a fine natural prospect attracted his attention. His last hours were wrapped in mystery. He spoke to Zaluski of a dose of mercury which he had taken, and which had occasioned him intense suffering in mind and body. "Is there no one," he abruptly exclaimed, whilst heavy sobs agitated his whole frame, "to avenge my death!" This might be the raving of a sickly, nervous, distempered mind; but a dreadful suspicion fixed on the queen. Her subsequent conduct confirmed it. Scarcely was the breath out of his body when she seized on his treasures, and renewed her quarrels with her eldest son, Prince James, with a bitterness that showed she felt no regret for his loss.

Sobieski was the last independent king of Poland. His enemies could not but allow that he was one of the greatest characters in royal biography, the greatest beyond comparison in the regal annals of his country.[e] He died in 1696.[a]



CHAPTER III

THE EXTINCTION OF A KINGDOM

[1696–1796 A.D.]

SOBIESKI and his intrigues, so long a stumbling-block of offence in the eyes of the Poles, were no more; but the rancour and vehemence of contention still survived. A people in this dissentient state of feeling were not likely to be calm, impartial adjudicators. Whilst the most powerful Polish and foreign interests were nullifying each other by opposition, a noble of inferior rank and influence started a new candidate, and carried his point. This was no other than John Przependowski, castellan of Kulm, who had first united with the prince of Conti, one of the most popular of the candidates for the Polish crown. But he wished to derive some profit from his vote, and finding the prince's finances exhausted, he looked round the different courts for another patron. He was bold and born for intrigue, and therefore well adapted for his present purpose. He had married the daughter of General Fleming, who was then in high favour with Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, and afterwards his prime minister. This connection brought him in contact with the elector, whom he found just suited for his design. Augustus was a young, wealthy, ambitious monarch. "No prince was ever more generous," says Voltaire, "gave more, or accompanied his gifts with so much grace." His religion, professedly the Lutheran, stood in the way; but there is something that will remove more mountains than faith, and it was opportunely remembered that the young elector had recanted the Reformed belief two years before, during a sojourn at Rome, and he was now as good a Catholic as the Poles or the *pacta conventa* could require.

Money purchased Augustus plenty of votes, but as he was late in the field there were some too firmly engaged by the prince of Conti to be decently transferred. The consequence was that on the 27th of June, 1697, both were

elected by their different partisans, the archbishop declaring Conti king, and the bishop of Cujavia, Augustus. But notwithstanding the informality of the latter election, nothing was to be said to the ten thousand Saxons with whom he came to take possession of his kingdom; he was acknowledged king, and the prince of Conti sailed back to France unanointed.

But Augustus had not yet been crowned, a ceremony essentially requisite to invest him with full authority, and he was anxious that it should take place. There was some difficulty even in this; all the regalia were locked up in the treasury at Cracow in the keeping of officers in Conti's interest. The law forbade breaking open the doors, but the Saxons "laughed at locksmiths" and broke down the wall. It was also necessary that the archbishop should perform the ceremony, but he also was in the other interest; the diocese was therefore declared vacant, and newly filled. There was still another impediment—the funeral of the late king ought to precede the inauguration, and the corpse was in the hands of Conti's party at Warsaw; but the Saxons substituted an effigy, and the coronation was solemnised and the elector proclaimed king under the title of Augustus II.[1] It was observed that the king fainted during the formalities, as if his heart failed him at thought of the charge he was taking on himself.

This forced election was the first of the disgraceful series of events which laid the yoke on the necks of the Poles, and at last rendered them mere bondsmen. After this period Poland always received her kings under the compulsion of foreign arms. The czar and the king of Sweden even offered to support the present election; but Augustus found that he and his Saxons were sufficiently strong to fight their own battles.

The *pacta conventa* required Augustus to dismiss his own troops; but he was too prudent to trust himself to subjects who were not yet reconciled to his "usurpation," and looked about for a pretext to retain them. This was readily found; he employed them against the Turks, and the Poles were satisfied. But this war was ended by the Treaty of Karlowitz, in January, 1699, by which treaty the Poles regained Kamenets, but gave up their encroachment in Moldavia, etc., and the king was obliged to find them another occupation. This also too soon presented itself.

AUGUSTUS' CAMPAIGN AGAINST SWEDEN

Sweden was now under the government of a minor, and as Poland had long looked with a lingering eye on Livonia, which had been ceded by the Treaty of Oliva, in John Casimir's time, he thought it would be a favourable juncture to attempt its recovery; and the service of the Saxons in that undertaking would make the Poles forgive their intrusion. He attempted it entirely at his own risk, without the concurrence of the Poles, and in fact in direct opposition to some of their representations. The bishop who had crowned him told the king that his attack on Sweden was a gross violation of the rights of nations and of equity, which the Almighty would not fail to punish —a judgment, says the historian, which seems to be dictated by the spirit of divination.

His first attempt was not so successful as he had anticipated, and he engaged Peter the Great, czar of Russia, to assist him. Peter entered very willingly into the plan; he wished to found a port on the east of the Baltic;

[1] The first Augustus was Sigismund Augustus.

Ingermanland, the northeast part of Livonia, seemed just adapted for it, and he thought it would pay him very well for his share of the enterprise. The meeting took place on the 26th of February, 1701, at Birzen, a small town in the palatinate of Vilna in Lithuania.

But Charles, the young Swedish monarch, although only eighteen, was not to be made the tame victim of such flagrant injustice. He was apprised of their designs and chose to anticipate them. He had routed the Russians at Narva in the preceding year, and made even Moscow tremble. But justice fought for him, and his soldiers were animated by the example of their youthful hero. These were the troops whom the Russian savages called "terrible, insolent, enraged, dreadful, untamable destroyers." He then marched against the Saxons in Livonia, and came up to them on the banks of the Dvina. The river was very wide at the spot and difficult to pass, but Charles was never to be daunted. He caused large boats to be prepared with high bulwarks to protect the men, and observing that the wind was in the enemy's face, lit large fires of wet straw; and the smoke, spreading along the banks of the river, concealed his operations from the Saxons. He directed the passage himself, which was effected in a quarter of an hour, and he was much mortified at being only the fourth to land. He rallied his troops and routed the Saxons. He did not stop till he arrived at Birzen, the town where Augustus and the czar had planned the expedition. He felt, he owned, a satisfaction at entering Birzen as a conqueror, where the leagued monarchs had conspired his ruin some few months before.

The news of Charles' approach was nearly as agreeable to most of the Poles as it was terrible to Augustus; they considered him as their champion against the tyrannical and intruding Saxons. The primate wrote to the Swedish king assuring him of this feeling; and Charles expressed himself as the friend of Poland, although the enemy of their sovereign. Augustus was aware of this, and dismissed the Saxon troops, to regain the favour of his subjects. This step had the desired effect for a time: the primate, traitor as he was to both parties at heart, pretended to rouse the king's awakening popularity which he could not check; and the people were so gratified by the concession that most of the influential palatines swore to defend their sovereign to the death. This adherence to their falling monarch was daily increasing, when unfortunate dissensions in Lithuania once more severed the bond of union.

That province had been divided into two contending factions ever since the death of Sobieski; and party spirit had run so high that the contest became quite a civil war. The family of Sapieha, the great general of Lithuania, and that of Oginski, the great standard-bearer, were the leading interests. As long as the Saxons remained in Lithuania, Sapieha was protected from the violence of Oginski, who was backed by most of the nobility; but after their departure he and his adherents were left exposed, so that their only alternative was to make the Swedes their protectors. Under these circumstances Augustus could offer but little opposition to Charles, and a deputation was sent to the Swedish monarch, with proposals of peace. "I will make peace at Warsaw," was the young but firm warrior's answer; and at the same time he added that he came to make war on Augustus, the usurper, and his Saxons, and not against the Poles.

The Capitulation of Warsaw; the Dethronement of Augustus (1702 A.D.)

Augustus felt that all was lost, and that his kingdom had departed from him. But he yet fought up against fortune; he had privately recalled his

Saxons, and then assembling all the troops he could, mustered nearly twenty-four thousand men. Augustus now found himself in that perplexing dilemma in which all kings who thrust themselves upon a people by force are always at some period deservedly placed. The Poles, at best only lukewarm in his cause, were converted into ardent enemies by this recall of the Saxons. While Augustus was engaged in marching from palatinate to palatinate to canvass his partisans, Charles pushed on unopposed to Warsaw, which capitulated on the first summons, on the 5th of May, 1702. Augustus, however, marshalled his troops in the plain of Klissow, and waited for the arrival of the Swedes to fight for his crown. Even now his army doubled that of Charles, but the Poles, who composed the greater part of it, did not engage willingly. Augustus indeed fought bravely; but in vain did he rally his troops: three times they again recoiled. Fortune still frowned on the Polish monarch, and he fled towards Cracow.

An accident favoured his escape, and prolonged the struggle: Charles had a fall from his horse as he was pursuing him, and was detained in bed six weeks on his march. Augustus made good use of this respite, reassembled his troops, and prepared for another battle; but discontent and rebellion thinned his ranks: the Poles dreaded further opposition to the formidable invader, and began to fall into his will, in consenting to raise to the throne James Sobieski, the eldest son of their late monarch. Against such numerous enemies no resistance could be offered; protraction of the war was useless, for difficulties only stimulated the Swedish hero. "Should I have to stay here fifty years," said he, "I will not go till I have dethroned the king of Poland." Augustus therefore fled to Saxony, taking, however, the precaution to secure the persons of James Sobieski and his brother Constantine.

THE DISPOSAL OF THE POLISH CROWN

The throne being thus vacated, it remained for Charles to fill it; but he was for some time undetermined who should be the chosen person. His counsellors advised him to step into it himself, but fate, in the shape of military glory, diverted him from that design. He first fixed on Alexander, Sobieski's third son. Alexander, however, wished only for the enlargement of his brothers and to revenge them, having none of the *libidinem dominandi*, and it was in vain that the king of Sweden and the nobles entreated him to change his mind; he was immovable. The neighbouring princes, says Voltaire, knew not whom to admire most, the king of Sweden, who at the age of twenty-two years gave away the crown of Poland, or the prince Alexander, who refused it.

But kingdoms do not long go begging, and all men are not so disinterested as Alexander Sobieski. When Charles told young Stanislaus Leszczynski, the Polish deputy, that the republic could not be delivered from its troubles without an election, "But whom can we elect," said Stanislaus, "now James and Constantine Sobieski are captives?" The king looked with an eye of scrutiny at his interrogator, and thought to himself, "Thou art the man!" He, however, deferred that answer until he had further examined his young *protégé*.

Stanislaus was descended from an illustrious Polish family; his father was crown treasurer and palatine of Posnania, to which latter office his son succeeded. He added to innate talent the polish of education and commerce with society both at home and abroad. "Stanislaus Leszczynski," said one

of his contemporaries, "the son of the grand treasurer of the crown, is regarded amongst us as the honour of our country. A happy facility of manners makes him win his way to all hearts." He was courageous, and at the same time mild in his disposition, and had a very prepossessing appearance. In fact, Charles was so much struck with him that he said aloud he had never seen a man so fit to conciliate all parties. He was also sufficiently hardy and inured to service to please the rough king in that respect; and after the conference the Swedish monarch exclaimed, "There is a man who shall always be my friend!" and Stanislaus was king of Poland.

But the formality of election was observed, although it was, in fact, nothing but a ratification of Charles' choice. Many other candidates were also nominated, and though Stanislaus was the most popular among them, as well as the nominee of the lord of the ascendant, the primate Radziejowski objected to him, ostensibly on account of his youth. "What?" said Charles. "He is too young," answered the primate. "He is not so young as myself," replied the king, impatiently, and he sent the Swedish count Horn to Warsaw to enforce the election. Horn met, however, with some resistance from the independent Poles. "Are we assembled," said one of the nobles, "to act in concert for the ruin of Poland, whose glory and safety depend wholly on the freedom of the people and the liberty of the constitution? Let our independence be our first care, then let us think of an election. Shall we call that revolution legitimate which springs from fear of being hewn down by the troops of armed foreigners, who surround us and insult the dignity of the republic with their presence?" Several nobles, roused by this appeal, entered their protests, which, according to law, would check the election, but this trifling opposition was disregarded, the Swedes shouting, "Long live Stanislaus Leszczynski, king of Poland!" and the election was registered. The constitution was certainly infringed by the Swedish influence, but Augustus was not a fit person to complain of unconstitutional acts.

Stanislaus was no sooner seated on the throne and enjoying the honeymoon of royalty at Warsaw, than the alarm-bell sounded, and Augustus, with an army of twenty thousand Saxons, was seen marching to regain his capital. The city was unfortified, and the new king was obliged to flee, with his family, to their protector, Charles. The work of dethronement was now to be all done over again. The Swedish monarch had not lost any of his activity; he overtook Augustus unexpectedly in Posnania, and a battle was fought at Punitz, on the borders of Silesia. The Saxon army consisted almost entirely of foot, whereas the enemy were all cavalry. The Saxons formed themselves into solid bodies, presenting on all sides a hedge of bayonets. The Swedish cavalry in vain attempted to break their ranks; the Saxons stood their ground till nightfall, although inferior in number, and made good their retreat. This was certainly no contemptible specimen of the military talents of Augustus, although a great portion of the credit is of course to be given to the skill of Schullemburg.

The Saxon army retreated, and the Swedes followed and overtook them again on the banks of the Oder. Charles now imagined they must fall into his hands, as they were unprovided with pontoons or boats to effect the passage, but in this he was mistaken. Schullemburg passed his whole army over during the night with a very trifling loss, and Charles himself was obliged to own that "to-day Schullemburg has the better of us."

Notwithstanding all this display of courage and tactics, Augustus could not support his falling fortune, and again withdrew to Saxony. Charles, tired of having to fight his battles over again so often in Poland, resolved to

put an end to the Saxons' occasional excursions, by carrying the war into their own country. Augustus now began to tremble; the Swedish king could as easily appoint a new elector as a new king. To avoid these consequences he submitted to the conditions Charles imposed. These were, to resign all pretensions to the crown of Poland, to break off all treaties against Sweden, and to set at liberty the two Sobieskis.

Russian Intervention; the Flight of Stanislaus

In the mean time Peter the Great was not idle; he felt much aggrieved that Augustus had capitulated without his knowledge, but he forgave him on hearing how severely he was already punished by the hard conditions of the treaty. The Russians under the command of Menshikov overran Poland in the absence of Charles and Augustus, who were in Saxony, forming a rallying point for the adherents of the ex-king and plundering the opposite party. In fact Peter treated Poland more as a vanquished province than an allied state, ravaging, levying contributions, and carrying off all the valuables he could lay hands on. The news that Stanislaus and Charles were returning from Saxony soon put a check to this injustice and obliged him to retreat.

The fate of Stanislaus was so completely dependent on that of Charles that the history of the latter is also the history of the former. The Swedish hero, leaving his *protégé* in Poland, pursued the czar, who had retired into Lithuania, although it was in the month of January, 1708. The result of this singular campaign forms one of Fame's commonplaces:

> —dread Pultowa's day,
> When fortune left the royal Swede,

at once stripped Charles of the title of Invincible, the hard earnings of nine years' victories, drove him to seek an asylum in Turkey, and dragged Stanislaus from the Polish throne.

Augustus, on hearing this unexpected news, immediately returned to Poland and resumed the diadem in spite of his oath. The pope's dispensation sanctioned the perjury; Polish inconsistency favoured the new revolution; and the victorious arms of Russia confirmed all. Stanislaus knew it was in vain to resist, and did not wish to shed blood in a useless struggle; he therefore retired to Swedish Pomerania. He defended that province against the united Russians, Saxons, Poles, and Swedes, and Augustus wished to put an end to the contest. Stanislaus agreed to abdicate, but Charles' consent was required to satisfy the newly raised king. The Swede, "proud though in desolation," merely answered to all the persuasions, "If my friend will not be king, I can soon make another." Stanislaus determined to try what could be effected by a personal interview, and "risking more," says Voltaire, "to abdicate a throne than he had done to ascend it," undertook to travel in disguise through the midst of his enemies to Charles' retreat in Turkey. He stole one evening from the Swedish army which he commanded in Pomerania, and traversing the enemy's lines with a passport under the name of Haran, after many dangers reached Jassy, the capital of Moldavia. He here styled himself a major in Charles' service, not knowing that the king was at that time far from a good understanding with the Porte. On this hint the suspicions of the Turkish officer were awakened, who, being acquainted with the ex-king's person by description, saw through the disguise and arrested him.

[1708-1717 A.D.]

"Tell him," exclaimed the inflexible Swede when he heard of his apprehension, "never to make peace with Augustus; assure him fortune will soon change." This prediction seemed about to be verified, when the Turks, stimulated by the intrigues of the Swedish monarch, took up arms against the Russians, and investing Peter on the banks of the Pruth obliged him to make that famous capitulation in 1711. By this he was bound to withdraw all his troops from Poland, and never interfere in the affairs of that government; besides which, Charles was to be insured an unmolested return to his own kingdom.

Peter was, however, no sooner out of danger than he forgot his oath, and instead of withdrawing his troops from Poland reinforced them. In 1712 great complaints were made about this encroachment, and the czar pretended to countermand them, but still kept them on the confines of Lithuania. In 1714 Charles returned to Sweden, and at the same time Stanislaus, resigning all pretensions to Poland, retired to the little duchy of Zweibrücken in Germany, which was presented to him by the king of Sweden, who possessed it by inheritance. He remained there till he was deprived of it by Charles' death, four years later.

AUGUSTUS IS AGAIN KING

The return of the Swedish monarch was a pretext for retaining the Saxon troops in Poland. But even this excuse did not satisfy the justly discontented Poles; they avenged the insults and ravages of these intruders by the lives of many hundreds of them. This was the declaration of open war between the king's troops and the confederated nobles. Augustus in vain opposed his infuriated subjects, and after his army had been almost annihilated called upon the czar for assistance. This induced the confederates to negotiate, and under the terror of a Russian army peace was concluded between the monarch and his people in 1717.

It was then agreed that the Saxons should leave the kingdom, and this engagement was accordingly kept. At the same time the Polish army was decreased to eighteen thousand men, under the pretence of curbing the influence of the two grand generals. This was a most pernicious step to the independence of Poland, as it confined its defence almost entirely to the *pospolite*, who could never compete with the large standing armies which were now kept up by its neighbours. "Imprudent nation!" exclaims Rulhière,[d] "which allowed itself to be disarmed at the very moment when new dangers were about to threaten it; which almost solely intrusted its defence to the convocations of the *pospolite*, at a time when all the other nations of Europe had discovered the inutility and abandoned the use of that mode of protection!"

In the mean time Peter had obtained all the Livonian territory he aimed at, and was willing to embrace the schemes of the Swedish minister to enter into a treaty with Charles, to re-establish Stanislaus, make a descent on England, and in fact become the arbiter of Europe. The conferences were carried on with the greatest secrecy, but sufficient transpired to make Augustus tremble. His minister, Fleming (with or without his master's concurrence), employed some French miscreants to carry off Stanislaus and bring him prisoner to Dresden. This he thought would be a bar to the inimical designs of the allies. The villains were discovered and taken before the ex-king as assassins, expecting summary punishment; but the beneficent and philosophic Stanislaus reproved them mildly. "What injury have I done you, my

friends?" said he. "And if none, why should you attempt my life? Were I to retaliate I should take away yours, but I forgive you; live and become better." This was acting up to his own aphorism, "We are amply avenged by having the power to pardon," and gives him a stronger claim to the title of beneficent philosopher than all his writings, were they a hundred times more voluminous.

The king of Poland publicly disclaimed all knowledge of the plot, but we must leave his protestation to plead for itself. At that time it had the effect of shifting the onus of censure to Fleming's shoulders, and at any rate the minister was not unjustly scandalised. The death of Charles, in 1718, broke the alliance, and averted the danger which threatened Augustus. Such was the termination of the attack on Livonia; Peter was the only gainer, while the king of Poland had been dethroned, plundered of his treasures in Saxony, and had recovered his crown only by breaking his oath, sacrificing his power, and becoming almost a mere Russian viceroy.

Poland now enjoyed for some years a state of comparative peace, but it seemed likely to be disturbed in 1726 by disputes about Courland. The duchy had been held as a fief of the Poles ever since 1561, under the express condition that when the line of succession was extinct it should revert to Poland. The diet held in this year (1726), taking into consideration the old age of the childish duke—who in fact no longer held the reins of government, having been deprived of them by Anne, who was the niece of Peter the Great and had married the late duke—determined to annex it to the kingdom, and accordingly sent commissioners to divide it into palatinates. But this the Courlanders stoutly resisted, and elected Count Maurice, of Saxony (Marshal Saxe), natural son of Augustus, their duke—an election that pleased neither the Poles nor the Russians, and was set aside, the duchy remaining under the power of Russia till the death of Augustus.

The same diet held a debate on another singular event, which at the time threatened to be of some importance. Nearly two years before this time the Jesuits were making a public procession with the host in the streets of Thorn, and some young scholar of the order insisted that the children who were present should kneel. This they refused to do, being Lutherans, as were most of the inhabitants of the city, and a scuffle ensued. The offending Jesuit was taken into custody, and his order, highly incensed, imperatively demanded his release, which being refused they attacked the citizens, and some blood was shed on both sides. The townspeople, enraged at this breach of their privileges, broke open the Jesuits' college, plundered it, profaned all the objects of worship, and among other impieties mistreated an image of the Virgin.

The Catholics of Poland, fired at the profanation, immediately came to the diet almost infuriated with fanatic zeal. A commission was appointed, with absolute power to examine into the business and punish the impiety. It was in vain the Lutherans pleaded their grievances; the magistrates were capitally condemned for not exerting their authority, seven other citizens suffered the same fate, and numbers were banished or imprisoned. Three persons, accused of throwing the Virgin's image into the fire, lost their right arms, and the whole city was deprived of the freedom of public worship. The persecuted dissidents carried their complaints before all the Protestant princes; and Prussia, Great Britain, and Sweden interested themselves in their behalf. Augustus began to fear the intervention of force; but the threat was not executed, and the poor Lutherans were left to digest their troubles with prayer and patience.

THE CLOSE OF AUGUSTUS' REIGN

The king spent the rest of his reign in attempting to make the crown hereditary, and to stretch its prerogatives. The 31st of January, 1733, ended his eventful life, and gave the Poles another opportunity to save their falling country. The biographer of Augustus makes his funeral oration a series of antitheses. He was like all men in whose minds no one passion has established absolute monarchy over the rest: he rang the changes of pleasure and repentance, sense and folly, inaction and exertion. He kept a sumptuous court; and if the first part of his reign undermined the constitution of Poland, the latter part corrupted its morals. But notwithstanding his luxuries and extravagance, he amassed considerable wealth. It is said that he had collected at Dresden porcelain to the value of twenty-four millions. So fond was he of trumpery of this kind that he gave Frederick William, of Prussia, one of his most dangerous neighbours, his finest regiment of dragoons in exchange for twelve vases. He left his son twelve millions in his treasury, and an army of thirty-three thousand good troops, to purchase or seize the crown of Poland.

The reign of Augustus hastened the decline of the Polish nation by many conspiring causes, nor was it more favourable to the advance of learning; only luxury and sumptuousness were encouraged by this monarch's example. Many learned men, indeed, might be mentioned, but none who had any influence on the public mind. The slothful voluptuousness of the latter part of this reign, which succeeded the anarchy of the commencement, completed the ruin it had begun; and Augustus has left behind him the character of one of the most splendid as well as most athletic sovereigns of Poland, to be balanced against the irretrievable injury he has done both to this kingdom and his electoral dominions. Many wonderful feats of strength are still related of Augustus, such as that he could lift a trumpeter in full armour in the palm of his hand. His immense cuirass and helmet, which are shown even to the present day in the *Rüstkammer*, or armoury of Dresden, bear at least some partial testimony to the truth of these traditions.[b]

THE ACCESSION OF FREDERICK AUGUSTUS II (1733-1763 A.D.)

After passing a severe law against the Lutherans, who were not only deprived of their civil rights but insultingly forbidden to leave their odious country, the diet of convocation resolved that a Piast only should be elected. This exclusion of foreign candidates was intended to open the way for the second elevation of Stanislaus, now father-in-law of Louis XV, who in his peaceful court of Lorraine was too philosophic to be tempted by ambition. Overcome, however, by the French court, and by the pressing entreaties of his former subjects, he reluctantly proceeded to Warsaw, to support by his presence the efforts of his friends. He was received with acclamation, and in the diet of election sixty thousand voices declared him king of Poland.

But the republic had ceased to control her own destinies; her independence had vanished, and she was no longer allowed either to choose her own rulers or to take any other important step without the concurrence of her neighbours. Both Austria and Muscovy had resolved to resist the pretensions of Stanislaus, and to enforce the election of a rival candidate, Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, son of the late king.

An army of Muscovites arrived in the neighbourhood of Warsaw; and at the village of Kamenets, in a wretched inn in the depths of a forest, the party of nobles opposed to the French interests proclaimed Frederick Augustus king of Poland. On the 9th of November the elector left Saxony. At Tarnowitz, on the Silesian frontier, he swore to the *pacta conventa*, and entered triumphant into Cracow, where he and his queen were solemnly crowned. The Muscovite troops pursued the fugitive Stanislaus to Dantzic, where that prince hoped to make a stand until the arrival of the promised succours from France. Though aid arrived from that country, it was too slender to avail him. The bravery of the inhabitants, however, enabled him to withstand a vigorous siege of five months: when the city was compelled to capitulate, he stole from the place, and in disguise reached the Prussian territories after many narrow escapes.

After receiving the oaths of the Dantzickers and assisting at the diet of pacification—the only diet which, during his reign, was not dissolved by the veto—Frederick Augustus appeared to think he had done enough for his new subjects, and abandoned himself entirely to his favourite occupations of smoking and hunting. To business of every description he had a mortal aversion: the government of his two states he abandoned to his minister, Count Brühl. The minister, indeed, strove to resemble him in idle pomp and dissipation, and by that means obtained unbounded ascendency over him; an ascendency, however, which was rather felt than seen, and which he who exercised it had art enough to conceal. The king had not the capacity, or would not be at the pains, to learn the Polish language—another source of discontent to the people. But the forests of Saxony were more favourable to the royal sports than those of Poland; Saxony, therefore, had more of the royal presence.[c]

POLITICAL DECADENCE

From whatever point of view we may consider the condition of Poland during the middle of the eighteenth century, from the political and social or from the general mental and moral point of view, we always gain the impression of an irremediable decay, the germs of which had certainly already existed for a considerable time in the life of the nation and its realm, but which had been completely developed only during the reign of the two Augustuses from the Saxonian family (1697-1763).

After the unhappy times of John Casimir, when the republic was already quite near the danger of being dissolved, it had again under the leadership of John Sobieski shown itself to the world as a power. But even Sobieski's most glorious undertaking, the deliverance of Vienna from the Turks, had remained fruitless. It was like the last brilliant ray of the setting sun; and when this king was lowered into his grave, there were buried with him, if not actually Poland's liberty, of which he used so often and so proudly to boast, at least the national independence and power.

The very beginning of the Saxonian period was characteristic and full of important consequences for the position of Poland in her affairs both at home and abroad. For, on the whole, Frederick Augustus had only obtained his accession to the throne—thanks to his not having spared any money for bribery—to his at once having entered the country with some thousands of gallant troops, and above all to the support of Austria, Russia, and Rome. And as the beginning, so was the continuation. The same powers that had placed him on the throne had also to try to keep him there. Without the victories of

Peter the Great over Charles XII he would hardly have returned to Poland as the ruler, after his abdication in favour of Stanislaus Leszczynski. When he died, the decision in favour of his son was due to Austria and Russia, and especially to the arms of the latter. The nation itself had declared itself by an overwhelming majority in favour of Stanislaus Leszczynski, but abandoned him after a short and powerless resistance because they had, in the first place, no army capable of resisting the well-exercised and disciplined Russian and Saxonian troops, and because, on the other hand, the general summons of the nobility (*Pospolite ruszenil*) did not meet with sufficient sympathy and encouragement. Already during the election of the first Saxonian one heard the words: "They could have enough kings, without shedding their blood for one of them."

The consequence was that as the influence of Russia in Poland increased, the independence of the republic waned. All circumstances, the state of the general European politics as well as the inner conditions of Poland, were favourable for Russia. Austria, united with Russia for the next decade, had no reason to oppose her in Warsaw; France could not do it at first, and could not even wish to do it afterwards, since Louis XV had joined the Austro-Russian alliance against Frederick II.[e]

STATE OF POLAND UNDER AUGUSTUS III

Augustus III, without possessing his father's great qualities, displayed the same generosity. He also, as his father did, forestalled his most stubborn enemies by conferring benefits upon them. In appearance he walked in the same footsteps; he let remain around the throne all the manifestations of civilisation that his father had collected there, but there was nothing inherent in his taste for luxury. It was only through a habit acquired by education that he ruined himself by splendour, without caring for it, by paintings, without knowing anything about them. In the pomp of his court there was no element of gallantry, and the king, of great personal beauty, kept an inviolable fidelity to the queen, his wife, the ugliest princess of her time. But this beauty, so striking in the prince's features at first glance, vanished at the slightest closer inspection; then there appeared an indescribable quality of coarseness; his silent and sad countenance was without character unless it was somewhat stamped with pride. His mind was so lazy and limited that he had never been able to learn the language of his country. His sole passion was for the hunt; and the queen, who never left his side, followed him at it from early dawn in an open chair, braving with him all the inclemencies of the seasons. In this sole and constant occupation he pretended to govern alone the two states of Saxony and Poland, but as a matter of fact all the cares of government were abandoned to a favourite, who was clever enough to make this monarch always believe that he was exercising it himself.

Count Brühl, an indefatigable huntsman because this was a sure means of pleasing his master, an agreeable companion, skilful at all games and sports, a man who had spent his entire life at court and become minister, was never anything else but a courtier. It was not the king's choice that raised Brühl to this high position, but rather his favour, which, growing from day to day without being based on any foundation of merit, let the conduct of affairs fall little by little entirely into the hands of the minister. Never was more servile respect shown a prince than that which Brühl rendered his master with perpetual assiduity, always at his side in the hunting forest, or passing entire

mornings in his presence without saying a word, while the do-nothing prince walked up and down smoking and let his eyes fall on his minister without seeing him. "Brühl, have I any money?" "Yes, sire." It was always the same response. But in order to satisfy the caprices of the prince, which each day were something different, Brühl loaded the state bank of Saxony with more notes than it had funds, and in Poland he auctioned off all the offices of the republic. He brought to the great affairs of general politics in Europe that spirit of underhand intrigue and double dealing that is so often acquired at court; cringing before his master, engaging in society by his grace and gentleness, weak and perfidious in affairs, and always the most superb of men. The excesses of luxury of all kinds that he indulged in would seem exaggerated in a novel, but the truth passes all description. Lucullus, the wonder of the Romans after they had despoiled Greece and Asia, Lucullus, who loaned one day to the managers of some great spectacle five thousand of his coats, would have seemed nearly naked and bare to the Saxon minister. He pretended that this mad magnificence was not his own personal taste, but only seemed to flatter one of his master's foibles. In fact Augustus, attached by indolence to a simple and secluded life, took pride in being served by so fastidious a minister. "Were it not for my profession," said Brühl, "he would let me want for the most necessary things." And this vainest, most superb of men, was nothing in the midst of all the pomp but the vilest of flatterers. For a long time it was never suspected that a secret piety mingled with all a courtier's passions in the minister's soul, but one day two strangers indiscreetly made their way into his inner apartments, and were astonished to see him on his knees, his face to the floor, before a table lighted like a tomb during funeral ceremonies. Brühl got up in great haste and said to the intruders, "After giving my entire day to my temporal master, I must give a few moments to eternity."

Count Brühl, in the first place minister of Saxony, was nobody in Poland, where foreigners were excluded from all offices; but as soon as by his influence over the king's mind he had begun to dispose alone of all favours, he boldly passed himself off as a Pole and found means in a lawsuit purposely raked up to have the court recognise a false genealogy. This judgment became a means for fortune to shower riches and dignities upon him.

The master and favourite had no other political system than one of entire dependence upon Russia. They skilfully seized every occasion to gain the goodwill of that court. Did the emperor smile upon a young man, they were carefully informed of the fact. The riband of Poland had become in some manner the first degree of Russian honours, and the first sign of budding influence at Petersburg. From Warsaw all the news of Russia was faithfully sent to other courts, and for the empire it was like the capital of a distant province. A few Poles grieved at this degradation, but as to make one's own and one's family's fortune had become the universal occupation in this reign, the majority sought favour at its source. They travelled to the court of Russia; the vile intrigues of the Russian courtiers were preserved at Warsaw in anecdotes for the instruction of the young nobles, and as a science useful to the ambitious. Brühl applauded the policy; he believed himself secure by the skill of his negotiations in whatever influence the czarina possessed. The high chancellor Bestuzhev made use of him as a subordinate spy in the general affairs of Europe, and profited by the Saxon minister's deference to sell to him the *Starosties* and Polish offices in opposition to him, and many people have thought that the Russian prime minister had no other design upon Poland than to sustain his credit by these sales.

The king preferred to reside in Dresden rather than in Warsaw, because the forests of his electorate were better adapted for hunting than those of his kingdom, and because, hating all ceremony, he was not obliged to hold court at Dresden, as Polish traditions compelled him to do at Warsaw. It was in Saxony that he maintained troops of French dancers and Italian singers at great expense, and ruined himself in wild prodigality. And as the Polish ministry displayed no energy except in the king's presence, and the diet and council of senators could not meet without the king's convocation, his long absences left the republic in complete inaction. The law which obliged the convocation of a diet every two years brought him back at the eve of this period; and he was always anxious that these assemblies should have a happy issue, because he regarded their success as a proof of the confidence the Poles had given him. But after several stormy sessions, there was always found some member whose opposition compelled the diet to be dissolved, and the king, accustomed to this misfortune, seemed easily consoled when the season was favourable for a return to Saxony.

During the thirty years of this reign the nation assembled always in vain, and the most frivolous pretexts were sufficient for these ruptures. The king of Prussia relates how one day Augustus was trying to dissolve the diet, and his partisans, few in number, not being able to find some apparent motive under which to cover all their evil intentions, the king looked through the Polish laws, and there discovered an ancient regulation forbidding any matters to be considered by artificial light. He wrote to his supporters to get them to prolong some session into the night and have candles brought in. He was obeyed. The candles arrived; great uproar in the assemblage. Some cried that the law was being violated; others that the old order of the diet is changed, that the arbitrary power holds all the means of providing for itself, while in the tumult a nuncio protested against the validity of a diet where the laws were openly broken. Let us imagine the simplest heritage left for some years without master and government; everything would fall to ruins: and one of the greatest kingdoms of Europe remained thirty years without any sort of administration. There existed no legitimate power to look after the collection of taxes and the condition of the troops. The high treasurers enriched themselves from the public funds while the state was poor and in debt. The great generals were powerful, but the republic was defenceless. The great marshals were dreaded, but the police were not maintained, and the chancellors were reproached with signing illegal acts. All large affairs were in confusion. No ministers were sent to foreign powers.

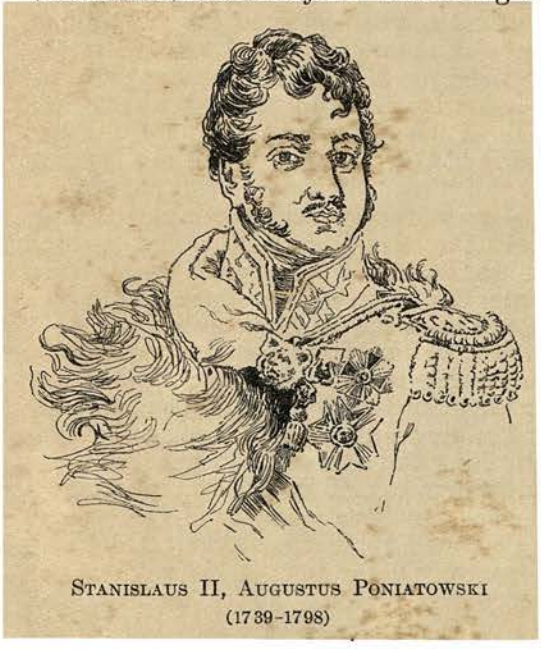
There was one irregularity especially whose fatal results touched everybody's pockets: the mints had been closed in 1685, to await the first session of the estates in order that they might during that interval consult with the great Prussian cities concerning some projected regulation of coinage. But the dissolution of the diets always prevented these regulations from being considered, and the mints still remained unopened. Foreign money, becoming more necessary from day to day, had only an arbitrary circulation, and there were no coins of small value for domestic trade. The republic was unable to remedy the difficulty. The king felt himself sufficiently authorised by the pressing necessity to have Polish coins struck off in Saxony, and in his eagerness to gain by the operation he set neighbouring sovereigns the dangerous example of deteriorating them.

In the midst of a long peace the nation plunged into effeminacy, made a duty of imitating the luxury of the court, and this foolish luxury disguised the true state of the kingdom under an apparent prosperity. The people,

that is to say the slaves, became each day more wretched because the land-owners were compelled to increase their revenues by increase of work, which they put upon the unfortunate beings. The majority of the noblemen, ruined by a vain display of wealth, no longer had either arms or horses, and were not, as in former times, always ready to march to the defence of their country. Henceforth there were no more inspections of the nobility, and whoever would have proposed to re-establish them would have needlessly made himself suspected at court. Thus all the abuses of the strange government were felt at once.[d]

THE PONIATOWSKI VERSUS THE CZARTORYSKI

For ten years two great parties, represented at their head by the greatest families of the land, had quarrelled with one another in Poland—the Poniatowski and the Czartoryski. For a long time the latter had maintained secret relations with the royal house, and enjoyed a fulness of royal favour. With a sufficient insight in regard to the defects of the organism of the state, the leader of this house indeed offered his hand as a strength to the royal power. By the formation of a confederation, with the king at the head, the way would be made smooth for laying the foundation of healthier conditions. Already a hundred and thirty senators had joined together, when, by the advent of the count De Broglie, the whole undertaking gave way (1752). The influence and importance of this family were not undervalued in Vienna, and Augustus III gave his support to secure the same to the well-meant council. Later on, personal differences with the all-powerful minister Brühl turned the Czartoryski into the camp of the opposition. The horn of plenty of royal favour now fell into the lap of the Poniatowski.



STANISLAUS II, AUGUSTUS PONIATOWSKI
(1739-1798)

During the last years of the reign of Augustus III, the conviction of the sad and almost inconsolable state of the republic was deeply rooted in wide circles, and the necessity was recognised for a great reform. Only about the means the views differed. The Poniatowski and their adherents wished a regeneration of the nation from within, and with that still the preservation of freedom, of which the republic was so proud. It is not yet perceptible in what manner this so-named patriotic party thought to attain this great aim; and there would indeed be great difficulty in proving and in significantly showing that the work of reform had made itself clear.

Since the rupture between the Czartoryski and the royal house the leader directed his attention to Russia, with whose help he hoped to abrogate wrongs, and also in the future to be enabled, according to his thought, to direct the choice of a king.[f]

RUSSIAN MACHINATIONS

Nothing could more clearly prove the absolute dependence of the republic on the northern empire than the fact that though Frederick Augustus, in virtue of his rights over Courland, permitted his third son, Charles, whom the states of that duchy had ventured to elect for their sovereign, to accept the precarious dignity, his timidity was absolutely ludicrous; nor would he grant the permission until assured that the choice would be agreeable to the empress Elizabeth. But Peter III, the successor of that princess, refused to acknowledge Duke Charles, who, in fear of the consequences, precipitately fled from Courland to await the course of events. In his contempt for the republic, the new czar would not even condescend to acquaint Frederick Augustus with his accession. So completely did he consider Poland within his grasp, and in reality a province of his empire—however his policy might induce him to permit a little longer the show of national independence—that, in a treaty with the Prussian monarch, he insisted on three great objects: (1) the election of a Piast, and consequently a creature of his own, after the death of Augustus; (2) the protection of the dissidents against the declared will of the diet; and (3) the possession of Courland as a fief of the imperial crown.

St. Petersburg, in short, was the great focus where the rays of Polish intrigue were concentrated, and where the more ambitious natives resorted to obtain, by flattering the imperial confidants, the dignities of the republic. Every intimation, however slight, from the northern metropolis was an imperious obligation on the feeble king and his servile minister; and not on them alone, but on the great body of the nobles, who had lost all sense of the national dishonour, and who transferred their homage from Warsaw to St. Petersburg without shame or remorse. Among these unprincipled Poles, none was more conspicuous than Count Stanislaus Poniatowski, who, in the reign of Elizabeth, formed a criminal intrigue with the grand duchess Catherine; and who, by favour of the connection, was taught to regard the Polish crown as his own. The father of this adventurer had been the confidant of Charles XII in Turkey, and had been singularly favoured by that monarch. "Charles," wrote the archduchess to the old count, "knew how to distinguish your merit; I also can distinguish that of your son, whom I may one day raise, perhaps, above even Charles himself." The confidants of the two lovers had little doubt that, when the grand duchess was seated on the imperial throne, she would contrive to set aside her husband, and bestow both her hand and sceptre on one whom she had resolved to place over the republic. Finally, the Muscovite armies traversed the kingdom, whether to oppose the Germans or the Turks, or to support the plots of their avowed adherents, with perfect impunity, and in contempt of the humble supplications of court and diet.

It must not, indeed, be concealed that the republic had a few true sons, who endeavoured to rouse the nation to a sense of its humiliation and to arm it against the interference of its neighbours. At the head of these was Branicki, grand general of the crown, who belonged to no faction and who aimed only at the redemption of his country. But his efforts could avail little against those of two rival factions, whose dissensions were espoused by the great body of Polish nobles. The court, aided by the Radziwills and the Potockis, laboured to preserve the ancient privileges of the republic—in other words, the abuses which had brought that republic to its present deplorable state; and the Czartoryskis to establish an hereditary monarchy, the trunk of

which would be not Frederick Augustus but their kinsman the young count Poniatowski. The cause of the latter was naturally more acceptable at the court of St. Petersburg, especially after the elevation of Catherine; and the Muscovite generals were ordered to protect it, in opposition to the king, and, if need were, to the whole nation.

Catherine II was no less decisive with respect to Courland. She ordered fifteen thousand of her troops to take possession of the duchy in favour of Biron, who had been exiled by Peter and recalled by her. At a meeting of the senate, indeed, over which the feeble king presided, some members had the boldness to dispute the rights of Biron, and to insist on the restoration of Charles; and, what is still stranger, they prevailed on a majority to adopt the same sentiments. They even resolved to cite the Muscovite governor before the tribunal of their king. But this was no more than the empty menace of cowards, who hoped to obtain by blustering what they dared not attempt by open force. A thundering declaration of the czarina and the movement of a few Muscovite troops towards the frontiers so appalled them that they sought refuge in the obscurity of their sylvan abodes; and the king, with his minister Brühl, precipitately abandoned Poland, never to return. With no less speed did Duke Charles, who had stood a six months' siege by the Muscovite troops, follow that exemplary pair to Dresden. It is true, indeed, that the empress arrested the march of her troops in Lithuania; that she found cause to fear the determined opposition of the lesser nobles; and that she resolved to wait for the king's death before she proceeded to declare the throne vacant and secure the elevation of her former lover: but her purpose was immutable; and if her moderation or policy induced her to delay its execution, she knew her power too well to distrust its eventual accomplishment. However, "to make assurance doubly sure," she sought the alliance of the Prussian king, with whom she publicly arranged a portion of the policy that was afterwards adopted in regard to this doomed nation.

Nothing could be more mortifying to the Czartoryskis than this stroke of policy on the part of the czarina. They had long planned the deposition of Frederick Augustus, and the forcible elevation of their kinsman, and their vexation knew no bounds at the delay thus opposed to their ambitious impatience. The young count, in particular, who had traitorously boasted that the last hour of the king was come, that Poland was about to enter on new destinies, behaved like a madman on the occasion, but he became more tractable on learning the indisposition of Frederick Augustus. The death of that prince restored him to perfect equanimity.

Though under Frederick Augustus Poland entered on no foreign war, his reign was the most disastrous in her annals. While the Muscovite and Prussian armies traversed her plains at pleasure, and extorted whatever they pleased; while one faction openly opposed another, not merely in the diet but on the field; while every national assembly was immediately dissolved by the veto; the laws could not be expected to exercise much authority. They were, in fact, utterly disregarded; the tribunals were derided, or forcibly overturned, and brute force prevailed on every side. The miserable peasants vainly besought the protection of their lords, who were either powerless, or indifferent to their complaints; while thousands expired of hunger, a far greater number sought to relieve their necessities by open depredations. Bands of robbers, less formidable only than the kindred masses congregated under the name of soldiers, infested the country in every direction. Famine aided the devastations of both; the population, no less than the wealth of the kingdom, decreased with frightful rapidity.

THE INTERREGNUM

Though Catherine had long determined on the election of her former lover, she was at first prudent enough to employ address in preference to open force. She had no wish, by her example, to procure the armed interference of Austria —a power which could not regard without alarm the growing preponderance of her empire; and the great Frederick might possibly be no less disposed to preserve Poland independent, as a barrier against her progressive encroachments westward. Her ambassador at Warsaw had orders to repeat her resolution to defend the integrity of the republic; but he was at the same time instructed to say that a Piast only would be agreeable to his sovereign. Who that Piast was, there was no difficulty in surmising; but the count, from his unprincipled manœuvres during the late reign, and still more, perhaps, from the comparative baseness of his extraction, was odious to the whole nation. Here was another obstacle, which required alike great art and unflinching firmness to remove. Entreaties were first to be tried, then remonstrances, next menaces, but actual force only when other means should fail.

In the dietines assembled in each palatinate, to choose the members for the diet of convocation, and to draw up such laws, regulations, and improvements as it was intended to propose in the general diet, the necessity of a radical change in the constitution was very generally expressed. But if the members agreed in this self-evident proposition, they differed widely in every other matter. While one party inclined to the establishment of a hereditary monarchy and the abolition of the veto, another contended for the formation of a government purely aristocratical; a third, with equal zeal insisted that the constitution should only be slightly modified to meet the wants of a new and improved society. All dispute, however, was soon cut short by the united declaration of the Prussian and Muscovite ambassadors, to the effect that their sovereigns would not allow any change at all in the existing system. The Poles now felt that they were slaves.

To a Piast—in other words, a mean dependent on the czarina—Austria opposed the young elector of Saxony, son of the late king. A great number of nobles, on the promise that the freedom of election should be guaranteed by the forces of the empire, and the Muscovites taught to respect the republic, espoused the interests of this candidate; and probably his death was the only event which averted from the country the scourge of war. It was an event so favourable to the views of Muscovy that her triumph was secure. So convinced of this was the sagacious Frederick that he hastened to confirm Catherine in her design, which he offered to support with all his power; and he thereby acquired all the advantages he expected—a confirmation of the favourable treaty he had before made with Peter III. Poniatowski received the riband of the black eagle, which he regarded as an earnest of his approaching elevation.

As the period appointed for opening the diet of convocation drew near, the two allied powers took measures to secure their common object. Forty thousand Prussians were stationed on the Silesian frontier, and ten thousand Muscovites quickly occupied the positions round Warsaw. Their creatures, the Czartoryskis, were active in distributing money with amazing prodigality, and in promising places, pensions, and benefices to all who promoted the success of their kinsman. But on some neither fear nor seduction had any influence: twenty-two senators and forty-five deputies, at the head of whom were the grand hetman and Mokronowski, a Pole zealous for his country's

cause, signed a declaration to the effect that the diet of convocation could not be held so long as foreign troops were present.

On the 7th of May, however, it was opened, but under circumstances deeply humiliating to the nation. The Muscovite troops were posted in the squares, and at the ends of the streets leading to the place of deliberation; while the armed adherents of the Czartoryskis, some thousands in number, had the audacity to occupy not only the avenues to the house, but the halls of the senators and the deputies. Of the fifty senators then in Warsaw, only eight proceeded to the diet, which was to be opened by the aged Count Malachowski, marshal on the occasion. Instead of raising his staff—the signal for the commencement of proceedings—this intrepid man resolutely held it downwards, while his no less courageous companion, Mokronowski, conjured him, in the name of the members who had signed the declaration, not to elevate it as long as the Muscovites controlled the free exercise of deliberation. As the speaker concluded by his veto, a multitude of soldiers, with drawn sabres, rushed towards him. For a moment the tumult was hushed, when the marshal of the diet declared his intention of departing with the symbol of his office. Immediately a hundred armed creatures of the Czartoryskis exclaimed, in a menacing tone, "Raise your staff!" "No," cried Mokronowski, in one still louder; "do no such thing!" Again the soldiers endeavoured to pierce through the crowd of deputies, to lay their victim low, while several voices exclaimed, "Mokronowski, retract your veto; we are no longer masters; you are rushing on certain death!" "Be it so!" replied he, as he folded his arms in expectation of the catastrophe; "I will die free!"

The elevation of his purpose was read in the energy of his look, and could not but strike a deep awe into the assailants, who began to hesitate in their design; especially when they reflected that their bloody deed must bring inevitable disgrace on their cause, and perhaps rouse all Europe against them. As the marshal refused to raise his staff, he was called on to resign it into other hands. "Never!" replied this noble octogenarian: "you may cut off my hand, or you may take my life; but as I am a marshal elected by a free people, so by a free people only can I be deposed. I wish to leave the place!" He was surrounded on every side by ferocious soldiers and deputies resolved to prevent his egress. Seeing him thus violently detained, Mokronowski exclaimed, "Gentlemen, if a victim is wanted, behold me; but respect age and virtue!" At the same moment, the younger of these heroic patriots forcibly opened a way for the marshal, whom he succeeded in conducting to the gate. The undaunted deportment of both seemed to have made its due impression on the members, who opposed no further obstacle to their departure. As they passed through the streets, however, they were exposed to new dangers; and there is little doubt that Mokronowski would have been sacrificed, had not a man, whose name history conceals, closely followed his heels, exclaiming at every step, "Make way for General Gadomski!"

But this admirable display of firmness led to no corresponding result. Though two hundred members of the diet had resolved to have no share in this lawless force, and left Warsaw for their respective habitations, those who remained—the creatures of Muscovy and the Czartoryskis, scarcely eighty in number—were but the more encouraged to betray the liberties of their country. Another marshal was speedily elected, and measures passed in this illegal assembly alike injurious to freedom and tranquillity. The dissidents were deprived of the few remaining rights left them by former persecutors; the Prussians were also forbidden to assemble at the diets, otherwise than by deputies—and these to be few in number. No folly, surely, ever equalled

[1763–1768 A.D.]

that of men who, in such a desperate situation, laboured to alienate an important portion of the people from the government, at a time when the most perfect harmony and the closest union were required to avert the threatened destruction of the republic. In some other things they exhibited a little common sense. They abolished the veto, making the success of the measures proposed depend on the majority, not on the unanimity, of suffrages; and they recognised in the elector of Brandenburg the long disputed title of the king of Prussia.[1] Finally, the diet of election opened August 27th, and on the 7th of the following month Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski was declared king of Poland.

STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS

The first acts of Stanislaus were almost sufficient to efface the shame of his elevation. Not only were the abolition of the veto confirmed and the arbitrary powers of the grand marshals and hetmans greatly restrained, but enlightened regulations were introduced into the commerce of the country and the finances of the state; the arts and sciences were encouraged, especially such as related to war. The dissidents, however, could not obtain the rights which they claimed, notwithstanding the representations of the Muscovite ambassador, whose sovereign was ever on the alert to protect the discontented and to urge their confederations. But the czarina was in no disposition to see her imperial will thwarted; her attachment to the king had long been weakened by new favourites, and she could not behold, without anxiety, the changes introduced into the constitution of the Poles—changes which, she was sagacious enough to foresee, must, if permitted to take effect, entirely frustrate her views on the republic. Her ambassador declared to the diet that these innovations must be abandoned and the ancient usages restored.

The assembly was compelled to give way, especially as numerous confederations were formed by the small nobles, no doubt in the pay of Catherine, for the same object. The conviction felt by the humblest member of the equestrian order that he by his single protest could arrest the whole machine of government was a privilege too gratifying to self-love to be abandoned without reluctance. Hence Muscovy had little difficulty in nullifying measures which, however advantageous and even necessary to the republic, were less prized by the majority of the nobles than their own monstrous immunities.

It must not, however, be supposed that this dictatorial interference of Muscovy was admitted without opposition. In the diet of 1767–1768 it was courageously denounced by several senators, especially by two bishops and two temporal barons; but the fate of these men was intended to deter all others from following the example: they were arrested by night, and conveyed into the heart of Muscovy. Liberty of discussion had long been forbidden by the haughty foreigners; but, as mere menaces had produced little effect, to the astonishment of all Europe, unblushing violence, and that too of the most odious description, was hereafter to be employed. It was now evident that nothing less than the entire subjugation of Poland, than its reduction to a province of the empire, was resolved. The forcible removal of these heroic champions of independence was to secure the triumph of the ancient anarchy.

[1] They also recognised the sovereign of Muscovy as "empress of all the Russias," thereby supporting the claim of the czarina to the dominion over Red Russia and the other Russian provinces possessed by Poland.

THE FIRST PARTITION OF THE REPUBLIC (1772 A.D.)

But however appalling the fate of these men, it had not the effect designed by its framers: it roused the patriotic and the bold to a more determined and effectual opposition. A confederation of a few influential nobles was formed at Bar, a little town in Podolia, of which the avowed object was to free the country from foreign influence, and to dethrone the poor creature who so dishonoured the nation. At the same time the Turks declared war on the czarina. A memorable struggle ensued, which during four years desolated the fairest provinces of the republic. But unassisted patriotism, however determined, could do little with the veteran armies of Russia; the small bands of the natives were annihilated one by one. An attempt of the confederates to carry off the king by violence did no good to their cause. Finally, the Turks were unsuccessful, the Muscovites everywhere triumphant; circumstances which led to a result hitherto unprecedented in history—the partition of the republic by the three neighbouring powers.

It is not difficult to fix the period when this abominable project was first entertained, or with what power it originated. Notwithstanding the cautious language of the king of Prussia in his memoirs, there is reason enough for inferring that he was its author, and that the subject was first introduced to Catherine, in 1770, by his brother Prince Henry. More than twelve months, however, elapsed before the two potentates finally arranged the limits of their respective pretensions; and although they agreed, without difficulty, on guaranteeing each other's claims, would Austria calmly witness the usurpation? If the Poles themselves were not easy to reduce, what hope of their subjugation would remain, should they be supported by the troops of the empire? That power must be permitted to share the spoil. Unscrupulous, however, as Catherine often was, she refused to be the first to mention such a project to the court of Vienna. Frederick had less shame. After some hesitation, the Austrian court acceded to the alliance. The treaty of partition was signed at St. Petersburg, August 5th, 1772. It must not be supposed that these monstrous usurpations were made without some show of justice. Both Austria and Prussia published elaborate expositions of their claims on the countries invaded. In neither case have these claims either justice or reason to support them.

AN ACCESS OF POLISH PATRIOTISM

The powers thus allied were not satisfied with the success of their violence; they forced a diet to sanction the dismemberment of the country. The great body of the deputies, however, refused to attend this diet of 1773; the few who did were chiefly creatures of Russia, the mercenary betrayers of the national independence. But among these few, nine or ten showed considerable intrepidity in defence of their privileges; none so much as Thaddeus Reyten, deputy of Novogrudok, who from incorruptible, daring integrity has been surnamed the Polish Cato. As unanimity could not be expected, wherever one true patriot was to be found, the foreigners laboured to change the diet into a confederation, where the great question might be decided by a majority of votes. To prevent this was the great end of the patriots: each party endeavoured to produce the election of a marshal from among themselves; since the powers with which that officer was invested made his support or opposition no slight object.

THE DEPUTY REYTEN AT THE DIET OF WARSAW

(From the painting by Matejko, in the Imperial Art Museum, Vienna)

[1773-1778 A.D.]

Corrupted as were a great number of the members, they could not tamely see one Poninski, a creature of Russia, forced on them, and they exclaimed that Reyten should be their marshal. Poninski immediately adjourned the diet to the following day, and retired into the king's apartments. Reyten also, after exhorting his countrymen to firmness, declared the sitting adjourned. Thus passed the first day. Throughout the night the gold of the three ambassadors was lavishly distributed, and more traitors made. The following day both marshals resorted to the hall of assembly; but as neither would give way, nothing was done, and the sitting was again adjourned. Seeing no prospect of unanimity, Poninski drew up the act of confederation at his own hotel, and sent it to Stanislaus to be signed. The king replied that he could not legally sign it without the consent of his ministers and senators. The menaces of the ambassadors, however, soon compelled the weak creature to accede to the confederation; but that illegal body was debarred from the hall of deliberations by the intrepid Reyten, who, with four companions, persisted in keeping possession of this sanctuary until he saw the confederation held in the open air. As longer opposition, where the very shadow of law was disregarded, would be useless, he returned to his own residence, with the melancholy consolation of reflecting that he was almost the only one who had withstood the torrent of intimidation or corruption. After his departure the partition treaty was ratified, and a permanent council was established, which, under the influence of the Russian ambassador, governed king and republic.

During the few following years Poland presented the spectacle of a country exhausted alike by its own dissensions and the arms of its enemies. The calm was unusual, and would have been a blessing could any salutary laws have been adopted by the diets. Many such, indeed, were proposed, the most signal of which was the emancipation of the serfs; but the very proposition was received with such indignation by the selfish nobles, that Russian gold was not wanted to defeat the other measures with which it was accompanied —the suppression of the veto, and the establishment of an hereditary monarchy. The enlightened Zamoyski, who had drawn up a code of laws which involved this obnoxious provision, was near falling a sacrifice to his patriotic zeal.

The Diet of 1788

But what no consideration of justice or policy could effect was at length brought about by the example of the French. In the memorable diet which opened in 1788, and which, like the French constitutional assembly, declared itself permanent, a new constitution was promulgated, was solemnly sanctioned by king and nobles, and was enthusiastically received by the whole nation. It reformed the vices of the old constitution—offered a new existence to the burghers and peasants—destroyed all confederations, with the fatal veto, and declared the throne hereditary in the house of Saxony. It had, however, two great faults: it limited the royal authority, so as to make the king a mere cipher, and it came too late to save the nation. The elector of Saxony refused to accept the crown, unless the royal prerogatives were amplified, and Catherine resolved to destroy both it and the republic. The king of Prussia, indeed, announced his entire satisfaction with the wholesome changes which had been introduced, and pretended that he had nothing so much at heart as the welfare of the nation and the preservation of a good understanding with it; but he renewed his alliance with the czarina, the basis of which was a second partition of the republic!

THE SECOND PARTITION (1793 A.D.)

The first object of Catherine was to form the leading discontented Poles into a confederation to destroy the new constitution, and to call in her assistance to re-establish the ancient laws. The confederation of Targowitz struck the nation with terror, but inspired the bold with more ardour. Resistance was unanimously decreed, and the king was invested with dictatorial powers for the national defence. He even promised to take the field in person, and triumph or fall with his people. Yet, in August, 1792, a very few weeks after this ebullition of patriotism, he acceded to the infamous confederation, ordered his armies to retreat, and to leave the country open to the domination of the Russian troops. His example constrained all who had property to lose; since all preferred the enjoyment of their substance under arbitrary government to independence with poverty or exile. The Russian troops entered the kingdom and restored the ancient chains; the Prussian king followed the example, and began his second career of spoliation by the reduction of Dantzic. A diet was assembled at Grodno, but none were admitted as members except such as had opposed the constitution of 1791—none, in fact, but the slaves of the czarina. The feeble Stanislaus was compelled to attend it. It was converted into a diet of confederation, the better to attain the ends for which it was convoked; yet some of the members were intrepid enough to protest against the meditated encroachments on the territories of the republic; nor did they desist until several were arrested, and the remainder threatened with Siberia. The Russian troops, which had hitherto occupied the approaches to the hall of assembly, and had exercised a strict surveillance over every suspected person, were now introduced into this sanctuary of the laws.[c]

Soon the Targowitz confederates were to become aware that they had been the tools of foreign covetousness, and that the empress had demanded the re-establishment of the old condition with all abuses and perversity, only so that on the ground of the dissension, venality, and party rage of the Polish nobles she could attain her egoistic aims more surely. When at the entry of the Russian army Catherine sought to awaken the belief that the republic of Poland would be maintained in its integrity, she only wished to keep down the covetousness of the neighbouring powers. For there is no doubt that from the beginning she had planned the union of the two provinces of Volhinia and Podolia to the Russian empire, and had thought to join the remaining lands to a vassal state under Russian sovereignty.

The position and inclination of the land after the victory of the Targowitz confederates seemed favourable towards the carrying out of this plan. She thought that Prussia and Austria could therefore get their indemnification at the expense of France on the other side of the Rhine. It was only when the German arms in the west did not obtain the success hoped for, and it was feared that the two neighbouring states would demand their share in the booty and indemnification for their arduous efforts with the sword against the common enemy of monarchical principles, that she gave thought to a second partition such as she had suggested formerly in a confidential note to Prince Subow.

The joy of the Poles over the victory of the French and the unconcealed hopes of the assistance of the old friend made the empress anxious; it was only in the union of the three Eastern powers that she believed herself to have a firm guarantee against the propagation of revolutionary ideas as well as

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against the ingratitude and thoughtlessness of the Polish people. At least she expressed herself in this strain to Bulgakow's successor, the new ambassador Sievers. So as to have a quiet and not dangerous neighbour in Poland, she wrote to him that it must be placed in a state of complete impotency; for this purpose she recommended him to be prudent and firm. Count Sievers took the hint and acted accordingly. Without being initiated into the secret plans of the Petersburg court, he knew how to turn the commands and instructions of the empress to good account.

The Targowitz confederates, who under the protection of the Russian empress thought to rule the re-established republic in the old manner, and whose leader, Felix Potocki, had hopes of winning the crown, from all sorts of signs expected the approaching destiny, and when the Prussians, after having formed an armed union with Russia, marched into the western borderland, the confederates fell into great dismay. They reminded the empress that the Russian ambassador had promised the integrity of the republic, but received the answer that Bulgakow had done that of his own accord; Poland was a conquered land and must await its fate.

Meanwhile the Russians remained in Volhinia and Podolia, whilst the Prussians took possession of the provinces in the Vistula, and after a bloody fray compelled Dantzic to surrender. At the same time the two allied states declared that it was necessary to confine Poland within narrow limits so as to suppress the extravagance of freedom which had penetrated into the republic from France, and to preserve the neighbouring states from every contagion of the democratic Jacobinism.

At the instigation of the Petersburg cabinet, a diet was appointed at Grodno in the spring by the reinstalled permanent council. The agents of the empress now adopted the usual course for obtaining suitable deputies for the meeting.

The Russian troops under the haughty General Igelström, and still more the sums of money by which Count Sievers operated the favours and promises which he granted or held in view, did not fail to do their work. The ambassador kept a list of noble persons, with notes as to the price at which their votes could be obtained. Thus it came about that mostly "bribed people" were sent by the legislative assembly as deputies to Grodno.

On the 27th of June, 1793, the diet was opened and was declared confederate, so that consent was not required for the resolutions. The proposal of a deputy that ambassadors should be sent to the European courts, especially Vienna, so as to appeal for their intercession and help, and that the sitting should be adjourned till their return, was rejected, although even King Stanislaus agreed to the proposal, and then, according to the wish of the Russian ambassador, chose a committee of thirty-one members whom Sievers had previously made known to his partisans. That under such circumstances the demand of Russia would meet with no obstinate resistance could be foreseen. Both parties had often enough declared that, relying on the magnanimity and benevolence of the empress, they entirely gave themselves up to her will. By acceding to her wishes the deputies hoped to put an end to the second treaty of partition, and to deprive Prussia, whom they hated with national antipathy and by whom they considered themselves betrayed, of its share. And indeed things did not seem favourable for the claims of the Berlin court.

The Austrian government, then under the leadership of Thugut, with envy and jealousy saw the increase of power Prussia would obtain through the Polish acquisitions, and sought to postpone the partition business until the

end of the French war. We shall soon see what a laming effect the proceedings on the Vistula had on the passage of arms taking place at the same time on the Rhine.

How could the two great German powers, who in the one place went hand in hand together and in the other were working against one another, obtain satisfactory results and success at arms! In Petersburg irresolution and reservation prevailed. Whilst the cession of the Ukrainian and Lithuanian provinces was imperiously requested and obtained from the diet, the Prussian demands were upheld with little energy. The wish was expressed by lovers of rank and ambitious Polish nobles and Lithuania itself, that the empress and her favourite, Subow, would take the entire empire under their protection and make no further partition. The electoral noble, embittered that Duke Peter Biron, to whom the father Ernest John had left the government in 1769, granted the municipality further rights and rendered the acquisition of feudal lands available to the citizens, joined those equal to him in Poland in the same offer. The attempt almost meant interference with the autocrat. All exerted themselves to take up the yoke of Russia so as to be all the more certain of satisfying their own passions and interests. Catherine did not refuse to try and separate the cause of Russia from that of Poland; her ambassador was directed to appear only as a "just and impartial mediator" between Poland and Russia and to "proceed with moderation." Sievers demanded more money in case the empress should desire to "increase her intentions" towards Poland.

Thus the affair dragged on for weeks; the committee of the diet sought evasion and the Russian ambassador only gave an apparent support. It was only when Prussia, after the reconquest of Mainz, made preparations to turn its arms towards the East, that the Russian empress thought it advisable, so as to avoid warlike developments, to enter into the joint liability of the treaty of partition, and now Sievers received instructions to dispose the Poles towards it, and with earnestness to accomplish the negotiations. Then followed the famous "silent sitting" of the diet at Grodno. After having locked the hall under pretext of a proposed attempt on the king, and surrounded the castle with soldiers, the ambassador compelled the assembly to authorise the committee to sign the treaty of partition with Russia drawn up by himself; then when new difficulties were raised, the first violent measure was followed by another.

After four deputies, who had especially distinguished themselves in the opposition against Prussia, had been arrested in Grodno by Russian soldiers and taken away as prisoners, Sievers had the palace again surrounded by soldiers, and compelled the diet, assembled under the presidency of the king in the closed hall, to listen to and grant the demands of Prussia. When a deep silence reigned over all and no vote for or against was heard, finally, after midnight, the deputy Count Ankwicz declared that "silence was consent." The marshal to the diet then asked three times of those assembled in the hall, "Does the diet authorise the commission to ratify the treaty with Prussia unconditionally?"

As all again remained silent, he declared the resolution as unanimously agreed.

The scene would indeed have been great and tragically sublime, as it has often been represented, had not later discoveries proved that the whole thing was an understood comedy; that the deputies, so as to keep up an appearance before the people, had previously arranged the "silence" and had received their reward for it in ringing gold. Ankwicz and Bielinski received a con-

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tinual income from Russia; the protest which some deputies had raised against the force used did not prevent the majority of the members of the diet from taking part in the festivities and banquets, by which the Prussian and Russian ambassadors celebrated the fortunate ending to their work of pacification.

"The play in Grodno," remarks a historian of the present, "which for so long was considered an historical tragedy, was really only a great piece of intrigue."

By the second treaty of partition Russia received the fertile province of east Poland, over 4,500 square miles with more than three million inhabitants; Prussia, besides the townships of Dantzic and Thorn, the provinces of Posen, Gnesen, Kalish, and other provinces of Great Poland, an increase of land united to South Prussia "with its remaining possessions of more than a million inhabitants and 1,000 square miles."

Scarcely a third of its former district remained to the republic of Poland. And so as to rob the last traces of independence from these poor remains and their impotent king, a perpetual council was reinstated, a new treaty formed with Russia by which the Poles could introduce no alterations into the administration without the permission of the empress, and form no union or treaties with any strange power, and the Russian troops were to have the right of invading the kingdom at all times. So that the treaty should appear as the unanimous agreement of the whole nation, those deputies who could not or would not accept it were induced by money to keep away from the diet. Thus the "Everlasting Union" took place, October 14th, 1793.

From this time on the "Illustrious Republic" of Poland became a complete Russian vassal state, in which the word of Catherine's ambassadors was of more value than that of the king.

Lelewel says, "Stanislaus Augustus suffered all mortification, all humiliation, and all insults. Susceptible like all weak hearts, he wept over the republic, and instead of taking decisive steps he gave himself up to childish complaints."[g]

THE REVOLT OF THE PATRIOTS

The Poles have a proverb, "You may strip a Pole to his shirt, but if you attempt to take his shirt he will regain all." Although they have not precisely verified this, they seem always to have kept it in their eye as a principle of action; they have always submitted in the first instance to the greatest aggressions with wonderful indifference and docility, but have generally made the most determined resistance to the finishing act of tyranny. "The proud Poles" might be expected to find the yoke of subjugation more galling than any other nation in the world; it was still a country of nobles, men whose only business was to rule, and cherish lofty feelings. Those who were too devoted to their liberty to stay to witness their country's oppression were now wandering outcasts in foreign lands, but wherever they went they carried with them hearts which still yearned for their homes, although they could not find any enjoyment in them without independence. Dresden and Leipsic were the chief places of refuge for these patriots, among whom Potocki, Kollontay, Malachowski, Mostowski, and Kosciuszko were the most conspicuous. They were not, however, willing to sacrifice the lives of their countrymen in rash and useless struggles, but waited for a favourable juncture to unsheathe the sword once more against their oppressors. But their fellow patriots in Poland, who were feeling more keenly the pains of tyranny, were more impatient and obliged them to hasten their plans, "and thus," says one who was enlisted among

them, "they left to Providence the issue of the most rash enterprise that could be conceived." The design was first formed at Warsaw, and the revolution regularly devised a commission of four persons forming the active body. Their agents were spread all over the kingdom; the plot was speedily maturing, and would no doubt have become general had not the explosion been forestalled.

Igelström, who had succeeded Sievers, and was invested with plenary power, insisted on the immediate reduction of the Polish army to fifteen thousand men. At this time it consisted of about thirty thousand, divided into small bodies, scattered in different parts of the kingdom under the surveillance of the Russian troops. The permanent council was obliged to obey the mandate, and issued the orders. This was the signal for throwing off the galling yoke. A strict correspondence had been carried on between the Poles abroad and their brother patriots in Poland. Cracow was fixed on as the point of junction, and unanimous consent placed the noble Kosciuszko at the head of the confederacy. The patriots of Warsaw had sent two emissaries, in September, 1793, to this great man, who had retired to Leipsic, and he then commenced communications with Ignatius Potocki and Kollontay. Not satisfied with report, Kosciuszko went to the frontier of Poland, that he might ascertain the state of feeling; he then forwarded his companion Zayonczek to Warsaw, where he stayed ten days undiscovered. His report was that "the members of the conspiracy were zealous, but too enthusiastic; that their only connection with the army was through Madalinski, Dzialynski, and a few subalterns." Kapustas, however, a banker of Warsaw, made himself very instrumental in preparing the minds of the people for the grand attempt proposed; and Madalinski pledged himself to risk all if they attempted to oblige him to disband his brigade.

The approach of such a man as Kosciuszko to the frontier could not be kept secret. While Zayonczek was at Warsaw, Kosciuszko had an interview with Wodzicki, commander of two thousand troops, near Cracow, and the circumstance came to the ears of a Russian colonel stationed there, but fortunately Kosciuszko was apprised of the event, and, to lull suspicion, immediately retired to Italy.

The arrival of Stanislaus and the Russian ambassador at Warsaw from Grodno was the signal for fresh persecution. Arrests daily took place, and Mostowski, one of the chief senators, was imprisoned. About this time Zayonczek returned from Dresden, and the king being aware of it, and knowing he was one of the emigrants, suspected his design, and informed the Russian minister, in consequence of which the patriot was ordered to leave the kingdom. Madalinski was the first to draw the sword of rebellion. He was stationed at Pultusk, about eight leagues from Warsaw, with seven hundred cavalry; and on receiving the order to disband the corps, he refused, and declared it was impossible till their pay, which was two months in arrears, was advanced. After this, which occurred on the 15th of March, 1794, he set out for Cracow, having previously traversed the new Prussian territory, made several prisoners, and exacted contributions.

KOSCIUSZKO NAMED DICTATOR

Kosciuszko was aware of this bold step, and, though he would probably have advised more caution, knew the die was cast, and that it was now too late to debate. He hastened from Saxony, reached Cracow on the night of

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the 23rd of March, where Wodzicki, with a body of four hundred men, was ready to receive him, and on the following day was proclaimed generalissimo. The garrison and all the troops at Cracow took the oath of allegiance to Kosciuszko, and a deed of insurrection was drawn up, by which this great man was appointed dictator, in imitation of the Roman custom, in great emergencies. His power was absolute; he had the command of the armies, and the regulation of all affairs political and civil. He was commissioned, however, to appoint a national council, the choice being left to his own will. He was also empowered to nominate a successor, but he was to be subordinate to the national council.

Seldom before was confidence so fully and so unscrupulously reposed by a nation in a single individual; and never were expectations better grounded than in the present instance. Thaddeus Kosciuszko was born of a noble, but not very illustrious, Lithuanian family, and was early initiated in the science of war at the military school of Warsaw. In his youth his affections were firmly engaged to a young lady, the daughter of the marshal of Lithuania, but it was his fate to see his love crossed, and his inamorata married to another, Prince Lubomirski. He then went to France, and on his return applied to Stanislaus for a military appointment, but was refused because he was a favourite of Adam Czartoryski, whom Stanislaus hated. Kosciuszko sought to dispel his disappointment in the labours of war. The British colonies of America were then throwing off the yoke of their unnatural mother-country—their cause was that of justice and liberty, and one dear to the heart of a young, proud-spirited Pole. Kosciuszko served in the patriotic ranks of Gates and Washington, and was appointed aide-de-camp to the latter great general. When the struggle in the New World was crowned with success, he returned to his own country, where he found an equally glorious field for his exertions. He held the rank of major-general under Joseph Poniatowski in the campaign of 1792, to which office he had been raised by the diet, and we have already seen what a glorious earnest he then gave of what was to be expected from him, had not his ardour been checked by the king's timidity and irresolution.

VICTORIES OF KOSCIUSZKO

The first acts of the dictator were to issue summonses to all the nobles and citizens; to impose a property-tax, and make all the requisite arrangements which prudence dictated with regard to the commissariat of his little army. On the 1st of April he left Cracow at the head of about four thousand men, most of whom were armed with scythes, and marched in the direction of Warsaw, to encounter a body of Russians more than thrice their own number, which he understood were ordered against them by Igelström.

The patriots encountered the enemy on the 4th of April, near Raclawicé, a village about six or seven Polish miles[1] to the northeast of Cracow. The battle lasted nearly five hours, but victory declared in favour of the Poles; three thousand Russians being killed, and many prisoners, eleven cannon, and a standard taken. This success confirmed the wavering patriots, and accelerated the development of the insurrection throughout the kingdom. In vain did the king issue a proclamation, by order of Igelström, denouncing the patriots as the enemies of the country, and directing the permanent council to commence legal proceedings against them; the tame submission of these dependents of

[1] A Polish or German mile is nearly equal to two French leagues, of twenty-five to a degree.

Igelström only served to increase the irritation of the patriots. The state of Poland is thus described by the Russian minister himself, in a letter of the 16th of April, addressed to the secretary of war at Petersburg, and intercepted by the Poles:

"The whole Polish army, which musters about eighteen thousand strong, is in complete rebellion, excepting four thousand, who compose the garrison of Warsaw. . . . The insurrection strengthens every moment, its progress is very rapid, and its success terrifying. I am myself in expectation of seeing the confederation of Lublin advance, and I have no hope but in God and the good cause of my sovereign. Lithuania will not fail, certainly, to follow the example, etc."

On the same day Igelström ordered the permanent council to arrest above twenty of the most distinguished persons, whom he named. He also issued his orders to the grand general to disarm the Polish garrison of Warsaw. The 18th of April was the appointed day, as the most favourable to the design, since it was a festival, Easter eve, and most of the population would be at mass. Strong guards were to be stationed at the church doors; the Russian troops were to seize the powder magazines and arsenal, and the garrison were then to be immediately disarmed. In case of resistance, the Cossacks received the villainous orders to set fire to the city in several places and carry off the king. The design, however, fortunately transpired on the very same day that it was formed. Kilinski, a citizen of Warsaw, discovered the plan, and informed the patriots that Russians, in Polish uniforms, were to form the guards which, on the festivals, are stationed at the churches. In confirmation of his account he assured them that one of his neighbours, a tailor, was at work on the disguises. A private meeting of the patriots immediately took place, in which it was determined to anticipate it by unfurling the standard of insurrection on the 17th. The precipitancy of the plot did not admit of much organisation; the only concerted step was to seize the arsenal, which was to be the signal for the insurrection.

At four in the morning a detachment of Polish guards attacked the Russian picquet, and obtained possession of the arsenal and the powder magazine, and distributed arms to the populace. A most obstinate and bloody battle took place in the streets of Warsaw, which continued almost without intermission during two days. But notwithstanding the superiority in number of the Russian troops, amounting to nearly eight thousand, the patriots were victorious. This glorious success was not obtained without much bloodshed; above two thousand two hundred of the enemy were killed, and nearly two thousand taken prisoners. The most sanguinary affray took place before Igelström's house, which was defended with four cannon and a battalion of infantry. But nothing could withstand the impetuosity of the Poles; Igelström narrowly escaped to Krasinski's house, where he made offers to capitulate. The king exhorted the people to suspend their attack; in the pause, while the patriots were expecting Igelström's submission, he escaped and fled to the Prussian camp, which was near Warsaw. But the patriotic spirit of the Poles on these glorious days was unalloyed by a particle of selfish or dishonest feeling; in obedience to a proclamation demanding the restitution even of this lawful plunder of Igelström's house, and issued three days after the event, all the bank notes were brought back, and even the sterling money to the amount of 95,000 ducats of gold. Many striking instances of disinterestedness were elicited by this proclamation, but the following must not be passed over in the crowd. A private soldier presented himself at the treasury with 1,000 ducats of gold which had fallen into his hands, and for a long time

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refused any reward for his honesty; it was with extreme reluctance that he accepted even a ducat, repeating that he found all the reward he desired in the pleasure of serving his country and performing his duty.

On the 17th the people crowded to the castle, where they found General Mokronowski and Zakrzewski, who had formerly been president of the city under the constitution of the 3rd of May. The latter was reinstated in his post by unanimous acclamation, and the general was appointed governor. Mokronowski was one of the old body of patriots, and had signalised himself in the campaign of 1792. They established a provisional executive council, consisting of twelve persons besides themselves. The council declared at their first meeting that they subscribed without reservation to the act of insurrection of Cracow; they also sent a deputation to the king to testify their respect to him, but at the same time prudently expressed their intention of obeying the orders of none but Kosciuszko. The dictator immediately ordered all the inhabitants of Warsaw to lay down their arms at the arsenal to prevent any disturbances.

The Lithuanians did not long delay to obey the call of their Polish brethren: on the night of the 23rd of April Jasinski, with three hundred soldiers and some hundred citizens, attacked the Russian garrison at Vilna, and, after a repetition of the scene of carnage at Warsaw, were left masters of the city.

THE TIDE TURNS AGAINST THE PATRIOTS

Fortune, however, was not uniformly favourable to the good cause. A body of nearly forty thousand Prussians entered the palatinate of Cracow and effected a junction with the Russians near Szczekociny, and the king of Prussia arrived in a few days to head them in person. Kosciuszko advanced with sixteen thousand regular troops and about ten thousand peasants to the defence of Cracow; and, being ignorant that the enemy were reinforced by the Prussians, found himself engaged with a force double his own. The engagement of Szczekociny took place on the 6th of June: the Poles lost about a thousand men, but made their retreat in good order, without being pursued. Kosciuszko, in announcing this affair to the supreme council, says: "We have sustained a trifling loss, compared with what we have caused the enemy. We have effected our retreat in good order, after a cannonade of three hours." Another body of the patriots suffered a similar defeat near Kulm, three days after; and to complete the climax of misfortune, the city of Cracow fell into the hands of the Prussians on the 15th. These untoward events, following in such rapid succession, began to depress the spirits of the Poles; and the violent and seditious exclaimed that these reverses were caused by traitors, and were greatly to be attributed to the negligence of the government in not punishing the numerous individuals who crowded the prisons. Warsaw threatened to exhibit a revival of the bloody deeds of the Mountain butchers of the French revolution. On the 27th of June a young, hot-headed demagogue inflamed the passions of the rabble with a bombastic harangue on the treachery to which he ascribed the recent reverses, and urged the necessity of checking it by making an example of the persons now in custody. On the following day they went in a crowd to the president to demand the immediate execution of the unfortunate prisoners, and being refused, they broke open the prisons and actually hanged eight persons. This disgraceful and almost indiscriminate butchery was with difficulty stopped by the authorities. Every true patriot lamented deeply this blot on the

glory of their revolution, and none more than the humane and upright Kosciuszko. "See," said he, "what tragic scenes have passed at Warsaw, almost before my eyes! The populace have indulged in unpardonable excesses, which I must punish severely. The day before yesterday (the 28th) will be an indelible stain on the history of our revolution; and I confess that the loss of two battles would have done us less harm than that unfortunate day, which our enemies will make use of to represent us in an unfavourable light in the eyes of all Europe!" He ordered a strict investigation, and seven of the ringleaders were hanged.

The emperor of Austria had preserved a neutrality up to this time, but on the 30th of June he announced his intention to march an army into Little Poland, "to prevent by this step all danger to which the frontiers of Galicia might be exposed, as well as to insure the safety and tranquillity of the states of his imperial majesty." The Austrians entered Poland accordingly without opposition, but offered not the least molestation to the Poles. The invasion, however peaceful, was only like a "shadow before" of "coming events."

In the mean time the Prussians and Russians continued to approach Warsaw, at the distance of three leagues from which Kosciuszko was encamped, at a place called Pracka-Wola. It was here that one of his brothers in arms, and who has recorded the events of this portion of his glorious career, found him sleeping on straw. The picture he draws of this great man in his camp is an interesting view of the hero who upheld the fate of Poland. "We passed," says Count Oginski,[h] "from Kosciuszko's tent to a table prepared under some trees. The frugal repast which we made here, among about a dozen guests, will never be effaced from my memory. The presence of this great man who has excited the admiration of all Europe; who was the terror of his enemies and the idol of the nation; who, raised to the rank of generalissimo, had no ambition but to serve his country and fight for it; who always preserved an unassuming, affable, and mild demeanour; who never wore any distinguishing mark of the supreme authority with which he was invested; who was contented with a surtout of coarse grey cloth, and whose table was as plainly furnished as that of a subaltern officer, could not fail to awaken in me every sentiment of esteem, admiration, and veneration, which I have sincerely felt for him at every period of my life."

The enemy continued to advance towards Warsaw, and encamped near Wola, a league from the city. They were fifty thousand strong, forty thousand Prussians and ten thousand Russians. The city had been hastily fortified at the commencement of the insurrection, and with the protection of Kosciuszko's army resisted all the enemy's attacks. The first serious combat took place on the 27th of July, and was repeated on the 1st and 3rd of August, when the Prussians attempted to bombard the town, but not a house was injured. On the 2nd, Frederick William wrote to Stanislaus recommending him to use his influence to induce the inhabitants to surrender, to which the king of Poland answered that it was not in his power to do so while Kosciuszko's army lay between Warsaw and the enemy. The same spirit of patriotism, however, did not animate all the Poles; but it is satisfactory, though apparently singular on the first appearance, to find that the defaulters in the good cause were chiefly rich capitalists, men who in Poland at that time had scarcely a thought beyond stock-jobbing. But these malcontents formed only a small portion of the people, and were obliged to cherish their opinions and wishes in secret. On the 16th of August General Dombrowski, who had lately had some advantage in skirmishes with the Russians at Czerniakow, attacked them a second time, but was obliged to retire. This was followed

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by many warm actions, in which Dombrowski, Prince Joseph Poniatowski, Pozinski, and many others eminently distinguished themselves. The hottest affair took place in the night of the 28th. Dombrowski was attacked, while at the same time General Zayonczek was advancing his troops against the Prussian army. The courage and patriotism of the Poles predominated on this occasion. In the night of the 5th of September the Prussians and Russians made a sudden and unexpected retreat, with so much precipitation that they left the wounded and sick, as well as a great portion of their baggage.

UPRISING IN THE PRUSSIAN PROVINCES; REVERSES IN LITHUANIA

This sudden retreat of the king of Prussia, with a superior army of forty thousand men, appeared at first so unaccountable that even Kosciuszko imagined it was a feint, and would not allow his troops to pursue them; but the real cause was the news that insurrections had broken out in the Polish provinces which had been recently annexed to Prussia. The Prussian yoke was even more galling to the Poles than that of Russia, on many accounts. In all his new provinces Frederick William had introduced German laws, and even went so far as to oblige his vanquished subjects to learn the language of their victors; so that the Poles foresaw that even the very traces of the Polish nation were to be erased from the face of the earth. The inhabitants of Great Poland had not been deaf to the call of their brethren of Cracow and Warsaw; Mniewski, castellan of Cujavia, and other leading men had found means to open a communication with the patriots at the very commencement of the revolution, and had even contrived to form magazines of arms and ammunition in some retired woods during the space of five months, with such circumspection that not the slightest suspicion was excited. On the 23rd of August, when most of the Prussian troops were engaged in the siege of Warsaw, and but weak garrisons were left in the Polo-Prussian towns, a small body of confederates, having assembled in a wood near Sieradz, attacked the Prussian guard, seized the magazines, and remained masters of the town. The insurrection became general in a few days; the palatinates of Kaliz and Posen joined the confederacy by the 25th, and Mniewski with a handful of heroes marched to Wloclawek, a town on the Vistula in the palatinate of Brest-Cuyovski, where he seized thirteen large barks laden with ammunition, designed for the siege of Warsaw. These bold examples were imitated in the other palatinates; the spirit of patriotism began to evince itself even in the heart of Dantzic, and one of the patriotic detachments penetrated as far as Silesia.

Such was the state of affairs which called Frederick William from the siege of Warsaw. His ministers and officers prompted him to take the most severe measures to reduce the patriots, in the execution of which Colonel Szekuby signalised himself by excessive barbarity; but this cruelty only served to render their tyrants the more odious in the sight of the Poles and to animate them in their battle of freedom.

Kosciuszko sent Dombrowski with a considerable number of troops to second the insurgents, and so admirably did he perform his orders that by the middle of September all Great Poland, except a few towns, was in the possession of the patriots.

The good cause was not thriving so prosperously in Lithuania; Vilna had fallen into the hands of the Russians on the 12th of August, and nearly all the rest of the province soon shared the same fate. Catherine, to crush the revo-

lution, ordered her general, Suvarov, to march from the frontiers of Turkey towards Warsaw, and on the 16th of September he attacked a body of the Polish army at Krupczyce, a little village to the east of Brest-Litovski, and drove them towards this latter place. The attack was renewed on the following day, when the patriots were overpowered by superior forces, and many were taken prisoners.

This unfortunate defeat laid open the road to Warsaw, so that Kosciuszko was obliged to advance to support the flying army. He proceeded to Grodno, and having appointed Mokronowski commander of the Lithuanian army, he returned to prevent the junction of Suvarov with Fersen, who headed the other Russian corps.

THE FALL OF KOSCIUSZKO

The 10th of October was the decisive day; Kosciuszko attacked Fersen, near Maciejowice. The battle was bloody and fatal to the patriots; victory was wavering, and Poninski, who was expected every minute with a reinforcement, not arriving, Kosciuszko, at the head of his principal officers, made a grand charge into the midst of the enemy. He fell covered with wounds, and all his companions were killed or taken prisoners. His inseparable friend, the amiable poet, Niemcewicz, was among the latter number. The great man lay senseless among the dead; but at length he was recognised notwithstanding the plainness of his uniform, and was found still breathing. His name even now commanded respect from the Cossacks, some of whom had been going to plunder him; they immediately formed a litter with their lances to carry him to the general, who ordered his wounds to be dressed, and treated him with the respect he merited. As soon as he was able to travel he was conveyed to Petersburg, where Catherine condemned this noble patriot to end his days in prison. Clemency, indeed, was not to be expected from a woman who had murdered her husband.

Such was the termination of Kosciuszko's glorious career. The news of his captivity spread like lightning to Warsaw, and everyone received it as the announcement of the country's fall. "It may appear incredible," says Count Oginski,[h] "but I can attest what I have seen, and what a number of witnesses can certify with me, that many women miscarried at the tidings; many invalids were seized with burning fevers; some fell into fits of madness which never after left them; and men and women were seen in the streets wringing their hands, beating their heads against the walls, and exclaiming in tones of despair, 'Kosciuszko is no more; the country is lost!'"

In fact the Poles seemed all paralysed by this blow; the national council, indeed, appointed Wawrzecki successor to Kosciuszko, but they despaired of being able to withstand the Russians, and limited their hopes and exertions to prevent Warsaw from being taken by assault, for which purpose they ordered the troops to concentre near the city. They fortified Praga, one of the suburbs of Warsaw, which was separated from the city by the Vistula, and was most exposed to attack. Every individual, indiscriminately, was employed in the works. Suvarov, hearing that the king of Prussia was advancing towards Warsaw, did not choose to have his prey taken out of his mouth, and hastened with forced marches, joined Fersen, attacked the Poles on the 26th of October before Praga, and drove them into their intrenchments.

The batteries of Praga mounted more than one hundred cannon, and the garrison was composed of the flower of the Polish army. On the 4th of November Suvarov ordered an assault, and the fortification was carried

after some hours' hard fighting. Suvarov, the butcher of Ismail, a fit general for an imperial assassin, was at the head of the assailants, and his very name announces a barbarous carnage. Eight thousand Poles perished sword in hand, and the Russians having set fire to the bridge, cut off the retreat of the inhabitants. Above twelve thousand townspeople, old men, women, and children, were murdered in cold blood, and to fill the measure of their iniquity and barbarity, the Russians fired the place in four different parts, and in a few hours the whole of Praga, inhabitants as well as houses, was a heap of ashes.

The council, finding that Warsaw could not be defended any longer, capitulated on the 6th of November; many of the soldiers were obliged to lay down their arms, and the Russian troops entered the city. The authors of the revolution, the generals and soldiers who refused to disarm, had quitted Warsaw, but, being pursued by Fersen, many were killed or dispersed, and the rest surrendered on the 18th.

All the patriots of consequence who fell into the hands of the Russians were immured in the prisons of Petersburg, or sent to Siberia. Ignatius Potocki, Mostowski, Kapustas, and Kalinski were among the captives. Their treatment, however, was not so cruel as it has been frequently represented; Kosciuszko's prison, for instance, was a comfortable suite of rooms, where he beguiled his time with reading and drawing; Potocki was equally well lodged, and amused himself with gazing at the passers-by from his windows. This was not, indeed, an exact observance of the article of capitulation, "We promise a general amnesty for all that is passed,"[1] but it was the very acme of honour, compared with the general tenor of Russia's conduct towards Poland.

THE FINAL PARTITION OF POLAND

The king of Prussia, as vengeful as the weak and bad generally are when in power, was less merciful even than Suvarov. He appointed a commission to judge and punish those who had been concerned in the insurrection, as if they were *bona fide* his own subjects. Many patriots, too, who were so unfortunate as to fall into the Prussian's hands, were doomed to pine in the fortresses of Glogau, Magdeburg, Breslau, etc., and Madalinski was one of these. Austria buried some of the patriots in her prisons of Olmutz, thus consummating the triumph of barbarism.

On the 24th of October, 1795, the treaty for the third partition of Poland was concluded, but the arrangement between Prussia and Austria, as to the limits of the palatinate of Cracow, was not settled till the 21st of October, 1796.

By this third and last partition Russia acquired the remaining portion of Lithuania and a great part of Samogitia, part of Kulm on the right of the Bug, and the rest of Volhinia. Austria obtained the greater part of the palatinate of Cracow, the palatinates of Sandomir and Lublin, with a part of the district of Kulm, and the parts of the palatinates of Brest, Polachia, and Masovia which lay along the left bank of the Bug. Prussia had the portions of the palatinates of Masovia and Polachia on the right bank of the Bug; in Lithuania, part of the palatinate of Troki and Samogitia, which is on the left bank of the Niemen; and a district of Little Poland forming part of the palatinate of Cracow. Thus the banks of the Piliça, the Vistula, the Bug, and the Niemen marked out the frontiers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria.[b]

The republic was thus erased from the list of nations after an existence of

[1] Sixth article of the capitulation.

near ten centuries. Perhaps no people on earth have shown more personal bravery than the Poles; their history is full of wonderful victories. But how little the most chivalrous valour or the most splendid military successes could avail with such a vicious frame of society has been but too well seen. That a country without government (for Poland had none, properly so called, after the extinction of the Jagellos), without finances, without army, and depending for its existence year after year on tumultuous levies, ill disciplined, ill armed, and worse paid, should so long have preserved its independence—in defiance, too, of the powerful nations around, and with a great portion of its own inhabitants, whom ages of tyranny had exasperated, hostile to its success—is one of the most astonishing facts in all history.[c]

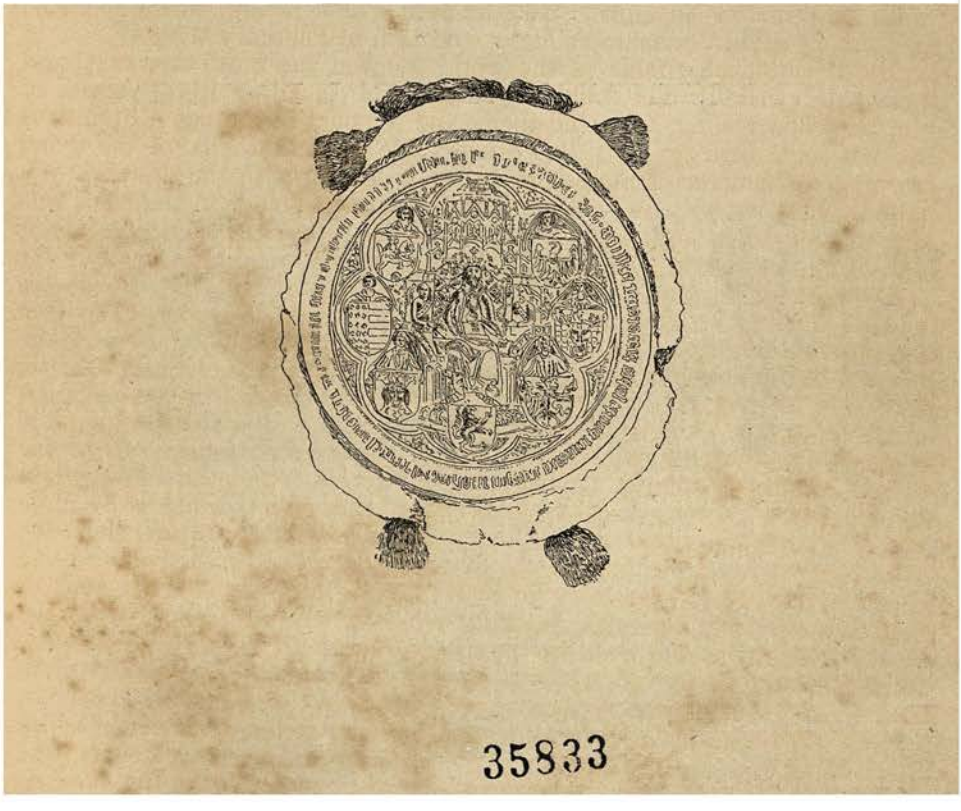
A KING WITHOUT A COUNTRY

Stanislaus Augustus was thus left without a kingdom; the Russian ambassador obliged him to go to Grodno, where he signed a formal act of abdication on the 25th of November, and accepted an annual pension of two hundred thousand ducats, which was insured to him by the three powers, with the promise that his debts also should be paid. On the death of Catherine, which happened in November 1796, he went to Petersburg, where he ended his unhappy and dishonourable life on the 12th of February 1798.

Harsh and uncharitable as the world is, even the most unworthy and degenerate generally find some few so merciful as, either from warmth of heart or fellow feeling, to defend them; and it would be strange if Stanislaus had not some panegyrists. But disagreeable as is the office of the moral censor, the character of Stanislaus, being bound up with the destinies of a nation, ought not to pass by unnoticed. Stanislaus stands in the usual predicament of kings and prominent personages, between flattering admirers and severe detractors. The usual course, in such a case, is to measure the evil with the good and take the mean between them; but this, though the readiest mode of arriving at a result, is not the surest, since it proceeds on the presumption of the truth both of the favourable and unfavourable statements. In the present instance the estimate need not be merely speculative, since there are abundant data on which to calculate. The warmest panegyrists of this unfortunate king venture no further in their praises than to give him credit for good intentions in policy, and to plead his patronage of learning and the arts as a palliation for his political errors. With regard to the first excuse, it may be remarked that moral weakness or imbecility is no more admissible as an excuse for error than recklessness of character, since the latter is equally constitutional as the former. The second plea requires more investigation. It is customary to attribute to Stanislaus the advance in learning and education which decidedly evinced itself in his reign; but while we admit his talent and taste for the trifles of literature and art, which is the utmost that can be proved, we must observe that the grand impetus to intellectual improvement was not given by Stanislaus. He certainly spent not only his revenue, which was considerable, but contracted great debts, which were twice paid by the state; but it was mostly on frivolous writers, bad painters, and loose women that those sums were expended. The progress of education and liberal inquiry is to be attributed to Konarski and his coadjutors, and the commission of education also, which was appointed by the diet, comes in for a share of the credit. Poniatowski, indeed, patronised great men in literature and the arts; but the effect of such patronage is at best of

[1798 A.D.]

doubtful benefit, and the merit of the patron is of a negative character, being so mixed up with vanity and love of notoriety. It has been said by Rulhière[d] that "no magnanimity, no strength appeared in his character; that he only thought of becoming a patron of all the arts of luxury, and particularly to cultivate little objects of this nature, to which he attached the highest consequence." His panegyrist could only assume that he was not one of the chief causes of his country's annihilation, but cannot deny that no monarch could have been more suited to produce such an unfortunate effect; and though his censor might admit the truth of his assertion, as recorded by Oginski,[h] "I have always wished for the happiness of my country, and I have only caused it misfortune!" he would remind the royal criminal that even "hell is paved with good intentions."[b]



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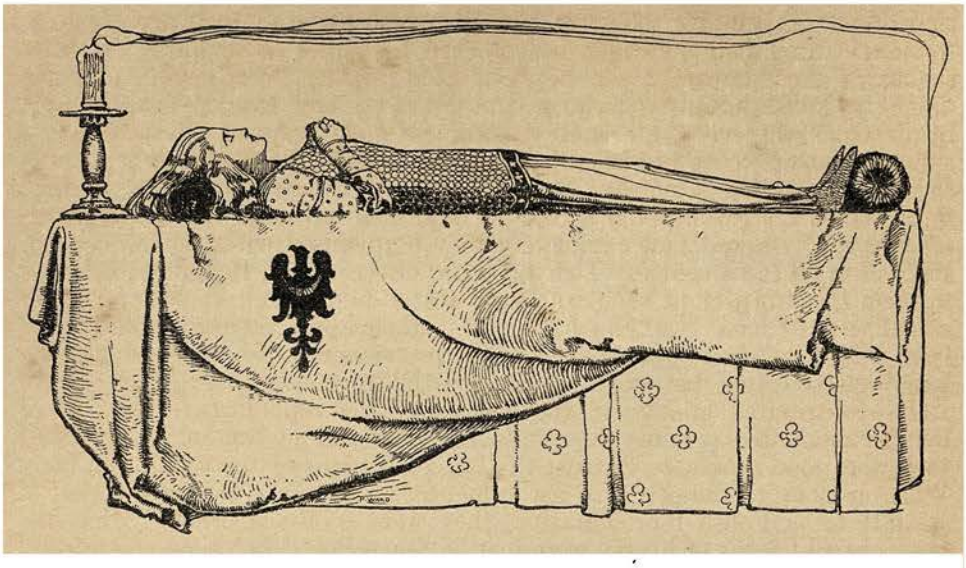


CHAPTER IV

PARTIAL RESTORATION AND FINAL DISSOLUTION

[1796–1863 A.D.]

THE extinction of the Polish republic afforded ample scope for the exercise of political declamation: the tribunes of France, the parliament of England, and the press of both countries abounded with eloquent invectives against the perfidious violence of the partitioning powers. The troubled state of affairs, however, throughout Europe did not permit any power to interfere in behalf of the oppressed. Every prince was too intent on securing his own preservation to dream of breaking a lance for another. Hence the impunity with which the three potentates proceeded to fill their prisons with not only those who had distinguished themselves during the recent struggle but with such as either ventured to complain, or were even suspected of dissatisfaction at the new state of things. The inhabitants of the great towns, especially of the three most influential, Warsaw, Cracow, and Vilna, were rigorously disarmed, and formidable garrisons of foreign troops were everywhere ready to crush all attempts at insurrection.

But if the cry of vengeance was smothered where the conquerors were present, other countries were soon made to resound with it. If Turkey and Sweden, two powers equally alarmed at the aggrandisement of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, felt their own feebleness too sensibly to oppose it by arms, France and the countries which French influence pervaded were ready to combine in any measure that might distract the enemies of the revolution. To France and Italy, therefore, the eyes of the Poles were now turned for aid, both to recover their independence and to gratify their resistless feeling of revenge. A secret confederation was formed at Cracow, the members of which offered to the French directory to sacrifice their fortunes and lives at the first call of the republic. This was not a vain offer: hundreds of the warlike nobles con-

tinued, notwithstanding the strict surveillance observed by their new masters, to escape from their bondage, and proceed to Venice or to Paris. In pursuance of the compact made between their leader, Dombrowski, and the directory, Polish legions were formed in aid of the new Italian republics, and ready to act wherever the French government might require. Their pay and subsistence were to be furnished by the Italian states; that of Lombardy was the first to hire their services. They preserved their native uniform and arms, but assumed the revolutionary cockade; and their motto of "*Gli uomini liberi sono fratelli*" showed how completely they harmonised with the spirit which shook Europe to its centre. That both the directors and Bonaparte held out to them the prospect of their country's restoration is well known; but their credulity must have been equal at least to their hopes, or they would never have placed the shadow of reliance on the promises of a people by whom they had been so often betrayed. Their martial prowess—confined chiefly to Italy—contributed greatly to the success of the republican cause. Their number amounted to some thousands, and their valour was unabated. But they were soon taught to distrust the fair professions of the republican hero. When anxious to preserve, by his influence, an entrance to the congress of Rastatt for a Polish representative, they were coolly answered, "that the hearts of all friends of liberty were for the brave Poles; but time and destiny alone could restore them as a nation." Hope seldom reasons well; if the time of regeneration was deferred, might it not arrive—perhaps at no distant period—when a more favourable conjuncture of circumstances would render it impossible that the French government should refuse to urge their claims? So thought the Poles, who still continued under the banners of the republic.

The same unvaried picture of services performed, and of hopes deceived, is exhibited throughout the connection of the Polish legions with France. Their adherence to a foreign cause—for in no sense could it be called their own—so steadfastly and devotedly maintained, can be explained only by the resistless passion of the Poles for military fame: to them the battle-field is as much a home as the deep to the Englishman. Though, during the absence of Bonaparte in Egypt, they were literally exterminated by the Austrians and Russians, they repaired their losses with astonishing promptitude: in 1801 they amounted to fifteen thousand. Their blood flowed in vain: in every treaty which their valour had been so instrumental in winning, themselves and country were forgotten. Seeing the disappointment of their hopes, many of them, after the peace of Lunéville (1801), bade adieu to the French service, and returned to their own country, where an amnesty had been recently proclaimed. A considerable number, indeed, remained: some entered into the service of the king of Etruria; others departed on the ill-starred expedition to St. Domingo; and the few who survived returned to their country after the formation of the grand duchy.

While the Polish soldiers were thus exhibiting a useless valour in foreign climes, their countrymen at home must not be overlooked. The condition of the inhabitants varied according to the characters of the sovereigns under whom they were placed. The aim of Prussia and Austria was to Germanise their respective portions, and gradually to obliterate every trace of nationality. Each, accordingly, introduced German laws and usages; the language of the public schools and of the public acts was German; Germans alone were intrusted with public employments. Russia pursued a more politic or a more generous policy: with the view, perhaps, of one day extending her Polish possessions, she strove to attach the inhabitants to her government. The preservation of the Lithuanian statutes, the influence in the general administration

possessed by the native marshals elected in the dietines of the nobles, the publication of the acts of government in the native tongue, and the admission of the people to the highest dignities, rendered the condition of Russian Poland much less galling than that of the portion subjected to either of the two other powers. Since the accession of Alexander, especially, great encouragement had been given both to the great branches of national industry and to the diffusion of education. An imperial ukase of April 4th, 1803, had conferred extraordinary privileges on the University of Vilna; and in no case had the czar neglected any opportunity of improving the temporal or moral condition of his new subjects. The conduct of Austria in this respect was less liberal. Under the plea—a true one, no doubt, but not sufficient to justify so arbitrary a measure—that the spirit of the students of Cracow was too revolutionary to consist with a monarchical government, she destroyed that venerable seat of learning, which during more than four centuries had supported the religion and the civilisation of Poland; and though in lieu of it she founded a college at Leopol, the jealous regulations and vigorous surveillance introduced into that seminary were not likely to fill its halls with native students. Nor were the circumstances of the people in other respects more enviable. Galicia, which had served as a granary to Austria in her endless wars with the French, and where her losses of men had been repaired, was now exhausted; so that the nobles of this province—the richest, perhaps, in Poland—have not even yet been able to recover from the misery into which they were plunged by the exactions of the government. Those of Polish Prussia were scarcely treated with more indulgence; but though the state was rapacious, their enterprising spirit and the superior facilities they enjoyed for commerce neutralised the severity of their imposts, and rendered their condition one of comparative comfort. In all the three, the minds of the inhabitants were freed from all apprehension on political accounts; government prosecutions had long ceased; the general amnesty had covered all anterior events with the veil of oblivion.

NAPOLEON'S POLICY TOWARDS POLAND

Such was the condition of the Poles when the French emperor endeavoured to attach them to his interests by loudly proclaiming himself their restorer—the breaker of the yoke under which they groaned. That sickness of heart occasioned by hope deferred caused many to turn a deaf ear to his summons; but the majority, electrified at the promise of approaching freedom, flew eagerly to arms, and devoted themselves, with heart and hand, to the will of Napoleon. The brilliant campaign of 1806—the victory of Jena and the advance of the French into Poland to oppose the formidable masses of Russians, who appeared as the allies of Prussia—seemed an earnest of future success, a sure pledge of approaching restoration. Polish regiments were organised with amazing rapidity. To increase the general enthusiasm, Napoleon was unscrupulous enough to proclaim the near approach of Kosciuszko; though, but a few months before, that general, who knew his character, had refused to espouse his views—in other words, to deceive the still confiding Poles. On the 27th of November he entered Posen in triumph; the following month Warsaw received him with no less enthusiasm. The inhabitants of the latter were still more overjoyed when he proceeded to organise a supreme commission of government—a measure which they hailed as the dissevering of the last link that bound them to Prussia. His purpose was announced; his armies

were recruited by thousands of the bravest troops in Europe; Friedland bore witness to the talents and valour of Dombrowski and the heroes he commanded; and the opening of negotiations at Tilsit was hailed by the Poles as the dawning of a bright futurity. Will posterity readily believe that this very man, in his celebrated interview on the Niemen with the emperor Alexander, seriously proposed to unite Warsaw, and the conquests which the Poles had assisted him to wrest from Prussia, with the Russian empire, and that the czar refused to accept them? It was only when Napoleon found the czar too moderate or too conscientious to receive the overture that he formed a small portion of his conquests into the grand duchy of Warsaw, which he united with Saxony!

The duchy of Warsaw consisted of six departments: Posen, Kalish, Plock, Warsaw, Lomza, and Bromberg; its population somewhat exceeded two millions. The Poles were highly dissatisfied with "this mockery of a country," as they called it. They had been taught to regard the ancient kingdom, if not Lithuania itself, as about to become inevitably their own; and their mortification may be conceived on finding not only that Prussia was allowed to retain several palatinates, that Austria was guaranteed in her Polish possessions, that the provinces east of the Bug were to remain in the power of Russia, but that a considerable portion of the ancient republic on this side that river was ceded, as the department of Bielostok, in perpetual sovereignty to the czar. The Peace of Tilsit they regarded as the grave of their hopes.

According to the new constitution granted by Napoleon, the virtual master of the duchy, the Catholic religion was properly declared the religion of the state; but ample toleration, and even a community of civil rights, were wisely allowed to the dissidents. Serfage was abolished. The power of the Saxon king, as grand duke of Warsaw, was more extensive than had been enjoyed by his royal predecessors since the time of the Jagellos. With him rested the initiative of all projects of law; the nomination not only of the senators, but the presidents of the dietines, and of the communal assemblies; and the appointment of all officers, civil and military. The code Napoleon was subsequently admitted as the basis of judicial proceedings.

The duchy soon felt the might of its new existence. The exertions of the government of Napoleon, who retained military possession of the country, and whose lieutenant, Davout, occupied Warsaw as headquarters, added to the inevitable expenses of the civil list, and impoverished the small proprietors. Many, wisely preferring easy circumstances under an absolute but paternal government to ruin with nominal freedom, removed into the Polish provinces subjected to Russia or Austria; for, even in the latter, rapacity was yielding to moderation and mildness. Those who remained consoled themselves with the belief that eventually Poland would be recalled into existence, and her independence re-established on sure foundations. That they should have been made dupes to the emissaries of a man who had never promised but to betray them can be explained only by the well-known truth, How easily do we believe what we hope! For this reason many native regiments continued in the alliance of France. In the Austrian war of 1809 they covered themselves with renown, and rendered the greatest benefits to the cause of their imperial ally. They conquered Galicia without the smallest aid from France, while the emperor was proceeding elsewhere in his splendid career of victory. They reduced Cracow and the adjacent territory; and though for forty days—days during which the Polish leaders were arrayed in mourning—they were compelled to abandon Warsaw to the archduke Ferdinand, they

regained triumphant possession of that capital, and humbled their enemies on every side. They considered that what their own arms had won they had a right to retain, and they regarded as inevitable the incorporation of these conquests with their infant state. They were soon undeceived; they were not allowed to retain a foot of Galicia, and half of their other conquests, between Warsaw and the Austrian frontier, was wrested from them. Four departments—Cracow, Radom, Lublin, and Siedlce—were indeed incorporated with the grand duchy; but this advantage was a poor compensation for the immense sacrifices which had been made—for the loans which had been forcibly raised, for the lives which had been wasted, and for the misery which afflicted every class of the inhabitants. Military conscription had depopulated their towns; the stern agents of despotism—the despotism not of the Saxon king, but of Napoleon—had carried away the produce of the soil, and hostile armies had laid waste their plains. So utterly exhausted was the country that the state could not reckon on the usual contributions, and a royal decree exempted from them the agricultural and mechanical classes.

Previous to opening the Russian campaign, Napoleon, with the view of interesting the Poles in his behalf, had recourse to his usual arts, and, strange to say, with his usual success. The reflecting portion, indeed—but, alas! how few are they in any nation!—scorned to be deluded again. "We are flattered," said a rough old soldier, "when our services are required. Is Poland always to be fed on hope alone?" But the mob—such as do not think, be they high or low—were persuaded, from the representations of the imperial agents, that their ancient republic was speedily to be restored in all its glory; that Lithuania was to be wrested from the czar, and Galicia exchanged by Austria for Illyria. Yet, while the deluded people were meeting at Warsaw to prepare for their approaching high destinies; while the French emperor was enthusiastically hailed as their regenerator; while the abbé de Pradt, by his authority, added fuel to the patriotic flame, a secret treaty with the emperor Francis had again guaranteed the integrity of the Austrian possessions in Poland. But it was secret, and his purpose was realised: at his voice more than eighty thousand Poles took the field, while a general confederation of the nobles declared the republic restored, the act of declaration being signed by the Saxon king, in whose house the hereditary monarchy was to be vested. At the same time all Poles in the Russian service were recalled to participate in the joyful event, and, if need were, to seal their new liberties with their blood. This intoxication, however, was of short duration; the reply of Napoleon to the Polish deputation, which had followed him to Vilna, left them no room to hope for his aid. He exhorted them to fight for their own independence, assured them that if all the palatinates combined they might reasonably expect to attain their object, and added, "I must, however, inform you that I have guaranteed to the Austrian emperor the integrity of his states, and that I cannot sanction any project or movement tending to disturb him in the possession of the Polish provinces which remain to him." So much for Galicia. As to Lithuania, which he was expected to treat as an ally, and to unite with the ancient republic, he not only considered it, but proclaimed it, a hostile country, and ravaged it with impunity. Thus the Lithuanians received an avowedly open enemy, instead of an ally and a friend. Both people had abundant reason to curse their blind credulity. This perfidy was unknown to the Polish troops, who were advancing on the ancient frontiers of Muscovy, or they would surely have forsaken the cause.

It is useless to dwell on the valour displayed by the deluded Poles in this disastrous expedition. The work of Bonaparte—the formation of the grand

duchy—was destroyed; the king of Saxony, who had adhered to his cause with extraordinary fidelity, was stripped at once both of it and a portion of his hereditary dominions; the three powers again took possession of the towns which they had held previous to the invasions of Bonaparte, until a congress of all the sovereigns who had taken a prominent part in the war against the common enemy of Europe should assemble, to decide, among other matters, on the fate of the country.

THE ALLIES AND POLAND

After the fall of Bonaparte the attention of the allied sovereigns was urgently demanded by the state of Poland. The re-establishment of the kingdom in all its ancient integrity was not merely an act of justice to a people whose fall is one of the darkest pages in the history of the world, but it was, of all objects, the one most desirable towards the security of central Europe against the ambition of the czars. But for Poland, a great portion of Christendom might have been subject to the misbelievers; but for her, the northern emperors would probably long ago have poured their wild hordes into the very heart of Germany; the nation which had been, and might again become, the bulwark alike of civil and religious freedom, could not fail to be invested with interest of the very highest order. Public opinion, the interest of rulers, and the sympathy of the governed called for the restoration of injured Sarmatia. The side of humanity, of justice, and of policy was powerfully advocated by France and England; their able plenipotentiaries, Talleyrand and Castlereagh, did all that could be done, short of having recourse to actual hostilities, to attain this European object. But neither power, nor both combined, could contend with success against those which were interested in the partition. France was exhausted by her long wars, and weakened by a restriction within her ancient limits; England could have furnished no more than a handful of troops, nor could all her wealth have hired mercenaries sufficiently numerous or brave to justify her in throwing down the gauntlet of defiance to two such military nations as Prussia and Muscovy. To the honour of the Austrian emperor, he not only disapproved the projected union of the late duchy with Russia, but he expressed his desire for Polish independence, and even his willingness to surrender a portion of his own territories to make the new kingdom more respectable. At this juncture, however, Napoleon escaped from Elba; and Alexander, finding that his aid was indispensable in the approaching contest, was able, not indeed to make his own terms, but to insist on a measure he had long meditated: the union of the grand duchy, as a separate kingdom, with his empire. Not less effectual was his policy with the Poles themselves. By persuading them that his great object was to confer on them a national existence and liberal institutions, he interested them so far in his views, that they would willingly have armed to support those views as they had so often done those of Napoleon. In this state of things, all that France and England could do was to claim a national existence for the whole body of Poles, and to stipulate for their political freedom. Their representations were powerfully supported by the emperor Francis, who again expressed regret that Poland could not be re-established as an independent state with a national representation of its own. Owing to these energetic appeals to his liberality, and to the influence of public opinion so widely diffused by the political press, the autocrat showed no reluctance to make the concessions required. Prussia was no less willing. The result was a solemn engagement formed by the three

partitioning powers in concert to confer on their respective Polish subjects a national representation, and national institutions regulated after the form of political existence which each of the respective governments might think proper to grant them.

By the celebrated Treaty of Vienna the following bases were solemnly sanctioned:

1. Galicia and the salt mines of Wieliczka were restored to Austria.
2. The grand duchy of Posen, forming the western palatinates bordering on Silesia, and containing a population of about eight hundred thousand souls, was surrendered to Prussia. This power was also confirmed in its conquests made at the period of the first partition.
3. The city and district of Cracow was to belong to none of the three powers, but to be formed into a free and independent republic, under the guarantee of the three. Its extent is nineteen and one-half geographical miles, inhabited at that time by a population of sixty-one thousand souls.
4. The remainder of ancient Poland, comprising the chief part of the recent grand duchy of Warsaw (embracing a country bounded by a line drawn from Thorn to near Cracow in the west, to the Bug and the Niemen in the east), reverted to Russia, and was to form a kingdom forever subject to the czars. Population about four millions.

POLISH DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE NEW CHARTER

The new kingdom of Poland was proclaimed June 20th, 1815; and on December 24th, in the same year, a constitutional charter was granted to the Poles.

The articles of this charter (in number 165) were of so liberal a description as to astonish all Europe. They abundantly prove that at the time of their promulgation Alexander was no enemy of liberal institutions. Though the charter in question has probably forever passed away, the nature of the dispute between the Poles and their monarch cannot be understood without adverting to some of its provisions.

Though the Catholic religion was declared the religion of the state, all dissidents were placed on a footing of perfect equality, as to civil rights, with the professors of the established faith (Art. 11). The liberty of the press was recognised in its fullest extent (16). No subject could be arrested prior to judicial conviction (18). The inviolability of person and property, in the strictest sense, was guaranteed (23 to 26). All public business to be transacted in the Polish language (28); and all offices, civil or military, to be held by natives alone (29).[1] The national representation to be vested in two chambers: senators and deputies (31). The power of the crown (35 to 47) was not more than sufficient to give due weight to the executive; all kings to be crowned at Warsaw, after swearing to the observance of the charter; during his absence, the chief authority to be vested in a lieutenant and council of state (63 to 75). The great public departments to be presided over by responsible ministers (76 to 82). The legislative power to rest with the king and the two chambers: an ordinary diet to be held every two years, and sit thirty days; an extraordinary diet whenever judged necessary by the king

[1] Strangers, however, might be naturalised and admissible to public employments after five years' residence, if in the interim they should acquire the Polish language (33); and the king reserved to himself the privilege of appointing distinguished foreigners to certain employments (34).

(86 to 88). No member could be arrested during a session, except for great offences, and not even then without the consent of the assembly (89). The deliberations of the diet extended to all projects submitted to it by the ministry affecting the laws and the whole routine of internal administration (90 to 94). All deliberations to be public, except when committees were sitting (95). All projects of law to originate with the council of state, and to be laid before the chambers by command of the king; such projects, however, being previously examined by committees of both houses (96 to 98). All measures to be passed by a majority of votes (102). The senators to be nominated by the king, and to exercise their functions for life (110). The deputies (128 in number, or about double that of the senators) were 77 for districts (one for each), and 51 for so many communes (118 and 119). To become a member of this chamber the qualifications were: citizenship; the age of thirty; possession of some portion, however small, of landed property; and the payment, in annual contributions, of one hundred Polish florins (121). No public functionary eligible to sit without the consent of the head of his department (122). The nobles of each district to meet in dietines, for the purpose of electing one of their body to the general diet, and of returning two members to the palatine assemblies (125), all dietines being convoked by the king (126). The class of electors was numerous, comprising: (1) All landowners, however small, who paid any contribution whatever towards the support of the state; (2) every manufacturer or shopkeeper possessing a capital of ten thousand florins; (3) all rectors and vicars; (4) all professors and teachers; (5) all artists or mechanics distinguished for talent (131). Every elector to be enrolled, and to have reached twenty-one years (132). The tribunals to be filled with judges, part nominated by the king and part elected by the palatinates (140); the former being appointed for life, and immovable (141).

Such were the chief provisions of this remarkable charter, which left only two things to be desired: the trial by jury, and the competency of either chamber to propose laws; the initiative was confined to the executive, consisting of the king and the council of state.

The enthusiasm of the Poles towards their sovereign, for some time after the promulgation of this charter, was almost boundless. His lieutenant, Zaionczek, imitated his example, and strove with success to attach the Poles to his sway. Prosperity, the result of a settled and an enlightened government, followed in the train of peace. Innumerable improvements introduced into the public education, the establishment of a university at Warsaw and of an agricultural society at Mount Maria, the rapid increase of trade, the diffusion of wealth, and the consequent advance towards happiness by the nation at large, might well render his government popular. That prosperity, indeed, is his noblest monument. On taking possession of the country he found nothing but desolation and misery. So enormous had been the force which the grand duchy had been compelled to maintain, so heavy the exactions of the treasury, that no country could have borne them, much less one whose two chief outlets for her produce, Dantzic and Odessa, were long closed by the continental system of Napoleon and by the Turkish war. The finances of the duchy, indeed, were unable to pay more than an insignificant portion of the troops; either the remainder was raised by forced loans, or the men went unpaid. Twelve millions of francs, in addition, were borrowed at Paris, on the security of the mines of Wieliczka. Still all would not do; the revenue did not reach one-half of the expenditure; in time, no functionary, civil or ecclesiastical, and scarcely any soldier, was paid. The contractors fled; troops

traversed the country at pleasure, plundering indiscriminately all who fell in their way. In short, there was little money or food anywhere, and a total stop was put to all branches of industry. To repair these evils was the emperor's first object. By opening the country to foreign merchants, by providing the husbandmen with oxen and horses, by suspending the payment of some taxes and suppressing others, and by providing for the support of his army from his hereditary dominions, he revived industry and the means of subsistence.

So satisfied was the Polish nation with its new situation in the year 1818—nearly three years after its union with Russia—that the opposition to ministers in the chamber of deputies was utterly insignificant. The benefits of the government had disarmed the prejudices and antipathies of the people. The emperor himself appears, at this time, to have been no less satisfied; he congratulated himself on the liberal policy he had adopted towards his new subjects, and declared in full senate at Warsaw that he was only waiting to see the effect of the free institutions he had given them, before extending those institutions over all the regions which Providence had confided to his care.

Having now reached the term of the good understanding between the Poles and their monarch, it is necessary to advert to the causes which led first to mistrust, then to hatred, and lastly to open hostility between the two parties.

On the first view of the case, it could not rationally be expected that any considerable degree of harmony could subsist between people who during eight centuries had been at war with each other, and between whom, consequently, a strong national antipathy had been long fostered. And even had they always lived in peace, they were too dissimilar in manners, habits, sentiments, and religion ever cordially to coalesce. For ages the Pole had idolised a liberty unexampled in any country under heaven; the Muscovite had no will of his own, but depended entirely on God and the czar. The one was the maker and master of kings; the other obeyed, as implicitly as the voice of fate, the most arbitrary orders of his monarch, whom he considered heaven's favourite vicegerent. The one was enlightened by education and by intercourse with the polished nations of Europe; the other, who long thought it a crime to leave home, was brutified by superstition and ignorance. Each cursed the other as schismatic—as out of the pale of God's visible church and doomed to perdition. The antipathy which ages had nourished had been intensely aggravated by late events. The unprovoked violence of Catherine, the haughtiness of her troops, the excesses accompanying the elevation and fall of Stanislaus; the keen sense of humiliation—so keen as to become intolerable to a proud people—were causes more than sufficient to neutralise the greatest benefits conferred by the czars.

Another and, if possible, weightier consideration arises. How could the most arbitrary monarch in Europe—one whose will had never been trammelled by either the spirit or the forms of freedom, whose nod was all but omnipotent—be expected to guide the delicately complicated machine of a popular government? Would he be very likely to pay much regard to the apparently insignificant, however necessary, springs which kept it in motion? Would the lord of fifty legions, whose empire extended over half the Old World, be likely to hear with patience the bold voice of freedom in a distant and (as to territory) insignificant corner of his vast heritage?

Under no state of things, however, would the Poles, as long as they were subject to foreign ascendency, have remained satisfied. The recollections of their ancient glory would give a more bitter pang to the consciousness of present

degradation. Alexander, indeed, had held out to them the hope of uniting Lithuania under the same form of government; but even in this case, would either Poles or Lithuanians be less subject to the autocrat? Besides, what guarantee had they that even their present advantages would be continued to them? None, surely, but the personal character of the autocrat, who, with the best intentions, was somewhat fickle, and who might any day abandon the reins of empire to a more rigorous or less scrupulous hand. "What have we to hope," exclaimed the celebrated Dombrowski at the period at which this compendium is arrived; "what have we not to fear? This very day might we not tremble for the fate which may await us to-morrow?" The general expressed his conviction that if the Poles, instead of being disunited, would cordially combine, they would recover their lost greatness. "Let them," added he, "retrieve their ancient nationality; let them combine their opinions, their desires, their wishes!" In other words, he meant that the whole nation should enter into an understanding to permit the existence of the present order of things no longer than they could help. "If the same fortune," he concluded, "which has given us a sovereign should one day turn round on him, Poland may recover her liberty and independence, and acknowledge no king but the one of her own choice."

Words like these, and from such a quarter, could not fail to produce their effect. They flew from mouth to mouth; the press began to echo them. The opposition in the chamber of deputies assumed a more formidable appearance. The success, however transient, of the liberal party in Spain and Italy was hailed with transport. Were the Poles to despond at such a crisis? The anti-Russian party, comprising the army, the students in the public schools, the populace of the capital, began to act with greater boldness and decision; no very obscure hints were thrown out that the glorious example of other countries would not be lost nearer home. The newspapers, which followed the current of public opinion, however changing, as inevitably as the shadow does the substance, adopted the same resolute if not menacing tone. It was evident that a revolution was meditated, and that the minds of the people, not merely of the kingdom, but of the countries under the sway of Austria and Prussia, as well as those of the grand duchy, were to be prepared for it by sure though apparently insensible degrees. Privileges were now claimed and principles promulgated of a tendency too democratic to consort with the existing frame of society. That Russia should take alarm at the fearless activity of the press was naturally to be expected. Accordingly, by an ordinance of July 31st, 1819, the censorship was established, in violation of Art. 16.

Infractions of the Charter

If men have no opportunity of expressing their opinions publicly, they will do so privately. When the journals, the legitimate outlets of popular feeling, were thus arbitrarily and impoliticly closed, secret societies began to multiply. A sort of political freemasonry connected the leaders of the meditated movement, and its ramifications extended as far as Vilna. Their avowed object was not merely to free their country and the grand duchy from the Russian yoke, but to unite their brethren of Galicia and Posen in one common cause, and then openly to strike a blow for their dearest rights. But however secret their meetings and purposes, neither could long escape the vigilance of the police, which, since the arrival of Constantine as commander-in-chief of the Polish army, had acquired alarming activity. Why this personage should have interfered in a branch of administration beyond his province—why he

should have stepped out of his own peculiar sphere to hire spies, to collect information, and to influence the proceedings of the tribunals against the suspected or the accused—has been matter of much conjecture. Perhaps he proposed to render himself necessary to his imperial brother; perhaps he could not live without some bustle to excite him; perhaps his mind was congenially occupied in the discovery and punishment of treason. However this be, he acted with amazing impolicy. His wisest course—and the Poles themselves once hoped that he would adopt it—was to cultivate the attachment of the people among whom he resided, and thereby prepare their minds for one day seconding his views on the crown. Instead of this, he conducted himself towards all whom he suspected of liberal opinions—and few there were who did not entertain them—with violence, often with brutality. At his instigation the secret police pursued its fatal career; arbitrary arrests, hidden condemnations, the banishment of many, the imprisonment of more, signalised his baneful activity. That amidst so many sentences some should be passed on individuals wholly innocent need not surprise us. Where spies are hired to mix with society for the purpose of detecting the disaffected, if they do not find treason, they will make it; private malignity and a desire of being thought useful, if not indispensable, to their employers, and of enjoying the rewards due to success in procuring informations, would make them vigilant enough. As this is a profession which none but the basest and most unprincipled of men would follow, we cannot expect that they would always exercise it with much regard to justice. In such men revenge or avarice would be all-powerful.

The University of Vilna was visited with some severity by the agents of this dreaded institution. Twenty of its students were seized and sentenced to different punishments—none, however, very rigorous. Those of Warsaw were not used more indulgently. A state prison was erected in the capital, and its dungeons were soon crowded with inmates—many, no doubt, not undeserving their fate, but not a few the victims of an execrable system. The proceedings, however, which are dark must always be suspected; of the hundreds who were dragged from the bosom of their families and consigned to various fortresses, all would be thought innocent, since none had been legally convicted.

By Art. 10 of the constitutional charter, the Russian troops, when required to pass through Poland, were to be at the entire charge of the czar's treasury; for years, however, they were stationed at Warsaw—evidently to overawe the population—at the expense of the inhabitants. Then the violations of individual liberty (in opposition to Arts. 18 to 21); the difficulty of procuring passports; the misapplication of the revenue to objects other than those for which it was raised—to the reimbursement of the secret police, for instance; the nomination of men as senators without the necessary qualifications, and who had no other merit than that of being creatures of the government, were infractions of the charter, as wanton as they were intended to be humiliating.

The army was as much dissatisfied as the nation. The ungovernable temper, and the consequent excesses, of Constantine; the useless but vexatious manœuvres which he introduced; his rigorous mode of exercise, fitted for no other than frames of adamant; and, above all, his overbearing manner towards the best and highest officers in the service, raised him enemies on every side. His good qualities—and he had many—were wholly overlooked amidst his ebullitions of fury, and the unjustifiable, often cruel, acts he committed while under their influence. On ordinary occasions, when his temper

was not ruffled, no man could make himself more agreeable; no man could exhibit more—not courtesy, for he was too rough for it—warm-heartedness, and his generosity in pecuniary matters was almost boundless.

But the worst remains yet to be told. Russian money and influence were unblushingly employed in the dietines to procure the return to the general diet of such members only as were known to care less for their country than for their own fortunes. Then, instead of a diet being held every two years (in accordance with Art. 87), none was convoked from 1820 to 1825, and only one after the accession of Nicholas. Finally, an ordinance (issued in 1825) abolished the publicity of the debates in the two chambers, and the most distinguished members of the opposition were forcibly removed from Warsaw the night preceding the opening of the diet.

In examining these and a few minor complaints urged with much force by the Polish organs, no one will hesitate to admit that, however the colouring in this painful picture may be overcharged—and overcharged it unquestionably is—the nation had but too much cause for discontent. No wonder that the government and the people should regard each other first with distrust, then with hatred; that the former could not behold with much favour institutions which, however liberal, were not considered sufficiently so by those on whom they had been conferred, or that the latter should have much confidence in a power which had violated the most solemn engagements, and might violate them again. The conflict—long a moral one—between the two was too stormy to be hushed. It was vain to whisper peace, to remind the one party that if wrongs had been endured they had not been wholly unprovoked, or the other, that necessary caution had degenerated into an intolerable, inquisitorial surveillance, and justice into revenge.

Yet with all this irritation it may be doubted whether the majority of the nation were at any time inclined to proceed to extremities. The condition of the country had continued to improve beyond all precedent; at no former period of her history was the public wealth so great or so generally diffused. Bridges and public roads constructed at an enormous expense, frequently at the expense of the czar's treasury; the multitude of new habitations, remarkable for a neatness and a regard to domestic comfort never before observed; the embellishments introduced into the buildings not merely of the rich, but of tradesmen and mechanics; the encouragement afforded, and eagerly afforded, by the government to every useful branch of industry; the progress made by agriculture in particular, the foundation of Polish prosperity; the accumulation on all sides of national and individual wealth; and, above all, the happy countenances of the inferior classes of society, exhibited a wonderful contrast to what had lately been. The most immense of markets, Russia—a market all but closed to the rest of Europe—afforded constant activity to the manufacturer. To prove this astonishing progress from deplorable, hopeless poverty to successful enterprise, let one fact suffice. In 1815 there were scarcely one hundred looms for coarse woollen cloths; at the commencement of the insurrection of 1830 there were six thousand.

In contemplating the history of Poland, it cannot but be matter of regret to the philanthropic mind that the nation should, so soon after its union with Russia, have brought on itself the ill-will of that power. Though some slight infractions were made on the spirit rather than the letter of the charter during the first four years of the connection, these might have been remedied by an appeal to the emperor. On the part neither of Alexander nor of his lieutenant did there exist the slightest wish to violate its provisions, until experience had taught both that individual freedom was not so much the object in

pursuit as a total separation from the empire. Then it was that liberal institutions became odious in the cabinet of St. Petersburg; that the czar resolved to prevent their extension, on the plea—a mistaken but not unnatural plea—that they were inconsistent with a settled monarchy, and consequently with long-continued social security; then it was that the imperial ministers and their underlings commenced their unwise system—a system but partially known to the czar, and one that would never have been approved by him—of exasperating the Poles, first by petty annoyances, next by depriving them of privileges to which they had a sacred right—of adding fuel to a fire already too intense to continue long harmless.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION AGAINST RUSSIA (1830 A.D.)

The seeds of hatred, thus unfortunately sown, germinated with silent but fatal rapidity. A vast number of soldiers (especially of unemployed officers); of ardent patriots and students; of all whom Russian haughtiness had provoked or Russian liberality had failed to visit; and, more than all, of that fickle and numerically speaking imposing class so prone to change, were gradually initiated into the great plot destined to concentrate the scattered elements of resistance to imperial violence, and to sweep its framers and abettors from the face of the kingdom. The society, numerous as were its ramifications, was well organised, and its proceedings were wrapped in more than masonic mystery. That not a few of its members were implicated in the conspiracy which exploded on the accession of Nicholas—utterly unknown at present as were the subjects and nature of that conspiracy—appears both from the numerous arrests on that occasion (no fewer than two hundred took place in Poland and Lithuania), and from the very admission of their organs. Though the commission of inquiry, consisting chiefly of Poles, failed to discover the clue to that dark transaction, evidence enough was adduced to prove the existence of a formidable national association. Two years afterwards (in 1828) that association gained over the great body of Polish officers, and silently waited the progress of events to watch for an opportunity of striking the blow.

It has often been matter of surprise to most thinking foreigners that the Poles did not take advantage of the Turkish war to erect the standard of independence. Evidently, however, their plan was not at that period sufficiently matured. That it was so even in 1830 may be reasonably doubted. But the French insurrection—which appears not to have been wholly unexpected in the Polish capital—its daring character, its splendid success, had an electric effect on the whole nation, and disposed the initiated to anticipate the time of their rising. It is well known—it has, indeed, been admitted by both Poles and Frenchmen, including the political organs of the latter—that emissaries from Warsaw held confidential meetings with the leaders of the revolution of July, and were instigated to rouse their countrymen by the promise of immediate aid from the government of the citizen king. That such aid was relied on with the fullest confidence by the Polish patriots themselves is known.

Two other circumstances powerfully contributed to hasten the long-meditated catastrophe. The army began to entertain the notion that it was to be removed to the south of Europe to assist in extirpating the alarming doctrines of the French politicians, and that its place was to be supplied by an army of Russians. The youths of the military school, too, found or fancied

excuse for apprehension. That their design of rising was not unknown to the authorities appears from the eagerness with which one of the hired agents of police endeavoured to win their confidence, professing his devotion to their cause, and imploring permission to share in the execution of their project. Though this fellow overshot his mark; though his eagerness caused him to be suspected and shunned; he learned enough to be convinced not only that an insurrection was resolved on, but that it was actually at hand.

The apprehensions of the army and the students—of whom the latter had everything to fear from the grand duke should he, as he was believed to have threatened, arrest and try them by martial law—the conviction that the whole populace of the capital were friendly to the project, the secret encouragement of France, the eagerness of the enterprising to court danger for its very sake, the assumed approbation of the free towards the cause at least, if not towards the time and circumstances, of the insurrection—hastened the opening of the great tragedy. The first object of its actors was to seize on the person of the grand duke, their most obnoxious enemy—to use him, perhaps, as a hostage for their safety, should fortune prove unpropitious. The students—as the young and the rash will always be in such cases—were the authorised leaders of the movement. On the evening of November 29th one of them, in accordance with a preconcerted plan, entered the school and called his comrades to arms. The call was instantly obeyed. On their way to the residence of Constantine, which stands about two miles from the city, their number was increased by the students of the university and public schools. Two or three companies—not a regiment, as has been usually stated—of Russian cavalry they furiously assailed and overpowered. This first success they did not use with much moderation; towards a few of the officers, who appear to have been personally obnoxious, they exhibited great animosity; three or four were cruelly massacred after the conflict was over. They forced the palace, flew to the grand duke's apartments, but had the mortification of finding their victim fled; the intrepid fidelity of a servant had first concealed, then assisted him to escape. As their first object had thus unexpectedly failed, the conspirators now resolved to gain the city. Their retreat was opposed by the Russian guards; but such was the spirit which animated them, such were the skill and courage they displayed, that after a struggle continued over a space of two miles they accomplished their purpose.

During this desperate affray the efforts of another party within the city were more successful. A considerable body of cadets and students paraded the streets, calling on the inhabitants to arm for their country's freedom. They were joined, as had been previously arranged, not by hundreds, but by thousands, of native troops, and their force was augmented by several pieces of cannon. The Russian posts, which were now attacked, were carried; the prison doors were opened, and criminals as well as debtors invited to swell the assailants; the theatre was speedily emptied of its spectators; and the great body of citizens were provided with arms from the public arsenal. In the excitement consequent on this extraordinary commotion, every part of which was conducted with a regularity that could only be the result of a maturely formed design, no reader will be surprised, how much soever he may lament, to find that several excesses were committed. Many Russians were massacred; many Poles, known to have been on terms of intimacy with the grand duke, shared the same fate. But some dark deeds were done for which no excitement can apologise—some which will forever disgrace this memorable night. While a number of Russian and a few Polish superior officers were laudably exerting themselves to calm the ferocity of the people; while they

fearlessly rode among them, and urged them to desist from their violent proceedings, to lay their grievances before the emperor, who would readily redress them, and, above all, to remember that the Russians and themselves were fellow-subjects, and refrain from bloodshed—these very peacemakers, whose heroism should have commanded the respect and whose kind-hearted intentions should have won the affections of the populace, were barbarously massacred. Some other officers of rank—all Russians, except one—were made prisoners.

By the morning of the 30th all the Polish troops, with the exception of one regiment and a few companies who held for Constantine and remained with him, had joined the insurgents. Nearly thirty thousand armed citizens swelled their dense ranks. To oppose so formidable a mass would have been madness. In twelve hours the revolution was begun and completed. In vain did the grand duke, who lay without the walls, meditate the recovery of the intrenchments and fortifications. His isolated though desperate efforts to re-enter the city were repulsed with serious loss; and when he became acquainted with the number of his antagonists he wisely desisted from his purpose. He removed to a greater distance from the walls, as if uncertain what steps to take in so extraordinary an emergency.

In a few hours an administrative council was formed to preside over the destinies of the infant state. It was composed of men distinguished for their talents, character, or services. At first they evidently entertained no intention of throwing off their allegiance to the czar; all their proclamations were in his name, and all their claims bounded to a due execution of the charter. As their ambition or their patriotism rose with their success, they insisted on an incorporation of Lithuania, and the other Polish provinces subject to Russia, with the kingdom. Some months after they declared the throne vacant—a declaration highly rash and impolitic.

The behaviour of Constantine in his retreat was not without generosity. At the request of the provisional government, he agreed to send back the Polish troops who still remained faithful to him, and proposed that if the people would submit he would endeavour not only to procure an amnesty for all, but the redress of their alleged grievances. It was too late, however, to think of such submission or such security; the die was irrevocably cast. If the Poles were guilty of rashness in what they had just effected, they were not likely to commit the folly of undoing it. On the 3rd of December his imperial highness evacuated the vicinity of the capital; about the middle of the month he crossed the Bug. He was unmolested in his retreat.[b]

The Polish aristocracy now set up a dictatorship under Gen. Jos. Chlylopicki, whereupon the court of St. Petersburg opened hostile negotiations. Nicholas declined to recognise the dictatorship and demanded an unconditional surrender. On January 25th Poland declared at an end the succession of the Russian imperial house to the throne of Poland and confirmed the national government. Against the Russian army under Diebitsch the Poles sent an army commanded by Divernicki. This army won several skirmishes, and on February 19th, 1831, besieged Grochow.[c] The Russians lost seven thousand men in this battle, and the Poles, who kept the field, two thousand. The Russians were again defeated at Zelicho (April 6th), at Siedlce (April 10th); and at Austrolensa (May 26th); on June 10th Diebitsch died of cholera. On June 19th, however, the Poles suffered a decided defeat at Vilna, and on September 8th Warsaw was taken by the Russians. In the following month the insurrection was suppressed and a ukase known as the organic statute issued by the czar, by which Poland became an integral part of the Russian empire.[a]

CONDITIONS LEADING TO THE INSURRECTION OF 1846

The condition of the native Poles since the last partition in 1794 had been very different in the portions allotted to the three partitioning powers. The Russians, aware that the nobles were the class in which the hostility to them was strongest, and fearful of the effects of a national revolution on the extreme frontier of their immense empire, had made the greatest efforts to ameliorate the condition of the peasants. The condition of the peasants became greatly superior to what it had ever been under the old national government and their stormy *Comitia*. The peasants were all emancipated, and put on the footing of farmers, entitled to the whole fruits of their toil, after satisfying the rent of the landlord.

In Prussian Poland, styled the grand duchy of Posen, the changes were still more radical, and perhaps erred on the side of undue concession to the popular demands. In 1817 the Prussian government, under the direction of the able and patriotic Baron Stein, had adopted a change which a revolutionary government would hardly have ventured to promulgate; they established to a certain extent an agrarian law. In lieu of the services in kind, which by the old law they were bound to give to their landlords in consideration of being maintained by them, the peasants received a third of the land they cultivated in property to themselves, and they were left to provide for their own subsistence. The old prohibition against the sale of lands on the part of the nobles was taken away, and facilities given for the purchase of the remaining two-thirds by the peasants, by permitting twenty-five years for paying up the price. This was a very great change, which at first sight seemed to be fraught with the dangers of revolutionary innovation; but being free of the most dangerous element in such changes—the excited passions of the people—it was not attended with any such effects. The nobles, who were to appearance despoiled of a third of their land, ere long found that, from the enhanced value of the remainder, and being freed from the obligation of maintaining their peasants, they were in effect gainers by the change, and they were perfectly contented with it.

In Austrian Poland, on the other hand, and especially in that large portion of it called Galicia, although certain changes had been introduced with a view to ameliorating the condition of the peasants, they had not been so well considered, and had by no means been attended by the same beneficial results. The serfs were in form emancipated, and the proprietor was even bound to furnish them with pieces of land adequate to the maintenance of themselves and their families. If matters had stopped here all would have been well; the insurrection which followed would have been prevented, and the frightful calamities which followed in its train would have been spared to humanity. But unfortunately the peasants, instead of being left in the undisturbed possession of their patches of ground, were subjected to a great variety of feudal services and restrictions, which being novel, and such as they had never previously been accustomed to, excited very great discontent. The cultivators, though entitled to the fruits of their little bit of ground, were not, properly speaking, proprietors; they could neither alienate them nor acquire other domains; and if any of them abandoned his possession, it devolved, as a matter of course, to another peasant, who became subjected to the *corvées* and seignorial rights exigible from every occupant of the land. On the other hand, the nobles, who alone could hold lands in fee-simple, were not entitled to sell them, and this reduced almost to nothing the value of

such estates as were charged with debt. So strongly was this grievance felt that numerous petitions were presented to the Aulic Council, praying for deliverance from the onerous exclusive privilege of holding lands. At length the government yielded, and the sale of lands was authorised. Immediately a class of small proprietors began to arise, who promised, by the possession of a little capital and habits of industry, to be of the utmost service to the country. But Metternich and the government ere long took alarm at the democratic ideas prevalent among these new landholders, especially in the year 1819, when all Europe was in commotion; and by an imperial edict, published in 1819, the perilous privilege of exclusively holding land was generally re-established. The only exception was in favour of the burghers of Leopol, who were almost entirely of German origin, and were permitted to acquire and hold lands.

The *corvée* also, or legal obligation on the part of the peasants to pay the rent of their lands in the form of labour rendered to their landlords, either on that portion of the estate which remained in his natural possession, or on the public roads, excited great discontent. Nothing could be more reasonable than such an arrangement. In truth, it is the only way in which rent *can* be paid in those remote districts where the sale of produce is difficult or impossible, and the cultivator has no other way of discharging what he owes to his landlord but by services in kind. Both parties, however, in Galicia expressed the utmost dissatisfaction at this state of things. The landlords sighed for payments in money, which might enable them to join the gaieties or share in the pleasures of Vienna or Warsaw; while the peasants anxiously desired to be delivered from all obligations to render personal service to their landlords, and allowed to exert their whole industry on their possessions for their own behoof. So numerous were the petitions on the subject presented to government that they laid down certain regulations for the commutation of services in kind into money payments; but the formalities required were so onerous and minute that they remained generally inoperative, and the services in kind continued to be rendered as before. At length the whole states of Galicia presented a formal demand to the government for the entire abolition of *corvées* in that province; but the cabinet of Vienna eluded the demand, alleging that, before it could be carried into effect, a regular survey would require to be made of the whole province, and that they had no funds to meet the expenses of such an undertaking. Upon this the nobles formally declared, in a general assembly of the four estates, that they would themselves bear the whole expense of the survey; but with their characteristic habits of procrastination the Austrian government allowed the offer to remain without an answer. Meanwhile, as the cognisance of all disputes between the landlords and their peasants was devolved upon the Austrian authorities, and as the taxes were progressively rising, the government shared in the whole unpopularity accruing from the vexed question of the *corvées*, and the discontent, both among the nobles and peasants of the country, became universal.

These causes of difference were in themselves sufficiently alarming; but they would have passed over without serious commotion had it not been for the efforts of the Socialists, who seized upon the rude, unlettered peasants of this province, who in every age have shown themselves in an especial manner prone to illusion and superstition, and propagated among them the dangerous doctrine that their only masters were "God and the emperor"; that the landlords had no right to any portion of the fruits of their toil; and that, on the contrary, their whole property belonged of right to themselves. These

doctrines speedily spread among the enthusiastic and illiterate peasants of Galicia. The principal instruments of excitement employed among the peasants were emissaries who went from village to village as the missionaries had formerly done in some parts of the West Indies, who inculcated the doctrine that the *corvée* had been abolished by the emperor seven years before, and was illegally kept up by the seigneurs, who refused to carry his paternal intentions into effect. Thus the Galician insurrection acquires an importance in general history which would not otherwise have belonged to it; for it was the first practical application of the doctrines of the socialists.

Two peculiar circumstances existed in Galicia which aggravated in a most serious degree the dangers, already sufficiently great, arising from the spread of such dangerous doctrines among an ignorant and excitable peasantry. The first of these was the multitude of Jews who were there, as elsewhere in Poland, settled in the chief towns and villages, and who monopolised nearly every situation of profit or importance in them. The greater part of their emoluments were derived from the sale of spirits and other intoxicating liquors, to which the Poles, like all northern nations, were immoderately addicted. The proprietors and the priests had long endeavoured to check this propensity, which there, as elsewhere, consumed nearly the whole substance of the working classes in debasing pleasures, and considerable success had attended their efforts. This was sufficient to set against them the whole body of the Jews.

The second circumstance which aggravated the hostile passions and increased the dangers of Galicia was the number of disbanded soldiers spread through the province, who were secretly retained as a sort of disguised police by the government. As the troops for the public service were levied in Galicia, as in Russia, not by ballot, but by a requisition of a certain number from each landlord, they were composed, for the most part, of the most restless and dangerous characters, whom it was deemed advisable to get quit of in this manner. Eight thousand of these unscrupulous persons had been disbanded in the end of 1845; but the government, aware of the dangers which threatened the province, and secretly dreading both the nobles and the peasants, retained them in their pay, and authorised them to seize and hand over to the Austrian authorities any persons belonging to either party who might be the first to threaten the public tranquillity. Deeming the nobles the more formidable, and likely most to embarrass the government, these agents inculcated on the peasants the belief that a general massacre of them was in contemplation, and to keep themselves well on their guard against the first aggressive movement on the part of the landlords. Thus the conflict which was approaching in Galicia was not between the government and the people.

Under these circumstances a collision at no distant period was inevitable; but the first blow was struck by the nobles. Driven to despair by the knowledge of an approaching socialist insurrection among the peasants, they organised a *coup-de-main* against Zarnow, the chief place of the Communists, where they hoped to be joined by the whole artisans, mechanics, and bourgeois of the province. The means at their disposal, however, to effect this object were miserably inadequate; the forces at their command were only two hundred, and the Austrian garrison of Zarnow was two thousand strong. The national party at Cracow strongly sympathised with these movements, and did their utmost to expand them into a general insurrection, extending over the whole of Old Poland, and which might terminate in the re-establishment of the national independence. Thus was the country at the same time threat-

ened with a double insurrection, and yet so strangely were the leaders of the two movements ignorant of each other, that not only was there no concert, but there existed the most deadly enmity between them. The nobles and superior classes were not more exasperated against the Austrian government, which had so long evaded their petitions and refused to redress their grievances, than the peasantry were against the nobles, by whom they had been led to believe the prodigal gifts of the emperor to them had been intercepted or concealed. Both parties were prepared to take up arms; but the two classes of insurgents were not prepared to fight in common against the government, but to massacre each other!

The *seignorial* insurgents appointed their rendezvous at the village of Lysagora, three leagues from Zarnow, where one hundred of them met on the night of the 19th of February. The cold was excessive, the ground covered with snow, and the conspirators, who for the most part arrived in sledges, were already almost frozen to death when they arrived, with their arms falling from their hands, at the place of rendezvous. But the government authorities were aware of what was going on, and at daybreak on the following morning the little band was surrounded by a greatly superior force composed of Austrian soldiers and armed peasants. The conspirators, ignorant of the intentions of the band by whom they were surrounded, laid down their arms, calling upon their comrades to fraternise with them; but no sooner had they done so than the peasants threw themselves upon them, bound them hand and foot and thrust them into a cellar, from whence they were conveyed in wagons to Zarnow. Hearing of this disaster, another band of conspirators near Ulikow threw away their arms and dispersed; but they were pursued with unrelenting fury by peasants, by whom the greater part were tracked out and cut down. These events, inconsiderable in themselves, became the source from which calamities unnumbered ensued to the whole province. Everywhere, when the news was received, which it generally was with great exaggeration, the peasants flew to arms, and commenced an attack on the châteaux of the seigneurs in their vicinity. By a refinement in cruelty which indicated too clearly the infernal agency at work among them, the peasants of each estate were directed, not against the château of their own landlord, but against that of the neighbouring one, in order that no lingering feelings of humanity might interfere with the work of destruction. Under such direction it proceeded with a rapidity, and terminated in a completeness, which might satisfy the most demoniacal spirit.

During these horrors the effervescence in Cracow reached its climax. That free town had long been the centre in which a general Polish insurrection was organised, and from which the revolutionary emissaries were despatched in every direction throughout Lithuania and Poland. The original movement, which terminated so disastrously in Galicia, was concerted with the leaders of the committee there, who had been formally installed in power by the committees in all parts of Poland on the 24th of January, and the insurrection was definitely fixed for the 24th of February. These preparations, and the general effervescence which prevailed, did not escape the notice of the consuls of the three powers resident in Cracow, and so early as the 16th of February they formally demanded of the senate whether they could guarantee the public tranquillity. They replied that they could do so from all internal dangers, but not from such as came from without; and that if danger threatened from that quarter, they abandoned themselves to the prudence of the three residents. Upon this a body of Austrian troops, under General Collin, marched towards the town, and entered it on the 18th. The conspirators

were surprised by this sudden inroad, which took place before the day fixed for the insurrection, and made very little resistance. Two days afterwards, however, a serious attack was made on the Imperialists by a body of insurgents who came from without, in which the Poles were unsuccessful. But the accounts received next day of the progress of the insurrection in Galicia and its ramifications in every part of Poland, and the magnitude of the forces which were accumulating round Cracow, were so formidable that Collin deemed his position untenable, and two days afterwards evacuated the place, taking with him the officers of government, senate, urban militia, and police, and made a precipitate retreat towards Galicia, abandoning the whole state of Cracow to the insurgents, by whom a provisional government was immediately appointed as for the whole of Poland. The first step of the new authorities was to publish a manifesto, in which, after stating that "all Poland was up in arms," it was declared that the order of nobility was abolished, *all property was to be divided* among the peasants occupying it, and the slightest resistance to the revolutionary authorities was punished with instant death.

Even if the insurrection had ever had any chances of success, they were utterly destroyed by this violent and ill-judged proclamation. Everyone saw that a democratic despotism was about to arise, endangering life, destructive to property, and fatal to all the ends of the social union. The insurgents increased considerably in strength, and in a few days twenty-five hundred bold and ardent spirits were concentrated in Cracow, chiefly from the neighbouring provinces. But the end was approaching. The alarm had now spread to all the partitioning powers, and orders were given to the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian forces to advance against the city. All was soon accomplished. The Austrian general, Collin, stopped his retreat, and retook Wieluzka and Podgorze, which he had evacuated in the first alarm consequent on the insurrection, while large bodies of Prussian and Austrian troops also advanced against the insurgents. Resistance in such circumstances was hopeless; and in the night of the 2nd of March the insurgents, still twenty-five hundred strong, evacuated the town, and the whole soon after capitulated to the Prussians. Meanwhile a Russian battalion and some Cossacks penetrated into Cracow, which was immediately declared in a state of siege, and next day jointly occupied by the forces of the three partitioning powers.

After a long deliberation it was resolved to repeal the treaties of April 21st, 1815, which established the republic of Cracow, and to restore it to the Austrian government, from whose dominions it had been originally taken. This was accordingly done by the treaty of November 16th, 1846, which, after narrating the repeated conspiracies of which the republic of Cracow had been the theatre, and the open insurrection and attempt to revolutionise Poland which had just been organised in its bosom, declared the existence of the republic terminated, and itself, with its whole territory, restored to Austria, as it stood before 1809. Thus the last relic of Polish nationality seemed finally extinguished.[d]

THE INSURRECTION OF 1863

The national spirit was by no means altogether subdued, however, as later events were to show. Yet for a long time there was no outward manifestation of its existence.[a] Day[e] declares that Poland gave no sign of life during the Crimean War, and that "not the faintest whisper arose from her cities, or her silent plains, which told the world she was resolved to re-assert her ancient freedom." He notes with seeming surprise the apparent apathy

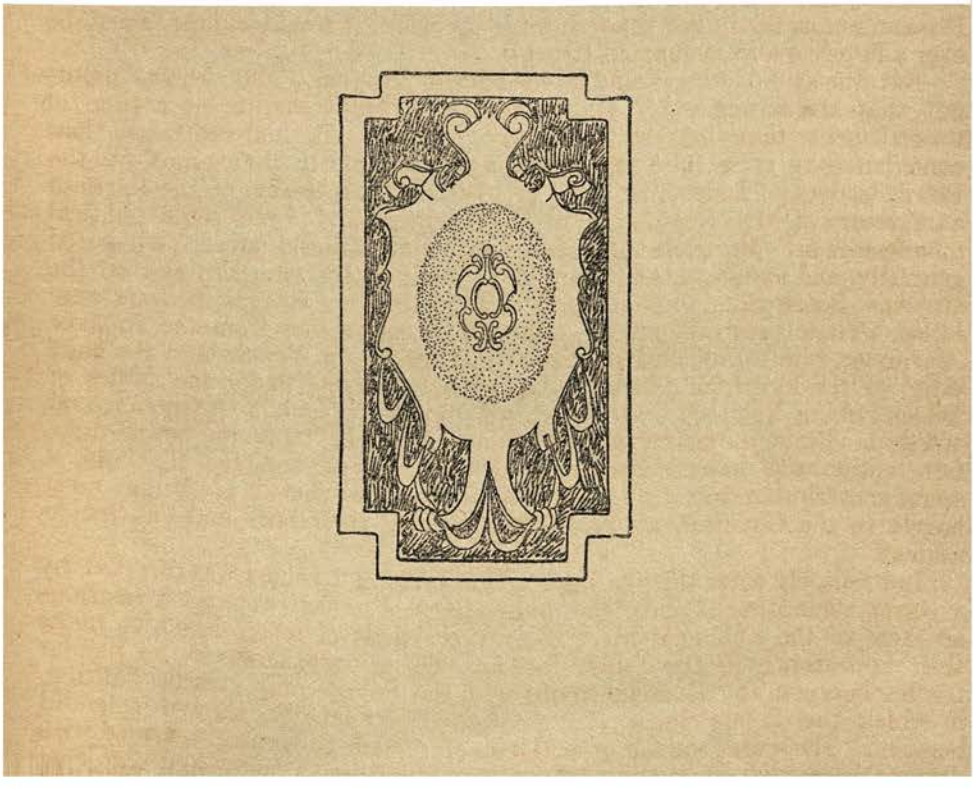
manifested by Poland during those tumultuous years about the middle of the century, when nearly all Europe was in a disturbed condition, and when many nations were in arms. Throughout this time, he observes, "a few reserved battalions of inferior soldiery had kept in check the land which, twenty-five years before, had haughtily challenged Russian supremacy on the battlefield of Grochow." To all outward appearances the humiliation of Poland had been final and complete, and the incorporation with Russia had become an accomplished fact. Polish soldiers fought valiantly in the Crimea, and, so far as the world in general could know, they were loyal and patriotic.

Yet beneath the surface Polish affairs were far less calm than they appeared. The desire for freedom was strong in a people that bided its time but did not forget. Nevertheless, even a keen observer might have been excused for supposing that the outward serenity of Polish affairs betokened a condition of actual quietude. In particular would this view seem to be justified when Poland showed no official interest in the Hungarian struggle for liberty—a struggle carried on at her very doors. If Polish soldiers could march side by side with the Russians against the army of Kossuth, it would indeed seem as if even sympathy with the liberal cause must have waned in the Commonwealth. Long years of suppression seemed to have taught the people that it is better to suffer the bonds of Russian autocracy rather than to keep up what, it would appear, must be ever a hopeless and ineffectual struggle.

But the smouldering flame broke out in the year 1863. Fyffe[f] points out that the struggles for Italian independence, occurring at a time of unsettlement that marked the early years of Alexander's reign, had contributed to raise false hopes and expectations in the minds of the Polish leaders.[a] Indeed, as early as 1860, on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the Revolution of 1830, there had been some political manifestations. Portraits of Kosciuszko and Kilinski were distributed generally, and manifestations were given both in the churches and on the streets. Some riots took place, and unfortunately several persons were killed. These proceedings were followed by concessions from the emperor Alexander, who established municipal institutions in Warsaw and the chief cities of the kingdom. The Russian czar was acting under the advice of Wielopolski, a Pole, who was appointed director of public instruction and worship. Riots, however, still continued, and in 1862 the grand-duke Constantine was named viceroy. On the night of January 15, 1863, a secret conscription was held, and the persons suspected of being most hostile to the Government were dragged from their beds and enlisted as soldiers.

Immediately after this the insurrection broke out, which was directed by a secret committee (Rzad), the proceedings of which were as mysterious as those of the Fehmgerichte. Soon after bands of rebels began to make their appearance in the Polish forests. There were, however, no regular battles between the Russian troops and the Poles,—only guerilla fighting, in which the Poles, under the greatest disadvantages, showed splendid heroism. The secret emissaries of the revolutionary Government, armed with daggers, succeeded in putting to death many Russian spies—not the least memorable case being that of the Jew Hermani, stabbed while on the staircase of the Hotel de l'Europe at Warsaw. On the other hand the chiefs of the insurgents captured were shot or hanged. Langiewicz held out for some time, but was defeated by the Russians, and succeeded in

making his escape into Galicia. A reign of terror was inaugurated by General Muraviev, and all attempts at reconciliation made by the great powers of Europe were useless. By May 1864 the rebellion was quite suppressed, and it will be seen by the results that it cost Poland dear. The kingdom of Poland now ceased to exist; it has been parcelled out into six governments. The Russian language was ordered to be used in all public documents instead of Polish, and the university of Warsaw has been Russified, all lectures now being delivered in that language.[g] Precise details as to the measures taken by Russia leading to the final incorporation of Poland with the empire belong properly to Russian history, and have been sufficiently detailed in an earlier volume (XVII). National feeling still exists in Poland, but the once powerful principality no longer exists as an autonomous body politic.[a]



THE HISTORY OF POLAND

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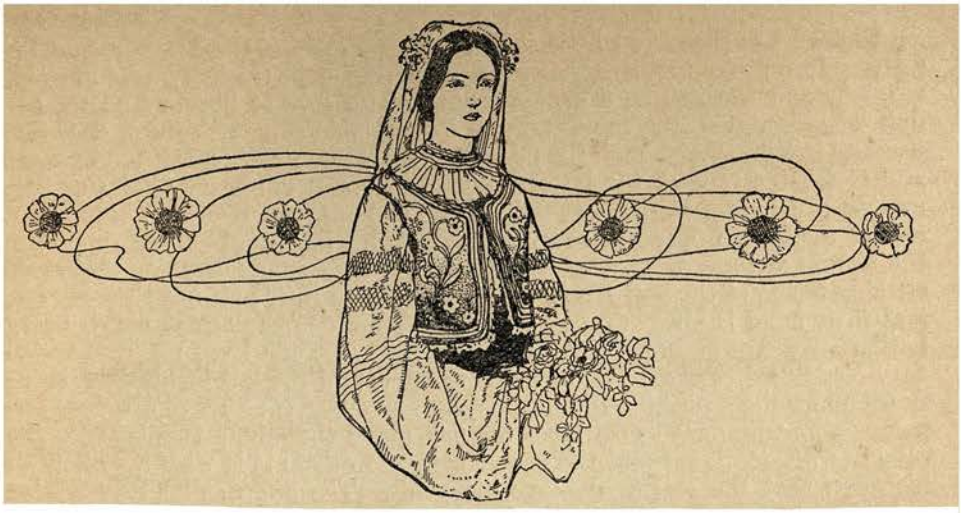


BOOK II

THE BALKAN STATES AND MODERN GREECE

CHAPTER I

THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF RUMANIA[1]

ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF RUMANIA

THE possession by Rome of the country called Macedonia, to the south of the Balkans, and of the country called by them Mœsia, now Bulgaria, led them in time into conflict with the paramount people immediately across the Danube. These were the Dacians, who inhabited the country at present known by its tripartite designation Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania, and who under the name of the Getæ were found to the south of the Danube. The people of the Balkans proper even during the Greek period had come in contact with them. The great Philip had captured their capital; but, impressed with the earnestness and the bravery of the inhabitants, he not only concluded a speedy peace and alliance with the nation, but married the daughter of the Getic king, Queen Meta. Lysimachus, who succeeded Alexander in Thrace, tried to punish them for aiding his rebel subjects in Mœsia. He was conquered, however, by the Getic king, and only on the payment of a heavy fine was he allowed to return to his own country. To-day the golden coin of Macedonia occasionally turns up to the Rumanian plough.[a]

[1 At a meeting of the Rumanian geographical society held at Bukharest on March 13, 1904, and presided over by King Charles, a protest was made against the inclusion of Rumania in the Balkan Peninsula and learned and scientific proofs were brought forward to show that neither geologically, ethnologically, nor politically does Rumania form one of the Balkan states. We include it in the present Book not with controversial intent, but as a matter of convenience.]

History has preserved little information concerning the Dacians and the Getæ. It represents them, however, as a people just, sober, as eminently religious and warlike, as a people renowned for love of liberty and for disdain of life. Ovid, the immortal and inconsolable exile of Tomes, describes them as follows: "Although the people of this country are a mixture of Greeks and Getæ, the race of the latter predominates. It is mostly Getan or Sarmatian cavaliers that one sees going and coming in the roads. There is not one of them who does not carry his quiver, his bow, and arrows dipped in the venom of the viper. They have rough voices, savage features, and are a striking image of the god Mars. They cut neither their hair nor their beards, and their hand is always prompt to use the murderous dagger, which every barbarian wears at his belt." The poet adds: "They have no laws which they respect; with them justice cedes to force, and the law bends and disappears under the sword." In another place he observes: "There are very few people here who dare to cultivate the fields, and those unfortunates hold the plough with one hand and the sword with the other; it is with a helmet on his head that the shepherd plays his pipes. The sword," he repeats, "is here the instrument of justice." One must remember, however, in order to moderate the severity of his judgment, that these are the complaints of an exile, who misses Rome and is trying to move Cæsar to pity his lot.

This people which regarded Mars as a common ancestor, which in its anger even defied heaven with arrows, believed in the migration of souls and in immortality; disciples of the rigid system of the stoics—a system which teaches the submission of the body to the mind and will, the consideration of virtue as the supreme good, and vice as the only evil—the Dacian people seemed to be cast in bronze. Zamolxis, the most celebrated of their sages and legislators, had taught them to regard death as the end of a miserable and transitory life, as the dawn of an eternal existence. This belief it was that caused them to shed tears on a cradle and to dance about a coffin. Scorn of life tended to make heroes of all the Dacians.[c]

We next hear of the Getæ as being defeated by the Gauls, by whom many of them were sold as slaves to the Athenians and other Greeks. The Getæ gradually retire from the foreground of history, and give place to the Daci, or Daoi, as they were called in Greek, a cognate race, who seem to have migrated from Rhodope, and about 90-57 B.C. attained a stable settlement and extensive influence under their leader Burvista. It has been usual to identify the Getæ and Daci as one, but though they continued to occupy the same country, and were, at least for a time, politically united, the allusions of the ancient writers seem to point to an essential difference. Numerous traces of Roman occupation are found throughout the region, and in Rumania the people pride themselves on their supposed descent from the Roman colonists, and use a dialect which bears a strong similarity to Latin.[s]

Mommsen [d] gives some details as to the life and work of Zamolxis, who had travelled in Egypt and Greece, and had imbibed something of the wisdom of the Egyptian priests and of the Greek philosophers. Zamolxis seems to have held a place among his people comparable to that of Moses and Aaron among the Hebrews. Out of his teaching and example there came a great reform of the nation, which comprehended not merely political but religious institutions. The chief practical organisers of the reform were, according to Mommsen, the celebrated king Boerebistes "and the god Dekaeneos." Tradition has it that the people were in a condition of unexampled moral degradation, drunkenness being the national vice. King Boerebistes introduced new ideals, and enforced them with such enthusiasm

and firmness as to revolutionise the social conditions. His political reforms were so potent that his kingdom was extended along both banks of the Danube, reaching southward far into Thrace, Illyria, and Noricum.

Boerebistes took sides in the war between Cæsar and Antony, and Augustus upon becoming emperor was wise enough to make friends with this powerful people and conferred upon the successors of Boerebistes the title of "friend and ally of the Roman people." This title does not appear to have been taken very seriously by the Dacians, and we hear of various incursions made by them into the Roman province of Mœsia, which was across the river from them. In the year 69 A.D. they were repulsed by Vespasian. The nation entered upon a new path of material prosperity under a king called Decebalus. In the year 86 A.D. Decebalus invaded Mœsia and drove the Romans to the Balkans, until the emperor Domitian himself was forced to march against him. The campaign was intrusted to Julian, who defeated the Dacians at a place called Tappæ and besieged their capital, Sarmizegethusa, the modern Varhely. A treaty of peace was concluded, in which Domitian promised to pay an annual tribute to the Dacian king. In spite of this dishonourable treaty Domitian returned to Rome with the title king of Dacia and celebrated a triumph, which, however, did not deceive the people as to the true state of things.

THE ROMAN PERIOD

Trajan's accession to the throne in 98 A.D. marks a new era in the history of the Dacians. In another part of the history we have read of his expeditions against them resulting in the conversion of Dacia into a Roman province and in the erection of Trajan's Column. This column is one of our most reliable records of civilisation among the Dacians.[a]

After the second defeat of Decebalus, this last king of the Dacians committed suicide. The event was followed by the dispersion or extermination of his people, which in its despair preferred death to captivity. About the year 106 of our era Trajan established his legions in the conquered country and repeopled it with colonists taken from the different provinces of the empire. These divided the land among themselves "fraternally": the expression is historical. Trajan's work was one of regeneration, for he introduced into the new province Roman laws and civilisation. He founded schools and cities, constructed forts, aqueducts, streets, and military roads, the traces of which may still be seen and wondered at to-day. Never was a nation founded under happier or more favourable auspices. One should study Trajan's life in order to appreciate the liberal and progressive spirit which must have controlled the establishment and organisation of the new province. His reign, according to Tacitus, was that rare epoch in the empire when everyone could think what he pleased and say what he thought. Thus was Dacia colonised by the Latins. A large number of its ancient cities were restored and many new towns arose.

During the lifetime of its founder and during the reign of Adrian this province was one of the most flourishing in the empire. This state of things continued until the incessant incursions of barbarians finally compromised the existence of the Trajan colony. Gallienus was obliged to abandon it. If the testimony of Pomponius may be accepted, it was reconquered by the emperor Claudius, and this was probably the case, since under Aurelian it was still a part of the empire. Aurelian, being unable to oppose a sufficient barrier to the ever-increasing floods of barbarians, who were threatening to engulf the whole empire, and despairing of being able longer to retain the

province, decided to withdraw his legions definitively, together with a part of the colonists.

When the necessities of defence, says Amédée Thierry (*Histoire d'Attila et ses successeurs*, Paris, 1856, I, pp. 248, 249), obliged the emperor Aurelian to retract the Roman frontier to the Danube, he opened a place of refuge for the Daco-Roman colonists on the right bank of the river, in a provincial subdivision separated from Mœsia, to which through a feeling of regret he gave the name of Dacia; but a large number of these trans-Danubian colonists refused to abandon their country. They remained as they could among the Gothic nations which were advancing towards the Danube from the banks of the Dniester.[c]

Still proud of the glory of the ancient Roman conquerors, the least Wallachian peasant considers himself descended from the patricians of Rome. Several of his customs, those at the birth of children, at marriages, at funeral ceremonies, still recall those of the Romans; the dance of the *Caluchares*, he says, is nothing else than that of the Salian priests. The Wallachian likes to talk of his "father" Trajan, to whom he attributes whatever he finds that is great in his country—not only the ruins of bridge, of fortress, and road, but natural phenomena which other peoples might attribute to a Roland, a Fingal, or to divine or infernal powers. Many a defile in the mountains was opened by the sword of Trajan; the avalanche which breaks loose from the summit is the "thunder of Trajan"; even the Milky Way has become the "road of Trajan"; during the course of centuries the apotheosis has become complete. Having chosen the old emperor for the representative of his nation, the Rumanian refuses to consider the Getæ and Dacians as his ancestors; he knows not what the Goths were, and if it is true that he is related to them in origin, it is certain that he has ceased to resemble them, except perhaps in the mountains, where one frequently sees big men, such as the original inhabitants must have been, with blue eyes and long fair hair. But in their grace and suppleness the mountaineers as well as the inhabitants of the Danubian plains differ from northern peoples and approach more nearly the peoples of the south.[e]

BARBARIAN INVASIONS (274–1250 A.D.)

For about a century after Dacia had been abandoned by Aurelian the country was overrun by one barbarian horde after another. During all this time, however, the descendants of the Roman colonists, in their mountain retreats, preserved their character and language. Some historians believe that all the colonists left the country at the time of Aurelian, and that they did not return to the region north of the Danube until the worst of the barbarian domination was over. The prevailing opinion, however, is that at least some representatives of those early settlers remained in the country during all the successive periods of invasion. The Rumanians especially insist upon this view; it must, however, be admitted that the question of nationality cannot be solved by their verdict. Their descent from those Roman colonists is better proved by their language, which, as one historian has it, "betrays its origin on every page of its grammar."

The first rulers in "Trajan's Dacia" after its abandonment by the Romans were the Goths, who remained until the year 376, or for about a century. The chief event during this period was the brief Roman occupation of the country under Constantine and the introduction of Christianity among the Goths. The latter were superseded by the Huns.[a]

At the death of the greatest chief of the Huns (Attila, in 453) his exten-

sive military and nomadic empire soon fell in pieces through the dissensions of his sons. The dominion of the Gepidæ, a Gothic stem, was established, and the land of Dacia was called Gepidia, which name lived longer than the power of the people who originated it.

In 576 the rule of the Gepidæ gave way to the attacks of the Lombards and Avars, and the latter, one of the wildest of Turkish tribes, gained possession of the land. Their rude sway extended from the Enns to the outer mountain wall of Transylvania.[f]

The customs of the Avars, says Amédée Thierry, were a mixture of grossness and luxury. They delighted in beautiful clothes, in gold and silver plate, and their khakans (rulers) lay on carved beds of gold adorned with silk stuffs, which served them as both couch and throne. Above these beds or divans was sometimes placed a dais or pavilion, sparkling with precious stones. Drunkenness, debauchery, and theft were common vices among the Avars, and a cruel brutality was associated with their debauches. A tradition still current at the time of Nestor, the oldest Russian historian, says that they yoked the Slavic women to their carts like beasts of burden.[c]

A TATAR COSTUME

After the inroads of Attila the weakness of the Byzantine kingdom was no longer a secret to the Slavic inhabitants of the northeast of Europe. Moreover, the cultivator of cold, marshy forest districts was seized with an irresistible longing for the mild breezes of the south, for the fruitful territories of Thrace and Macedonia, with their magnificent forests, verdant pastures, and inviting valleys. Thus was prepared a migration into the great eastern peninsula of Europe, the so-called Illyrian triangle, which was much more destructive and enduring in its consequences than the one experienced in the south and west of the Roman Empire through the inroads of the Germans. The terrible incursions of the races living north of the Danube into the Eastern Roman Empire had already begun in the year 539 A.D. Huns, Antes, Gepidæ, Bulgars, and above all Slavs in immense numbers broke again and again into the unfortunate, unprotected lands. In the middle of the sixth century the racial character of the Eastern Roman Empire suffered a change. This change persisted during the seventh and eighth centuries, till from the bank of the Danube to the mountain walls of the Taygetus the country became wholly Slavic.

From about 590 A.D. the Slavs of southern Hungary became subject to the Avars; those in Moldavia and Wallachia, as it seems, remained free. But soon another tribe appears upon the scene, that of the Bulgars. This was a branch of the Finnish family, which had once lived on the banks of the middle Atel; this river took its name of Volga from them. In 678-680 A.D. the Bulgars crossed the Danube, conquered Varna, overpowered the Slavic tribes which lived between the Danube and the peaks of the Hæmus (Balkans), and put the emperor Constantine to flight. After this time the old Mœsia and little Scythia is called Bulgaria.

Before the end of the eighth century the Avars succumbed to the weapons of the Franks. At the beginning of the ninth century a Finnish tribe, the Magyars or black Ugrians, being seized with the migratory impulse, advanced from the Ural towards the west, of which they were to be the scourge.[f] In the pay of the Byzantines, they attacked the Bulgarians, whose lands they made the scene of their plundering raids, until the latter in desperation called on the old enemies of the Hungarians, the "wild Petchenegs," to aid them. These broke into the territory of the Magyars at a time when the latter were engaged upon a new raid, killed all the human beings they found, and took possession of their land and property. From now on the Petchenegs occupied the land from the Danube to the Don. The Hungarians, however, deprived of their country, fell upon Moravia and Pannonia with great destruction.[g]

The Petchenegs were succeeded by the Kumani, a people of the same race as themselves, and speaking nearly the same language. We frequently hear of the latter in connection with the struggles between the Byzantines and Bulgarians. In 1239 they aided a French army marching to the assistance of Baldwin of Constantinople, and while their best troops were absent on this expedition their country was attacked and conquered by the Tatars. The latter did not remain long in these regions, and after their departure, the power of the Kumani being destroyed, the lands which were to form the future principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were at last free from foreign oppression.

FORMATION OF THE PRINCIPALITIES OF WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA

For about fifty years after the final departure of the barbarian invaders the country north of the Danube was ruled by petty chiefs, no one of whom acquired extended authority. The plains were at first occupied chiefly by Slavic peoples, for the descendants of the old Roman colonists were in the mountains. About 1290 Radlu Negru, or Rudolf the Black, came down from the mountains and founded the principality known as Wallachia, although that name is never used in the country itself, the natives calling their land Tsara Munteneasca ("land of mountains") or Tsara Romaneasca ("land of Rumans"). The name Walach or Vlach has the same origin as the English word Welsh, and represents the appellation given by the Teutons to the Roman provincials they found in the countries overrun by them, Walach being the Slavonic adaptation of the same word. According to Roesler, the Wallachian people is met with sporadically throughout the whole Balkan Peninsula.

Not long after the foundation of the Wallachian principality, a Rumanian colony, under the leadership of a chief called Dragosh, coming from the mountainous regions of Transylvania, whence they were driven by Hungarian oppression, founded the principality of Moldavia. These two principalities existed side by side, through all the vicissitudes of Turkish dominion, until 1859, when they were united under one king. They were governed by separate princes, called voyevods, who ruled absolutely. The manner of succession to the throne was the source of repeated civil strife. Any member of the reigning family had the right to succeed, subject to election by the nation. This election took place in an assembly of the chief nobles and clergy, and was afterwards submitted to ratification by the populace, who gave their vote by acclamation. If the prince left only one son all went well, but when the number was plural—the claim of natural sons was also admitted—the country

was plunged into civil war. The boyars or nobles occupied a prominent position in the army and in the administration of government.[a]

The name *boyar* signifies warrior, and that was the original character of the institution. The boyars were the proprietors—although not exclusively—of the soil, and the armed force of the nation; those inhabitants who were proprietors without making the carrying of arms their habitual profession were called *mosueni* in Wallachia and *medjiasi* in Moldavia.[c]

It would not be especially interesting or instructive for us to follow the varying fortunes of each successive prince who ruled in the two principalities. Only here and there does one rise above the level and attract our attention by personal exploits or by circumstances which brought him into prominence.

MIRCEA THE GREAT (1386-1418 A.D.)

Such a prince was Mircea the Great, who arose in 1386, and is celebrated for his wars with the Turks. The Rumanians had already come in contact with the latter at the battle on the Maritza, fought in 1364, for the recovery of Adrianople, when the Wallachians under their prince Alexander Bessaraba fought side by side with the Servians and Hungarians. The Christian army was at that time completely defeated. In 1389 Mircea allied himself with King Lazar of Servia in the battle of Kosovo, where the Turks, although outnumbered by their Christian opponents, delivered them a crushing defeat. Two years later they crossed the Danube to punish Mircea for his participation in the battle. The Rumanian forces had been weakened by their losses at Kosovo; Mircea was taken captive and sent to Brusa in Asia Minor. From this time on Wallachia is entered on the registers of the Ottoman Porte as tributary to Turkey.

The treaty concluded between Sultan Bayazid and the principality shows that the latter still retained its independence. The first article in that treaty reads: "By our great clemency we consent that the principality recently conquered by our invincible force may govern itself after its own laws, and that the prince of Wallachia shall have the right to make war or peace and the right of life or death over his subjects. But," the treaty goes on to say (Article 5), "on account of this high clemency and because we have written this rajah prince on the list of our subjects, he shall be held to pay annually to our imperial treasury 3,000 red piasters of the country or 500 silver piasters of our money." The captivity of the prince was not of long duration, and upon his return he made an alliance with the king of Hungary, hitherto his enemy, but who now began to realise the danger to his own land from the Turkish advance. The alliance was for the purpose of defending the two countries in case of an attack by the Turks, and it was followed before long by the battle of Nikopoli.

Besides the Rumanians, Sigismund, king of Hungary, had for his support six thousand knights sent by Charles VI of France to fight against the Turks. The Christian knights felt so sure of success, that instead of preparing themselves for fighting they gave themselves up to enjoyment. Froissart says that "the Turks surprised them at table, whence they had to drag themselves painfully to their horses." They were completely routed, and Mircea, perceiving the hopelessness of the combat, left the field of battle and returned to Wallachia. He was followed by the Turks, but this time they were not so successful, Mircea forcing them to retreat with great slaughter. After the capture of Sultan Bayazid by Timur the Tatar, we find Mircea actively supporting the

claims to the throne of Musa, the second son of Bayazid. When, however, Musa was deposed and killed, and the empire reunited under his brother Muhammed, Mircea was obliged again to bend his neck to the Turkish yoke. Moldavia during this time had been in a position of dependency upon Poland, and before Mircea's alliance with Hungary he had made a treaty also with the king of Poland, through the intervention of a Moldavian prince. This treaty was altered when Mircea found it to his advantage to have the friendship of Hungary.

This first great prince of Wallachia died in 1418. The great Rumanian historian, Xenopol,[g] says of him:[a] "He is one of the most remarkable figures in the history of the Rumanian principalities. The country over which he reigned being still entire and intact, the position of this prince among the surrounding countries was very important. That is why we see him turning the great kingdom of Poland to suit his policy, concluding with his ancient suzerain, the king of Hungary, a treaty on terms of equality, and playing a preponderant rôle in the internal struggles of the Ottoman Empire. Mircea was not only a great captain, he was also a very skilful politician, whose relations extended from the sea of Marmora to the kingdom of Poland."

VLAD THE IMPALER AND STEPHEN THE GREAT

From 1418 until 1456 both the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were torn by internal wars and dissensions caused by rival claimants to the throne, which undid all the work of Mircea and his predecessors. The Turks, in addition to increasing the monetary tax, had imposed upon them the human tax of five hundred children for the corps of janissaries. But at the end of that time two princes arose whose characters stand out in bold relief. These were Stephen the Great in Moldavia and Vlad the Impaler in Wallachia, whose horrible cognomen, it appears, was only too well deserved.[a]

His favourite amusement was impaling, and he liked best to dine with his court closely surrounded by impaled Turks. When Turkish ambassadors refused to salute him with bared head, he caused their turbans to be nailed to their heads with three nails, so that they should sit firmer, faithful to the custom of their fathers. He one day invited all the beggars in the country to a banquet, and after they had eaten and drunk he burned them all alive. His chief joy was to witness executions *en masse*. Four hundred young people from Hungary and Transylvania who had been sent to Wallachia to learn the language were burned together; six hundred merchants from Burzenland were spitted in the market-place; five hundred Wallachian nobles, of whom he had suspicions, were impaled, on the ground that they were not able to give correct statistical information concerning the number of inhabitants in their districts.[h]

Vlad commenced hostilities with the Turks by refusing to pay the tribute of five hundred children. His first move was to impale a company of two thousand men sent by Muhammed II in the guise of an embassy, although the real object of their mission was to take Vlad by surprise if possible. Muhammed then marched against him in person, accompanied by an army of two hundred and fifty thousand, as large, it is said, as the one with which he conquered Constantinople. Vlad, having himself spied out the enemy's camp, attacked it by night, routing the Turks with great confusion. But he did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory, being attacked and deposed by Stephen of Moldavia, whom he himself had placed on the throne by helping him to overthrow Peter Aaron, who had killed Stephen's father. It is a curious feature

in the history of the different Balkan states that their internal jealousies always prevented them from making a united front against the invading Turk, and we find them again and again expending their forces in fighting each other instead of joining against the common enemy. Stephen the Great came to the throne of Moldavia in 1457 and ruled for nearly fifty years, being engaged in repeated warfare. By deposing Radul, Vlad's successor on the throne of Wallachia, he drew upon himself the enmity of the Turks.[a]

This bold move on the part of Stephen can be explained only by his warlike and enterprising character; he stopped at nothing, and his undertakings had until then been crowned with brilliant success. He had intimidated the Poles, beaten the Hungarians, Wallachians, and Tatars. Why should he not vanquish also the Turks? His first acts, beginning with his aggression against Vlad and the cruel treatment inflicted on the Tatars, whom he irritated against himself to no purpose, show that Stephen in his first years followed the voice of passion rather than that of reason. His future genius was at first manifested by his impulsiveness. He did not find his equilibrium until later, when mature age brought him lessons of experience, together with the calm of reason.

OFFICER OF THE JANISSARIES

Knowing that he would be attacked by the Turks, he began to look about for allies, when an unexpected embassy came to find him at his capital of Sutchana. The Venetians, who were at war with the Turks, having sent Paul Omeubonum on a mission to the king of Persia, Uzun Hassan, the latter charged the Venetian ambassador on his return to Europe to go to the prince of Moldavia and give him a letter in which he begged Stephen to take the initiative in a Christian coalition against the Turks. Stephen seized the occasion to charge Omeubonum, in his turn, with a petition to the pope, asking him to form with him a holy alliance against the Ottomans, "in order that we may not be alone in fighting them." But Omeubonum had only reached Braïla when an Ottoman army, one hundred and twenty thousand men strong, without counting the contingent of Laiote Bessaraba, whom Stephen had placed on the throne of Wallachia in place of Radul, flooded Moldavia, under the command of Solyman Pasha.

Stephen had only forty thousand Moldavians, aided by five thousand Szeklers, of whom only eighteen hundred had been sent by the king of Hungary, the rest being recruited as mercenaries in Transylvania, in addition to two thousand Poles sent by King Casimir IV. However, by a successful stratagem, he defeated the Turks on January 14th, 1475, at Rakova, near the river Berlad; he killed twenty thousand of them, and took one hundred flags; four pashas and a large number of prisoners fell into his hands. What was left of the vanquished did not even reach the Danube. Stephen celebrated his victory by building a church, prescribing a fast of forty days, and by impaling the prisoners. Their victory was a feat of arms hitherto unexampled

in the fight between Turks and Christians. It was the first time that the Turks had lost a drawn battle of such importance; they felt its humiliation all the more keenly because their antagonists were simply peasants rudely armed. They well realised that their prestige had suffered. On all sides arose thanksgivings for the triumph of the Christian cause. The country and the senate of Venice, which heard the news of their brilliant victory from the lips of Paul Omeubonum, hastened to congratulate Stephen. Sixtus IV saluted him with the name Athlete of Christ.

In the concert of praise there resounded nevertheless a discordant note; it was that of Hungary, which did not wish to let its pretended vassal mount too high, and who could not forget its defeat at Baja and the cession of two fortresses to Transylvania. Hence Hungarian historians take sides with the Turks to attenuate the defeat of the latter. King Matthias did more: giving himself out to the pope as the suzerain of the prince of Moldavia, he obtained from the holy Chair an important subsidy for carrying on the war with the Turks, but used it all in the particular interests of his state.

Stephen, believing that he had acquired a title to the gratitude of the Christian world and the right to be aided, asked help from Hungary as well as from all countries which his request should reach. At the same time he sent special envoys to the pope and to Venice asking these two powers to aid with their subsidies. Venice excused herself on the ground of not being able for the moment to do so; the pope told Stephen's ambassadors that he had given the money to King Matthias, the suzerain of their prince. These ambassadors, two Catholic priests from Moldavia whom Stephen had taken into his council for the very purpose of gaining the good will of the pope, protested against their prince being considered a vassal, and gave the senate at Venice to understand that in case their master should not be assisted he would make peace with the infidels and would even ally himself against the Christians. The Venetian senate, alarmed at this prospect, sent a special ambassador to Stephen, called Emanuel Gerado, who was charged to follow every step of Stephen's, to fan his ardour with fine words, and to hinder him at any price from making an agreement with the sultan. The subtle diplomats of Vienna had understood Stephen's character perfectly and knew that he was inclined to listen with pleasure to words of praise, which he in fact merited; that he was prompt to take fire from fine words, of which the Venetian envoy was by no means sparing; and so fond of independence that he would rather perish than submit to a yoke.

The Turks, bent upon avenging their defeat, invaded Moldavia anew, with a still larger army, augmented as on the first occasion by the troops of Laiote Bessaraba and by the Tatars, who were to invade Moldavia at the very moment that the Turks crossed the Danube. As had been his fate with the pope and at Venice, everywhere he asked for aid Stephen found closed doors. Poland and Hungary feared for their pretensions to sovereignty over Moldavia in the event that Stephen should a second time succeed in defeating the Turks. The Moldavian prince was none the less determined to resist. He wished to oppose the crossing of the Danube, but the peasants in his army, fearing for their homes from an invasion of the Tatars, asked leave of Stephen to go and place their families in safety. They never returned. Stephen, left with only his cavalry, numbering ten thousand men, abandoned the defence of the river, and, after having devastated his own country to deprive the Turks of all means of subsistence, retired to a forest north of Moldavia, to Rasboeni, a clearing which he turned into an improvised fortress. The Turks pursued him, and, discovering the retreat of the Moldavians, after

several desperate attacks succeeded in dislodging them (1476). Stephen was vanquished but not discouraged. He went to Poland, where he soon collected a new army with which he undertook a determined campaign against the Turks, who were decimated by famine and sickness. This campaign terminated, like the first one, in complete ruin of the Turkish forces; arrived near the Danube, Stephen attacked them with fury, threw them into confusion, and cast their remains into the river. Profiting by his victory, he advanced the same year into Wallachia, dethroned the faithless Laiote Bessaraba, and replaced him by Vlad the Impaler, who was living at the court of Matthias Corvinus; but Vlad died in 1477 after a reign of a few months.

Bayazid II, seeing that he could not conquer the Moldavian prince by a direct attack, decided to employ the system by means of which the Turks had succeeded with Mircea the Great. He desired to gain possession of the fortress of the lower Danube; to this end he seized Kilia and Cetatea Alba (Akierman), which were at the same time two great gates of Moldavia (1484). Stephen performed the impossible in his efforts to save them; but so many successive invasions had almost completely ruined the country. Stephen had to repulse nearly every year invasions of the Turks, who were supported by the place they had just conquered. In an attempt to drive them out he decided to yield personal homage to King Casimir of Poland, a thing which he had hitherto constantly avoided. At the moment when Stephen was kneeling on the ground before the king, the hangings of the tent fell and he was exposed to the view of the whole army in that humiliating position. As the price of this sacrifice he received only a derisive support of four thousand men, wholly insufficient for the reconquest of his fortresses.

Casimir's successor, John (I) Albert (1492-1501), shortly after his accession to the throne came to an understanding with Matthias Corvinus' successor, Ladislaus, to overthrow Stephen and to divide his country. Albert invaded Moldavia, but Stephen, who had many desertions, humiliations, and treacheries to avenge, attacked the Poles at the moment when they were crossing the forest of Gosinen, caused trees which had been half cut in advance to fall upon them, and completely routed their army (1497). He pursued the vanquished as far as Lemberg, filling the whole country with fire and blood, and taking one hundred thousand captives. The king proposed to make peace; all traces of vassaldom disappeared in the treaty (1499).

For Stephen, the great thought of his life had been the struggle against the Turks. The princes of the Occident had abandoned him to his fate; had attacked him behind while he was facing the common enemy. He turned towards the north, hoping to find there more eager support in forming a league against the Ottomans. To succeed it was necessary to establish concord between the Tatars and Russians and between the Russians and the Lithuanians. At the very moment when he believed he had succeeded, an intrigue at the court of Ivan the Great, grand prince of Moscow, whose son had married a daughter of Stephen, compromised the alliance between Moldavia and Moscow. Stephen's efforts were fruitless in this direction also.

The prince of Moldavia was seventy-one years old: his forces were spent; a wound which he had received at the siege of Kilia in 1462, and which he had never had time to care for, became gangrenous. Being so near death, he advised his son and successor, Bogdan, in view of the fact that the Christian princes had abandoned him and had showed him bad faith, to make his submission to the Turks (1504). He well knew that with him perished the only arm which might have saved Moldavian independence. Bogdan, in 1513 (a century after the submission of Wallachia), of his own free will sent

the logothete Tautu to Constantinople to offer his recognition of Ottoman suzerainty. In our days the Moldavians have erected at Jassy, the ancient capital of Moldavia, a statue to Stephen the Great; they were right in so doing, for Stephen was the highest incarnation of their nationality.

The two Rumanian states had fallen under the domination of the Turks. They had been swallowed up after an energetic resistance, as had been Servia, Bulgaria, the Byzantine Empire, Albania. The turn of Hungary was soon to come. But in these struggles the Turks had used up the youth of their empire and their first vigour. When they arrived before Vienna, in 1529, their nerve was weakened. If western civilisation escaped destruction, or at least the eclipse with which Turkey was threatening it, the fact was largely due to the victories won by the Christian people of the Orient, and especially to the Rumanians.

RUMANIA TRIBUTARY TO THE TURKS

The Rumanians were fortunate in not being upon the direct route of the Turkish invasions towards the north. In Wallachia, in Moldavia, they retained the benefits conferred by treaties of submission. With the exception of the investiture of their princes by the sultan they were governed only by national chiefs, were burdened only by a moderate tribute and a military contingent; they had neither to endure the presence of Turks nor the establishment of mosques in their country. When their princes did not mix in Polish, Transylvanian, or Hungarian intrigues, the sultan left them in peace. In the contrary event, they had everything to fear; for they were squeezed in between Turkish Bulgaria and the domain of the Crimean Tatars.

In 1521, at the same time that the sultan (Soleiman I) was taking Belgrade, he ordered Mahmud Bey to direct an expedition into Transylvania. As he was passing through Wallachia, the bey, by a ruse, got possession of Nagul Bessaraba, son of the last voyevod of Wallachia, a child of seven years, and sent him with all his family to Constantinople. The Wallachian boyars, having proceeded to the election of an old monk named Radul, sent envoys to the sultan, to demand the confirmation of their choice; the envoys were strangled, and the people of their suite sent back with noses and ears cut off. Mahmud Bey conquered Radul and took the title of *sandjak bey* of Wallachia. In the mean while the boyars had called to their aid John Zapolya of Transylvania, who was not yet a vassal of the Turks; and Mahmud Bey judged it prudent to treat with them and to guarantee their right to elect a prince and their rights to certain other privileges. Afterwards, when the Transylvanian peril had seemed to be averted, the newly elected prince went to receive the insignia of his command; the sultan's deputy instead of giving him his armour dealt him a blow which stunned him. This perfidy resulted in a revolt of the boyars and in an intervention on the part of Transylvania. John Zapolya fought five battles with Mahmud Bey, but perceiving that the Rumanians were depleted, he finally advised the new prince, another Radul, whom the boyars had just chosen, to make submission. The latter obtained the Ottoman investiture on nearly the same conditions as his predecessors (1524).

Although Moldavia had recognised the suzerainty of the Turks under Bogdan (1513), it continued none the less to pursue a rather independent policy, often even hostile to its new masters. It did so especially under Bogdan's son, Stephen the Young (1517-1527), and still more so under Bog-

dan's brother, Peter Raresh or Rares (1527–1546). This prince, a natural son of Stephen the Great, who resembled his father in the boldness of his undertakings, had hardly ascended the throne when he wished to profit by the troubles of which Hungary had become the scene to extend his dominions in Transylvania. He there attacked King Ferdinand, at the very moment when Suleiman the Magnificent was besieging Vienna (1529). He pretended to be supporting the military action of the Turks, but soon he demanded from Zapolya the cession of several strongholds in Transylvania. Zapolya complained to the Porte. Raresh, commanded by the sultan to leave his vassal in peace, abandoned Transylvania; but he turned against Poland, which was then on good terms with the Turks. Fresh complaints ensued against Raresh, whose interference was again resented.

Suleiman sent one of his men, the Venetian Aloysio Gritti, to settle the differences between Poland and Moldavia. The Italian, perceiving that Raresh had lost the good graces of the Porte, imagined that he could dispossess him and place his son, Carlo Gritti, in his stead. Raresh, informed of Gritti's intrigues, had him put to death. At enmity with the Poles and with the Turks, he sought the alliance of another power. Not having succeeded in obtaining that of the grand prince of Moscow, he turned to Ferdinand, with whom he had formerly been at war, and entered into prolonged negotiations with him. One of his letters to Ferdinand was surprised by Zapolya and communicated to the sultan, who resolved to punish his faithless vassal. The reputation of power which Moldavia still enjoyed at that epoch is shown by the fact that Suleiman thought it necessary to put himself at the head of the expedition. The Ottoman army numbered fully one hundred and fifty thousand men. Besides, the sultan threw the Tatars of the Crimea upon Moldavia, while the Poles invaded the country from the north. The boyars and the people, seeing to what calamities Raresh had exposed Moldavia, abandoned him to make their submission to Suleiman. Raresh sought refuge in Transylvania, in his fortress of Cetatea. To remedy the fault he had committed he resolved to start for Constantinople with all his treasures, in order to procure his reinstatement by means of money. He succeeded; but Moldavia this time was really in the power of the Ottomans. Raresh none the less continued his intrigues. In 1541, Suleiman having instituted the pashalik of Buda, the Austrians organised a grand expedition against the Turks. They gained the prince of Moldavia, who promised in the thickest of the fight to pass from the ranks of the infidels to those of the Christians and to deliver up to them alive the sultan himself. The Austrian expedition perished miserably, and Raresh died shortly after (1546).*i*

His successor Elias (1546–1551) accepted Islam. A curious instance of how succession to the throne could be accomplished is furnished during the reign of Alexander, in 1561. In that year appeared an adventurer of Greek origin by the name of Jacob Basilicus, a student and writer of some worth. Weary perhaps of his somewhat humdrum existence as a petty ruler in the Ægean Islands, which he had inherited from his adoptive father, the despot of Paros, he took a fancy to become ruler of Moldavia. With an invented pedigree which began with Hercules and ended with the Moldavian voyevods, and with the more substantial support of Hungarian arms, he succeeded in ousting the voyevod Alexander, while with his money he purchased Turkish recognition of his right to rule.

He appears on the whole to have been a model prince. He attempted to reform the morals of the country, and established a school at which all the children he could muster were educated at his own expense. His system of

taxation, however, gave dissatisfaction, and in 1563 a rising of the people resulted in his overthrow and death. Alexander was reinstated by the sultan, and the country fell back into its former condition. The native population at that time was divided into two main classes, boyars and serfs. The former owned the land and the latter tilled it, being obliged to pay a tax on what they produced as well as upon the land itself. Besides these taxes there were the poll tax and various extraordinary imposts and levies, which with the ravages of war frequently reduced the peasantry to the lowest depths of poverty. The authority of the prince was unchecked by any definite limits, although the power of the boyars was so great that they frequently succeeded in overthrowing a ruler who was not pleasing to them. There were various offices, all in the hands of the boyars. Mr. Samuelson has given a concise list of the principal officials, which may be convenient for reference: *a*

(1) The *ban* of Krajova was viceroy of little Wallachia, and his authority reached back, in all probability, to the foundation of the principality. (2) The *vel-vornic*, or minister of the interior, was governor of the Carpathians and of the neighbouring districts. (3) The great *vornic* was governor of the lowlands. (4) The *logothete*, or chancellor, was minister of justice. (5) The great *spathar* was minister of war. (6) The great *vestiar*, treasurer and master of the robes. (7) The great *postelnik*, master of the post. (8) The *paharnic*, chief butler and cup-bearer (this was a title of Hungarian origin). (9) The great *stolnik*, chief cook. (10) The great *comis*, master of the horse. (11) The *aga*, chief of police. (12) The great *pitar*, inspector of commissariat. (13) The *serdar*, general of infantry of three districts (three thousand men). In Moldavia the spathar was called the *hetman*; in both principalities there were minor offices, and in Stephen's time the first six[1] only formed the council of ministers. *i*

JOHN THE TERRIBLE AND MICHAEL THE BRAVE

Nearly ten years after the death of the adventurer Jacob, Moldavia entered on a career of vigorous opposition to Turkish oppression under its ruler, John the Terrible, a descendant of Stephen the Great, who mounted the throne in 1572. In order to win money and influence, he had established himself as a dealer in precious stones at Constantinople, where he made money and became acquainted with important persons in the government. He was brought into conflict with the Ottomans through the political intrigues of Kiajna, a daughter of Peter Raresh, in Wallachia, who had succeeded in establishing one of her sons, Alexander, on the throne of Wallachia, and who now wanted the crown of Moldavia for the other, Peter the Lame. Consequently she offered 120,000 ducats tribute for Moldavia instead of the 60,000 which the country was then paying.

The Turks, always eager for money and just then needing it more than ever, in order to repair their losses at Lepanto, at once informed John the Terrible that unless he paid them 120,000 ducats they would no longer support him on the throne. John answered defiantly that he would rather use the money in raising troops to resist such extortionate demands. He then appealed to the peasants, who rallied around him enthusiastically. With their support and in spite of the hostility of the boyars, John gained several

[1] In later times the council was composed of twelve.

victories over the Turks. He was so successful that the sultan Selim at Constantinople ordered public prayers in all the mosques. He then commanded the *beylerbey* of Rumelia to attack him with one hundred thousand men. But all John's bravery could avail nothing against the treachery in his own ranks. In the midst of the decisive battle his cavalry deserted to the side of the Turks. His artillery in addition having been put out of service by rainy weather, John was obliged to retreat to a neighbouring village, where he defended himself valiantly, refusing to desert his loyal peasants by flight. Lack of water finally forced him to surrender, and he was quartered by the Turks. The devotion of the peasants to John the Terrible and his care for them form a pleasant contrast to the perfidy and selfishness of the nobles. It is related that in the battle the peasants would not permit John to go among the nobles, suspecting their treachery and fearing that they might deliver him alive to the Turks.

After the death of John, Moldavia fell a prey to rival contestants for the throne, and the country had no other history but that of their intrigues, until a counterpart of John the Terrible arose in Wallachia, and for a brief space illuminated the cloudy sky of the Rumanian people. This was Michael the Brave, who ascended the throne of Wallachia in 1593. He had been chosen by the people to rescue them from the misery to which they had been reduced by the Turks and Tatars and by the corrupt rule of their voyevod Alexander. With the aid of Sigismund Báthori of Transylvania and a plentiful supply of borrowed money he succeeded in getting his election recognised at Constantinople. He first made an alliance with Moldavia and Transylvania, and then proceeded to rid himself of all Turks within the country by a general preconcerted massacre, which usually goes by the name of the Wallachian Vespers (1594). Michael assembled all his creditors on the pretence of paying them back their money, but instead they were burned alive, together with their account books. Michael next defeated in three separate battles a Turkish army which was sent against him, crossed the Danube on the ice, and plundered the provinces of the Ottomans. The Turkish general Hasan, rallying his forces for the third time, was again defeated. He lost his life, and his army was this time completely destroyed.

The booty which the Wallachians took home with them was immense. The large numbers of horses and cattle introduced into the country brought down the price of those animals, causing a proportionate scarcity of meat at Constantinople. In that city all was consternation. The Porte did not know whom to send against Michael. Finally, in a solemn divan held at Constantinople it was decided, in consideration of the fact that the war with Hungary could not be carried on so long as Wallachia was in revolt, to send an expedition under the grand vizir Sinan Pasha.[a]

The campaign of Sinan in Wallachia commenced with reverses. The Turkish army after a long battle in the marshes of Kalugeran was completely destroyed. Sinan himself, half submerged in the marsh by his horse, owed his escape only to the vigour of a soldier in his suite called Hasan, who was ever after named Hasan of the Marsh, and who subsequently distinguished himself again for his bravery. A Wallachian prisoner gave up his life and exploded the powder of the Turkish army.

The grand vizir after recruiting his army marched upon Tirgovist. Michael drove him out after a siege of several days. Sinan doubled upon Bukharest and Giurgevo with the remainder of his troops; Michael attacked him again as he was crossing the bridge over the Danube, and, blowing up the bridge under the feet of his army, plunged him with all his artillery into the river.

During these disasters of the grand vizir in Wallachia, an Austrian and Hungarian army, under the command of Prince Mansfeld, besieged the fortified city of Gran in Hungary. The son of the grand vizir Sinan lost a third army in trying to relieve Gran. Gran surrendered after the death of its brave defender Kara Ali (Ali the Black), who was killed in the breach. In spite of a capitulation which assured the lives and property of the Turkish women and children, the pillaging, the thefts, and the massacres of the Germans and Hungarians at Gran stained the honesty and the humanity of the victors. The monuments, statues, pictures, and libraries, which the Turks had respected when they conquered the city, disappeared under the swords and flames of the German soldiery.

A whole slice of the empire seemed to crumble away towards the Danube after these reverses. Braïla, Varna, Kilia, Ismail, Silistria, Rustchuk, Bukharest, Akerman fell into the hands of the allied Wallachians, Germans, and Hungarians. The terror was reflected even in the serai. The sultan ordered public prayers on the square called Okmeidan. The grand vizir, who had re-entered Constantinople almost alone, humiliated himself under his disgrace and retired for the fourth time to the exile of vizirs at Malgara.[k]

The campaign against the Turks took place in 1595. In 1597 the sultan sent a red flag in token of peace to Michael and recognised him as prince of Wallachia. But Michael's ambition was not satisfied with having routed the Turks. He dreamed of uniting under his sway the whole of the ancient Dacia, including Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania. Sigismund Báthori having abdicated, Michael began to scheme to get hold of his domains, which had been left to Andreas Báthori. For this purpose he entered into negotiations with both sultan and German emperor, declaring himself the vassal of each. Profiting by a favourable occasion he invaded Transylvania, which he reduced to submission by one decisive battle between Hermannstadt and Schellenberg. Without stopping he proceeded to the capital, Weissenburg, entering it in triumph on November 1st, 1599. Historians tell of the gorgeous attire which he wore on that occasion and describe the appearance of his wife and children. The procession entered to the noise of cannon, and the music of the Wallachian national airs was rendered by gipsy performers.

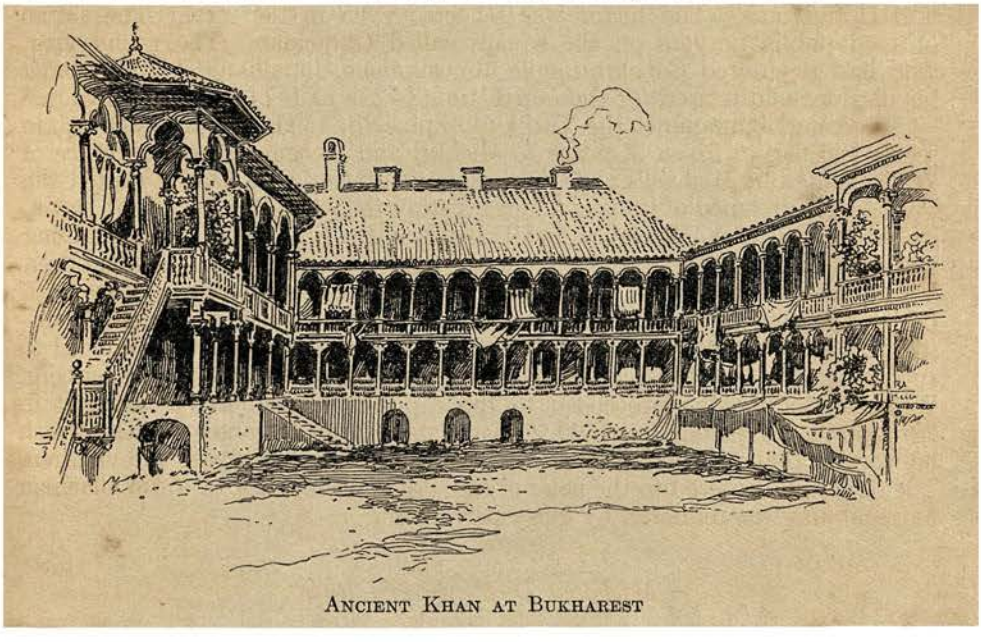
Michael's Duplicity and Ruin

Michael's conduct, with all his bravery, appears to have been characterised by extreme duplicity. The money spent on the campaign against Transylvania he had obtained from the German emperor on the pretence of using it against the Turks. While in the act of invading Transylvania he continued to profess allegiance to its ruler, Andreas Báthori. Following out his general policy he pretended to be preparing an attack upon the Ottoman Empire, when he suddenly fell upon Moldavia, and in one battle gained possession of that principality and expelled its voyevod Jeremiah.

All this time Michael had been acting in the name of the German emperor, and the latter, although very grudgingly, did nevertheless recognise him as ruler over the three principalities comprising the ancient Dacia. It is possible that he might have succeeded in retaining this position had he been able to gain the hearts of the people. But he had alienated the peasants by his severity, and the nobles regarded him with suspicion and were waiting only for an opportunity to rebel against him. The German emperor began more and more to doubt the sincerity of his professed allegiance, especially since

he still continued to negotiate with the Turks, while the nobles of course took pains to fan these suspicions.

As a result we find duplicity being answered by duplicity. The emperor sent emissaries to Transylvania to increase the feeling of discontent, while still feigning confidence in Michael, for fear he might place himself and the three principalities under Turkish protection. Surrounded by traitors, Michael began to lose his clear judgment. One of his bitterest enemies was the imperial general Basta, who had hoped to obtain the rule of Transylvania for himself, and hated Michael proportionately; even when this general joined in the revolt of the Transylvanian nobles, Michael was not sure whether or not he was being sent by the emperor, which made him hesitate in preparing for an attack. In the battle which ensued near the village of Mirischlau, Basta drew Michael from his almost impregnable position by a feigned retreat, and then at the critical moment turned about ready for an attack. Michael



ANCIENT KHAN AT BUKHAREST

was completely defeated (1600), but escaped, the enemy at his heels, by swimming across a river on his horse.

Moldavia now revolted, and Jeremiah, its former voyevod, who had sought refuge with the Poles, seized this opportunity with their aid to place his brother Simeon on the throne of Wallachia. Michael, being thus almost at one blow deprived of his three provinces, resolved upon a personal appeal to the emperor. After a journey full of danger he arrived at Vienna in 1601. Events in Transylvania, where Sigismund Báthori had again been placed on the throne, inclined the emperor to listen to Michael. Rudolf appointed him viceroy of Transylvania, and despatched him together with Basta and an imperial army to overthrow Sigismund. This was speedily accomplished; but, as might have been foreseen, the enmity between the two rivals broke out anew after the victory. Basta finally sent a company of soldiers to arrest his enemy, and Michael fell in his tent pierced with wounds before he could even seize his sword.

Thus ended the career of Michael the Brave, a man who had crowded so much history into the brief space of eight years, and who was the last Rumanian to resist successfully the invasion of the Turks. It is difficult to understand his policy, difficult to see why he did not confine himself to fighting Turks instead of waging wars against those who should have been his friends and allies. The eminent Rumanian historian, Xenopol, thinks that he was obliged to attack Transylvania and Moldavia because its rulers were hostile to him. Since these wars were forced upon him he had to have money to support an army. This he dared not demand from his own nobles at home, nor from the people whom he had just conquered; consequently the burden fell upon the Wallachian peasants. From his day dates the system of serfdom in Wallachia, a system which binds the peasant to the soil. So that if for a brief space Michael did succeed in liberating his country from the foreign yoke, its condition at his death was worse rather than better. In discussing what Michael might or might not have done, given the conditions in which he was placed, Xenopol says of him:[a]

"Michael the Brave in order to succeed should have repulsed the nobles and established his domination upon the goodwill of the populace. But how could he have attempted such a bold move at the epoch in which he lived? In all Europe, and especially in the Rumanian countries, the people existed only in name. They were of no more value than the cattle led to slaughter; they were there only to be despoiled and to serve as flesh for cannon in battles, without its being necessary to ask their consent for the sacrifices which were demanded of them. Michael the Brave ought to have relied on the peasants and repulsed the nobles! But the memory of John the Terrible, who had to pay for that folly with his quartered body, was still fresh. The plans of Michael the Brave demanded for their realisation a broad democratic base, but his century was not ripe for such a conception. He had undertaken a work not only beyond his strength, but beyond that of the time in which he lived. He wished by political combinations to win an influence which he could not win through popularity. He wished to found a state, and it was the people who were wanting. How, then, could he have succeeded?"[a]

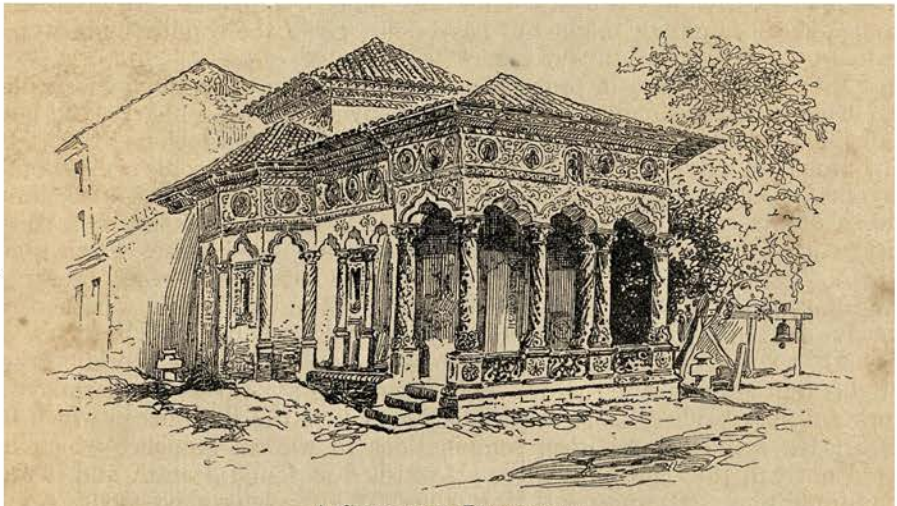
RUMANIA A TURKISH DEPENDENCY

After the time of John the Terrible and Michael the Brave the two principalities entered upon a period of subjection which lasted practically until the middle of the nineteenth century. Although for over a hundred years the rulers still continued to be mostly of Rumanian stock, they were rulers who had bought their appointments at Constantinople. The Greeks took a prominent part in these transactions and drew large revenues from the nobles competing for the two thrones. The native boyars were united in only one thing—their objection to the ever-increasing Greek influence; otherwise they fought among themselves, while the condition of the people became worse and worse. In 1619 the sultan, utterly disregarding the national susceptibilities of the people, sent an Italian to govern Moldavia.

Nevertheless, the national independence was not completely lost. In the early part of the seventeenth century two rulers arose during whose reigns there was a period of comparative order and prosperity which was in marked contrast to the political turmoil and corruption of the times. These were Bessaraba in Wallachia and Vasilje Lupul (Basil the Wolf) in Moldavia, who reigned respectively from 1633 to 1654 and from 1634 to 1653. They

introduced codes of written law, purified the church, encouraged the foundation of schools and monastic colleges, and promoted literature and the arts. The country received its first printing-press at this time; the first Rumanian book printed on Rumanian territory appeared in 1640.

Unfortunately, however, the two rulers quarrelled between themselves and wasted their strength in fighting each other. But the important matter to note is that the national sentiment of independence, however obscured in the minds of the nobility, was still alive and pulsing in the Rumanian people. In 1679 another ruler of ability, Serban Cantacuzenus, came to the throne of Wallachia. He continued to encourage education, and in the last year of his reign a part of a Rumanian translation of the Bible was published. Serban was asked by the Turks to take part in the siege of Vienna, but he loaded his cannon with balls of hay and thus helped to save the city. He had a secret



A CHURCH IN BUKHAREST

understanding with the emperor, and even thought of attacking Constantinople, but this plan was never carried out, and Serban was poisoned by his relatives in 1688. At his death the boyars hastened to crown his nephew, Constantine Brancovano, before the Porte had had time to give the throne to a Greek adventurer. His reign is important as marking the first conscious relationship entered upon between Russia and the Danubian principalities.

THE BEGINNING OF RUSSIAN INTERFERENCE IN THE BALKANS

Russia was emerging as an accredited nationality from among the hordes of the East, and was now an empire fairly well organised, and so far assured of its national possessions as to begin to have national ambitions. Quite as early as the year 1674, when Alexis was on the throne, a petition joined in by both principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, had been presented to the emperor petitioning his protection against Ottoman oppression. Alexis, however, first demanded an oath of allegiance from the sovereign princes of both principalities, "after which he was quite prepared to be their champion." Such an oath was felt to be compromising, and the negotiations as a conse-

quence came to nothing. The student of this period of history must note above all things this first step towards a *rapprochement* between the two nationalities of Rumania and Russia, as he will have occasion to see that the whole complicated question called the "Eastern" derives its origin from this first petition. He will also be on his guard to note with what facility Russia contrives to get petitions presented to her. This facility has reached a much more fully developed stage since these early years; but foremost among the nations of Europe stands Russia in the matter of keeping an open ear towards the plaints of the oppressed and the downtrodden. This attitude it is which entitles Russia, and both its friends and its enemies, to speak now in sincerity, now in veiled reproach, of that empire as "holy" Russia.

This first attempt to enlist the services of Russia as protector having failed, we find that in 1688 the ruler of Wallachia, on the plea of Turkish oppression, petitioned Peter the Great for protection and redress. Much negotiation ensued and Russian agents were busily employed in arousing a pro-Russian sentiment among the suspicious nobility and such of the peasantry as feared Russian protection more than Turkish domination; but nothing effective resulted till, in 1711, a treaty of alliance was entered upon. The motives which actuated the contracting parties are not far to seek. The Rumanians eagerly wished to be independent of the Turk, more especially of his business agents, the plundering Greeks. On the other hand Peter the Great wished an extension of territory; and as a step towards the accomplishment of this wish, he desired to absorb the Rumanian kingdom as a prelude to the absorption of the Slav populations in the Balkans. Nor was the present day-dream of Russia without its germ in 1711. Constantinople was an inviting object, and it was not an unnatural ambition that the "frozen bear" of the North should wish to thaw his "members politic" on the genial shores and in the more genial waters of the Ægean Sea. Hence, on his being approached by Rumania in 1711, he entered into the spirit of the petition with the greatest heartiness.

Wallachia promised to provide Peter with an army of thirty thousand; and the Russians promised that the integrity of both thrones should be respected by Turk and Russian alike, and that the country should not be overrun by foreign settlers. Peter flooded both principalities with Russian soldiery, with the result that the patrons and the patronised began to quarrel. Much enthusiasm, however, was evoked in general, but neither Russian leadership nor Rumanian patriotism sufficed to preserve the allied forces against crushing defeat by the trained troops of the Ottoman power. Their great protector Peter had merely time to secure his personal safety and hurry back to his kingdom, to which Cantemir, the ruler of Moldavia, followed him with a large colony of Moldavian malcontents, while Brancovano, affording another illustration of the working of treachery, fell a victim to the sultan's sword.[a]

FANARIOT RULE IN RUMANIA

In order to insure the fidelity of the two principalities the Porte took away the administration from native boyars; but instead of making two pashaliks of them it had them governed by Christian rayahs whom the divan chose among the "Greeks of the Fanar, who had long been the lowest and most corrupt servants of the Porte." It would have been impossible to find more abjection joined to more venality. Being slaves, they yet thought themselves

descendants of Alexander; insolent and barbarous towards their subalterns, they begged a smile from their masters as if it had been a favour that was thus granted them.

The first Fanariot who governed Wallachia, Maurocordatos, paid for his elevation to that office by increasing the tribute to the Porte 500,000 piastres. His tyranny aroused against him all classes of society; he was deposed in 1741. His successor, Racovitza, increased the tribute still further. He remained in power only three years and gave way to Maurocordatos, who was reinstated in office. In 1748 Maurocordatos went to govern Moldavia, and was replaced by Gregory Ghika. "This prince," says a Rumanian historian, "like his predecessors and his successors of the same stamp, regarded the principality only as a conquered country where he had the right to pillage and enrich himself without thought for the poor inhabitants or for the rights of humanity."

Valets of the Turks, spies of the Russians, betraying the two governments in turn, solely occupied, *per fas et nefas*, in amassing treasures with which to buy from the divan their precarious authority, the Fanariots brought into the principalities servility, corruption, and a deficient moral sense. These princes, who trembled before a simple *tchoadar*, had energy only for doing evil; they wished to hide the infamy of their origin in a sea of blood: the *parvenus* turned into tyrants. Fearful lest indignation and despair might drive the Rumanians to revolt, they undertook the extermination of the Moldo-Wallachian nobility in order to deprive insurrection of its leaders. Almost all the boyars, whose ancestors had distinguished themselves on battle-fields against the Turks, the Hungarians, or the Poles, fell under the executioner's axe or perished in exile. Titles of nobility put up at auction were sold to the dregs of the Fanar. In the place of the old aristocracy, which had been always ready to shed its blood for its country, there grew up a so-called nobility without honour or modesty, without faith or law; its god was the calf of gold; its device, Everything for money and by money.[1] Adventurers disguised as princes, low-born wretches with the dirt hardly wiped off them, decked out with the title of boyar; primates bastinaded by the first Turks who came along, masters and lackeys, all had only one thought—to rob the country. Their domination weighed heavily upon Moldo-Wallachia, and if Rumania was not poisoned to the marrow, and brought into a condition where future growth was impossible, she owes it solely to the vigorous temperament of her people and to the spirit of vitality and resistance of the Latin race.

"The Wallachians in the time of Michael the Brave," says Cogolniceano, "refused to have Greeks even as simple employees in the government; the Wallachian of 1756 accepted with indifference either the refuse of the Fanar and of Albania, or bootmakers and oyster sellers; they suffered and kept silence."

They drained the cup to its dregs, but they conceived a rabid hatred against the Turks, who violated the rights assured to the principalities by ancient treaties; they fixed all their hopes upon the Russians, whom they had come to regard as their appointed liberators. One day Rumania would make the Porte pay dearly for the infamies it had allowed the Fanariots to perpetrate.

[1] The great boyars of the present day are for the most part of Greek, Gipsy, or Albanian race, and those who can trace their ancestry back for one hundred years are considered to be of ancient stock. It is just to say that the present generation rejects any connection with the Fanariots; it denies them and takes pride in being Rumanian.

RUSSIAN INTRIGUES

Although foiled in the first attempt to make the incorporation of Rumania into the Muscovite Empire a stepping-stone to the conquest of the southern Slavs, and eventually of the remains of the Grecian Empire, yet Russia did not abandon her policy of aggression. A general view of Europe and European alliances at this period is instructive. France, having as early as the middle of the fifteenth century agreed upon capitulations with Turkey, was on the whole an ally of the Porte. But then France herself, owing to western affairs, was most frequently an ineffective friend. At the opposite side of Europe there was the rising power of Russia. England and the central states of Europe were beginning very reasonably to be alarmed at the increasing aggressiveness of the Muscovite. Most European powers had representatives at Constantinople by the end of the seventeenth century. These urged upon Turkey what the sultan himself was of his own accord inclined to favour—the policy of using Central Europe, but especially the semi-barbarian races of the north, as a bulwark against Muscovite aggression.

Russia's attitude was persistent throughout, and consistently persistent. Where intrigue and bribery could not effect the object of emperor or empress, arms were resorted to, and after arms the art of astute treaty-making. The empress Anne, whilst resolved on acquiring the Turkish territories which excluded the Muscovites from the Black Sea, and whilst steadily making war against the Poles on her eastern and the Tatars on her southern border, never forgot the policy of a Rumanian conquest. Consequently she demanded that Moldavia and Wallachia be regarded as independent principalities, and that their independence be safeguarded by a Russian protectorate. This would have been the first step towards a Russian advance into the Balkan Peninsula, and, naturally, the Porte refused to accept these terms. The Russian field-marshal Münnich therefore invaded the country. He was suited neither by natural temperament nor by a knowledge of the people to conciliate the Rumanian population, and the cost of his armies and his own maintenance being a heavy charge, the people soon saw that a Muscovite "liberator" might be as harsh as a Greek governor, and from this period the student may date the rise of a strong anti-Russian party in Rumania. A treaty was concluded at Belgrade in 1739 which restored Moldavia to the Turkish Empire, and, generally speaking, left matters *in statu quo*.

The next attempt at aggression was made by Catherine II. After fertilising the national sentiment of Rumania and of the Greek Christians of the Balkans generally by a silent invasion of Russian emissaries, she made a desperate attempt upon the two principalities. In 1768 the Russians gained a great victory on the river Dniester, and the Moldavians and the Wallachians grovelled before the invading Muscovite. The town of Jassy surrendered gladly to the Russian commander Galitzin. Here, at the surrendering of the keys of the town in the cathedral, no flattery towards Catherine and her general was considered too fulsome, and the inhabitants promised under oath to "consider the enemies of the Russian army as those of Moldavia, and to behave in all things as the good and faithful slaves of her majesty."

Austria immediately took alarm at the Russian success and refused to acknowledge the independence or Russian dependence of Rumania, or to permit the further advance of the Russian army. A peace was patched up in one of the most peculiar and important treaties which concern Eastern politics. This was the celebrated Peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji, dated July 21st, 1774.[a]

The Peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji (July 21st, 1774)

By this treaty the Porte recognised the independence of the Crimea, of Budjak, and Kuban. Wallachia and Moldavia returned to their obedience to the Porte, but by a clause which has been disastrous to it the latter consented "that, whatever the circumstances in which the principalities and their sovereigns shall find themselves, the ministers and the court of Russia may intercede for them and win audience of the Porte." That put the principalities under the protectorate of the czars. Article 7 also gave a free field to the usurpation of the Russians by ceding to them the right to remonstrate in favour of the Christian religion and of its churches. It was this right that caused the war of 1854. "Since the Peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji," says Von Hammer,[h] "Russia has been the oracle of diplomatic negotiations carried on at the Porte, the arbiter of peace or of war, the soul of the most important affairs of the empire."[l]

Russo-Turkish Conventions

The history of the principalities after the Peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji might be summed up in an enumeration of the treaties which were made and broken, and which at successive times regulated the affairs of the country. Wallachia and Moldavia were occupied and reoccupied by Russian troops; the governors were changed and changed again by the Porte. In 1783 the Russians forced a hatti-sherif from the sultan, which defined the status of the principalities more clearly. In 1792 the Peace of Jassy confirmed the privileges declared in the hatti-sherif and fixed the Dniester as the Russian boundary. In 1802, after a period during which the country had been overrun by rebels and by Turkish troops, a new convention was signed between Turkey and Russia providing that the hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia be appointed for seven years, and that they should not be removed without the acquiescence of the Russian envoy at Constantinople, who was permitted also to advise the governors of the principalities. Thus Russia's protective rights were formally recognised.

The Turks, however, violated this treaty by deposing the hospodar Ypsilanti, who had secretly supported the Servian revolution under Czerny (Kara George); and Russia, making this a pretext for war, again invaded the principalities. Peace was restored in 1812 by the Treaty of Bukharest, which fixed the Pruth as the boundary of the two empires. The czar abandoned Wallachia and Moldavia to the vengeance of the sultan, but kept Bessarabia and the mouths of the Danube. The loss of Bessarabia was a severe blow to the national sentiments of the people. They looked upon the Pruth as separating them from their friends and relatives on the other side, who had now become subjects of another empire. All that the Rumanians had gained by the wars carried on since 1711 had been the loss of Bukowina to the Austrians in 1771 and of Bessarabia to the Russians in 1812.

In spite of the apparent losses, however, there had been growing a sentiment of solidarity between the two sister countries which was eventually to unite them and enable them to throw off the yoke of the oppressor. The war of Greek independence, which broke out in 1821, was to overthrow the Fanariot system. Moldavia was persuaded by Ypsilanti, son of a former governor, to take up arms for the Greeks, while Wallachia, under its patriotic prince Vladimirescu, not only refused to join the Greeks but fought actively against them, preferring the rule of the Turks to theirs. Vladimirescu was murdered by

Ypsilanti's agents, while Ypsilanti was forced by the Turks to flee to Austria, where he was captured and died in prison. Turkish troops occupied the countries, but the sultan had been taught to suspect his Fanariot agents, and he now consented to appoint native rulers in the principalities.

Although freed from the hated Greek dominion, the new rulers found their patriotic schemes for reform very much hindered by Russia, whose influence was now supreme in the land. This influence was still further increased by the treaties of Akerman and of Adrianople, which placed the principalities wholly under the protection of Russia, although they still continued to pay tribute to the Porte. By the Treaty of Akerman, signed in 1826,[a] the Sublime Porte solemnly engaged to observe all the treaties, privileges, and acts, on every occasion, in favour of the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, contained in the Treaty of Bukharest, as also the hatti-sherif of 1802, which enumerated these privileges. The hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia were to be chosen, agreeably to ancient usage, by the boyars of those provinces respectively, subject to the consent and approbation of the Sublime Porte, the period of their enjoyment of power being in every instance seven years. No hospodar was to be dismissed from office without notification to the Russian ambassador; but if no cause of complaint had been stated by that power, he might be re-elected, after notification to the Russian ambassador, for a second term of seven years. The confiscated properties in the two provinces were to be restored to the former proprietors, and those implicated in the troubles of 1821 were to be permitted to return without being molested or disquieted in any particular. All taxes and impositions were to be remitted to the inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia for the period of two years, and entire freedom of commerce and exportation of the produce of their industry to any part of the world.[m]

Two years later war again broke out between Russia and Turkey, and the principalities were invaded by Russian troops for the sixth time. The Treaty of Adrianople, signed in 1829 at the close of the war, confirmed the privileges granted to the sister countries in 1826, and made Russia practically ruler over them.[a] It provided that the hospodars of these provinces should be elected for life, and not, as heretofore, for seven years; that the pashas and officers of the Porte in the adjoining provinces were not to be at liberty to intermingle in any respect in their concerns; that the middle of the Danube was to be the boundary between them to the junction of that river with the Pruth; and "the better to secure the future inviolability of Moldavia and Wallachia, the Sublime Porte engaged not to maintain any fortified post or any Mussulman establishment on the north of the Danube; that the towns situated on the left bank, including Giurgevo, should be restored to Wallachia, and their fortifications never restored; and all Mussulmans holding possessions on the left bank were to be bound to sell them to the natives in the space of eighteen months. The government of the hospodars was to be entirely independent of Turkey, and they were to be liberated from the quota of provisions they had hitherto been bound to furnish to Constantinople and the fortresses on the Danube. They were to be occupied by the Russian troops till the indemnity was fully paid up; for which ten years were allowed, and to be relieved of all tribute to the Porte during their occupation, and for two years after it had ceased."[m]

For the internal administration of the countries, a constitution called the *réglement organique* was drawn up under Russian influence, and hence aiming at strengthening that influence. It was far from liberal in character, ignored all rights of the people—except the right of paying taxes—and conferred all

privileges upon the boyars. On the ratification of this constitution by the Porte in 1834 the Russian army of occupation withdrew. The princes now appointed to rule in the principalities were wholly devoted to Russia and Russian interests; in Wallachia, Ghika was prince and ruled from 1834 to 1842. He was succeeded by Bibesco, who ruled till 1848. Michael Sturdza occupied the throne of Moldavia. The national spirit was, however, still alive in the people, who resented increasingly foreign tyranny. This sentiment was especially fostered by young Rumanians who received their education in France and returned home full of ideas of civil and political liberty. Schools were established in which the teaching was in the native Rumanian tongue. People began to be proud of their nationality, to take an interest in literature and the arts. Russia, becoming alarmed at this progressive movement, intro-

CHURCH OF ARGIS, BUKHAREST

duced reactionary measures and closed the national schools at Jassy and Bukharest, but the movement still went on until the eventful year 1848.[a]

The reaction of the events of 1848 in France had been felt throughout Europe; everywhere oppressed people were rising to vindicate their nationality and their liberty. Everywhere thrones were tottering under the blows of revolutions. Wallachia and Moldavia did not remain behind; at the news of the insurrection at Vienna the whole country flew to arms. Prince Bibesco fled and a provisional government was established, which called to arms Bukowina, Transylvania, and Bessarabia and dreamed of forming a Rumanian empire. Omar Pasha invaded the principalities; immediately the Russians entered Moldavia (June 20th, 1848). The provisionary government took to flight and sixty thousand Russians occupied Wallachia. At the moment when relations threatened to break off between the sultan and the czar, the Convention of Balta-Limani intervened (1849).[l]

According to the terms of this treaty the sultan was to appoint the hospodars for Moldavia and Wallachia "in a way specially agreed upon for this time by the two courts, in order to confide the administration of these provinces to the most worthy candidate." The rulers were to be appointed for

seven years only, and the two powers reserved the right to decide what should be done at the expiration of that time. Russian and Ottoman troops were to be kept in the country to preserve order, and special commissaries were to be appointed from each government to aid the hospodars with their advice.

Thus the principalities were placed again under the old system of subjection, but the sentiment of nationality once aroused could not be so easily crushed, and events were taking shape throughout Europe which were to liberate the oppressed countries. The hospodars appointed in 1849, Gregoriu Ghika in Moldavia and Barbu Stirbeiu in Wallachia, encouraged popular ideas and introduced beneficial reforms. Then war broke out again in 1853; the principalities were occupied by Russian troops, which were followed by an Austrian army of occupation. The Crimean war, however, led to the Treaty of Paris, which marked the beginning of Rumanian freedom.

The Treaty of Paris removed the principalities from the protection of Russia and placed them under that of the contracting European powers generally, giving back to Moldavia a part of southern Bessarabia. A European commission was to be appointed to revise the laws with the aid of the national councils or divans which the Porte was to call together in each of the two countries. The suzerainty of the Porte was still recognised, although in matters of internal administration the principalities were allowed complete independence. In the same year the seven years' term of the hospodars appointed in agreement with the treaty of 1849 expired, and the question of the future organisation of the country caused great agitation.[a]

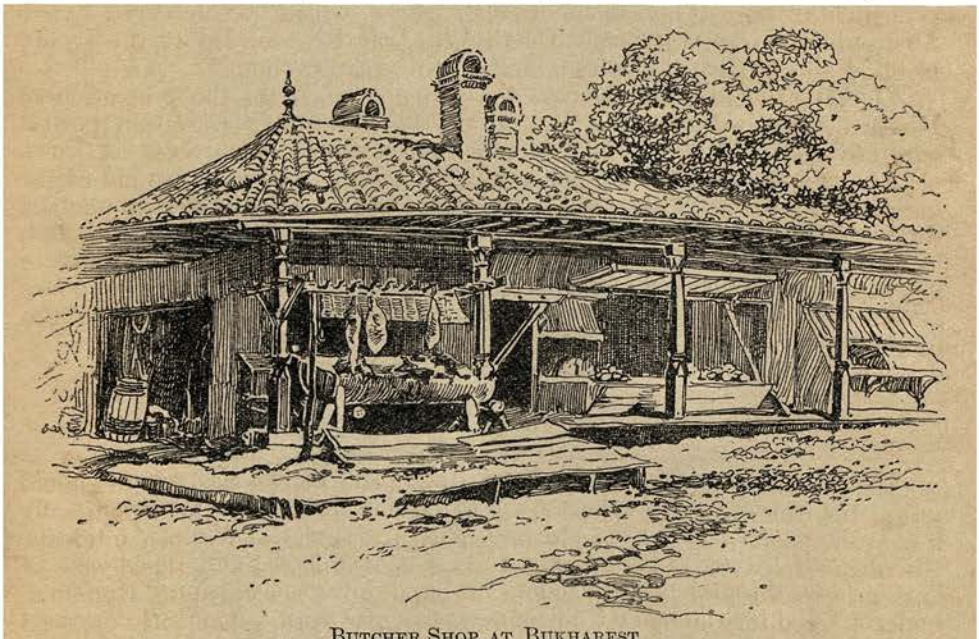
THE UNION OF THE PRINCIPALITIES

The question was whether the countries should remain separate or should unite; but this principal question, like every other among these politically immature peoples, was strongly mixed with personal and selfish interests. Although Moldavia objected at the start, in October, 1857, the divans of both principalities declared in favour of union into a neutral state, Rumania, under a hereditary dynasty. Since, however, the Porte vehemently opposed this plan, the powers did not recognise the decision. They tried instead (1858) to satisfy both parties by providing that Moldavia and Wallachia should each have its separate hospodar and divan; but that, in addition, they should have a chief court of justice in the name of the united principalities, and a common council consisting of sixteen members—this not to affect their vassalage to the Porte. But this artificial structure fell to pieces on the spot. The election of the boyar Alexander John Cuza as lifelong prince of Moldavia, on January 29th, 1859, and immediately afterwards as prince of Wallachia, actually realised the desired state of Rumania, and there was nothing for the impotent Porte to do but to accommodate itself to the accomplished fact.[n]

Prince Alexander Cuza was nothing more than a comparatively kind, somewhat frivolous person, who had taken Napoleon III as a model, and like him, only on a smaller stage, performed *coups d'état*, plebiscites, and other surprises. But in little Rumania, in which everything was close together, and where, besides, a large landholding nobility exercised a comparatively important influence, the play did not last so long as in France. A revolt of the boyars put an end to it on the night of February 23rd–24th, 1866. Cuza was arrested in his bed, was kept under arrest for a few days, and

then left the country, glad of the few savings which he had accumulated in the Bank of Old England during his princedom. He went to Vienna, then to Paris, very much pleased at being able to live as a deposed prince with no cares of state.

A provisional government, with General Golesco at the head, first took Cuza's place. This now looked about for a "proper" prince for Rumania, who was finally discovered in the person of Prince Karl Ludwig of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a brother of the Prince Leopold who in 1870 furnished the excuse for the war of Napoleon III against Prussia. By a plebiscite of April 20th he was almost unanimously chosen prince of Rumania, although he was doubtless wholly unknown to the good Wallachians. On May 13th



BUTCHER SHOP AT BUKHAREST

the legislative assembly confirmed the popular election, and on May 22nd, 1866, the new prince, Charles I, entered Bukharest amidst the customary jubilation of the populace. The Porte indeed protested against the choice of Prince Charles, and even assembled troops in Bulgaria; but since the other powers, whose attention in 1866 was occupied with much weightier matters, recognised the prince, the Porte was obliged to do the same.[b]

THE INDEPENDENT KINGDOM

After 1866 Rumania had little by little become accustomed to consider the suzerainty of the Porte as purely nominal; she had protested against the text of the Ottoman constitution which proclaimed the unity and indivisibility of the empire, including the privileged provinces, and which applied the name of Ottoman to all the subjects of the Porte, irrespective of race or religion. Diplomacy took no notice of their protests, and England declared that she considered Rumania as an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. The Rumanians then decided to shake off once for all the yoke which Europe

persisted in inflicting upon them. On the 16th of April, 1877, a secret treaty signed with Russia placed all the resources of the principality at the disposal of the Muscovite troops, without, however, dragging the country into action. Turkey denounced to the powers signatory to the Treaty of Paris the flagrant violation committed by Rumania, and demanded the intervention of Europe, which refused to act as policeman for the Porte. The bombardment of Kalafat by Turkish monitors provoked a declaration of war by Rumania, and on May 14th she proclaimed herself independent; sixty thousand Rumanians went to form the right wing of the Russian army.[l]

The Russians at first considered themselves perfectly competent to deal with the Turks alone, and treated the Rumanian offers of active assistance with almost offensive indifference; all that they wanted of Rumania was the right to march troops across her territory. Before long, however, they were forced to change their attitude, and after having been defeated once at Plevna they asked Prince Charles to occupy Nikopoli. This he refused to do until he had received the assurance that the Rumanian army should preserve its identity. After the second defeat at Plevna the Russians asked for his active co-operation on his own terms, and eventually he was given the command of all the Russian troops before Plevna. In the third attack the Rumanian army covered itself with glory and captured the almost impregnable Grivitza redoubt (September 11th, 1877). Plevna itself did not surrender until December 10th, after having been reduced by a blockade. In the treaties, however, which followed the war, Russia showed herself wholly unappreciative of the sacrifices the Rumanians had made.[a]

Indeed, Russia's feeling was that, having helped the Balkan states to independence by her arms, these states would out of gratitude willingly become her vassals. That they did not show the slightest inclination to do so, but strove rather for real national independence, appeared, therefore, in the eyes of the Russians as base ingratitude; and the Pan-Slavic party felt itself so much the more called upon to obtain through its intrigues what could not be reached by open means. With the exception of distant Montenegro, which willingly acknowledged itself a vassal of Russia, the Balkan states remained the favourite field for Pan-Slavic intrigues, which usually found a very effective backing in Russian diplomacy. Of all the states, Rumania had had to put up with the worst treatment. As thanks for the aid it had rendered the hard-pressed Russians at Plevna, it was forced to acquiesce in the exchange of Dobrudscha for Bessarabia; even the possession of Arab Tabia, situated near Silistria and important for the connection with Dobrudscha, was disputed by Russia, who claimed it for Bulgaria, although the international commission decided in favour of Rumania. There was no lack of those who dreamed of a great Rumania which was to include their Austrian countrymen likewise, but when Minister Bratiano went to Berlin at the time of the congress, Bismarck said to him, "If you want peace, you can find a support in us; but if you want war, you must look elsewhere." The advice was taken to heart, and of all the Balkan states Rumania has had comparatively the quietest and most prosperous development. The equal rights given to all religious confessions, as provided in the Treaty of Berlin, presented a momentous question to the country; because here it involved the emancipation of the Jews, who threatened the land with the economic danger of a Jewish overflow, since a large part of the estates of the nobles were mortgaged to Jews. This difficulty was avoided by a law making the naturalisation of foreigners difficult. On March 26th, 1881, both chambers voted to elevate Rumania to a kingdom.[n]

The independence of Rumania was not formally recognised by the European powers until 1880, owing to the influence of Bismarck, who made the purchase of railways from German capitalists one of the conditions for such a recognition. In the next year the powers recognised the existence of Rumania as a kingdom. The coronation ceremony of the new king took place at Bukharest amidst much public rejoicing. Prince Charles had made himself very popular with his people by his military qualities and by his sincere devotion to the best interests of the country. His marriage also had done much to assure the royal family a place in the affections of the Rumanians. In 1869, after a romantic courtship of a few hours, Prince Charles had married Princess Elizabeth of Wied. The queen, better known by her pen-name of Carmen Sylva, is described by Laveleye[o] as being "a woman superior to ordinary humanity, detached from every material interest, and living in the ideal; she is a lover of nature, poetry, music, painting, and all the arts, and is wholly devoted to noble causes, to Rumania, to the Rumanian people, above all to the poor and unfortunate. She makes an effort to preserve the domestic industries. In summer, when she is at her romantic château of Pelesh, near Sinaia, at the foot of the Carpathians, she and her maids of honour wear the costume of the Rumanian women, which have the beautiful straight folds of antique draperies and which are adorned with exquisite embroidery. Under her protection a society has been founded to make the local industry known." A few years ago in some of the capitals of Europe there was an exhibition of Rumanian national and historical costumes, consisting of a large number of dolls made by the queen and her women.

Various questions of foreign and domestic policy and frequent changes of ministries have kept the country in a state of political agitation. The question of the Dobrudscha frontier, towards Russia, was not settled until 1885. The Danube question caused some unpleasantness with Austria, especially in 1881, and Russia and Austria were both irritated by Rumania's construction of fortifications, which act they considered hostile to themselves; warmer relations with Austria, however, were brought about by a visit of King Charles to Vienna in 1883. Not until 1898 did a royal visit to Russia mark a reconciliation with that country, with which relations had been strained ever since Rumania had been forced to give up Bessarabia in 1878.

The question of peasant proprietorship was one of great importance to the country. The emancipation of the peasants in 1864 at first made the position of that class much worse than it had been.[a] Formerly the rural class included the peasants, small proprietors, called *mocheneni* in Wallachia and *résèchi* in Moldavia—who lived and cultivated the soil in family communities—and peasants subject to statute labour, who cultivated the lands of the state, of the convents, and of private owners, giving in return a certain number of days' labour on the manorial land and a tithe of the raw produce. The manorial lord gave them in return a plot of ground proportionate to the number of animals they owned. They had also the rights of pasturage and of getting wood from the forests, which were originally communal property, but had passed little by little into the hands of the manorial lord.

The law of emancipation gave them a third of the soil—free lots of from three to six hectares (1 hectare = 2½ acres)—in return for an indemnity of about 120 francs per hectare payable by the state to the proprietor and reimbursable by the peasants in fifteen annual instalments. More than four hundred thousand families thus became proprietors, but the extent of their land, which increased formerly in proportion to their resources, was now strictly limited, and, with their system of extensive culture, was insufficient.

They were thus obliged to work on the latifundia, remaining in the hands of the large proprietors, in return for a too small part of the produce. In consequence they were poor.[o] Laws have been made to ameliorate this state of things, and the condition of the peasants to-day is much improved.

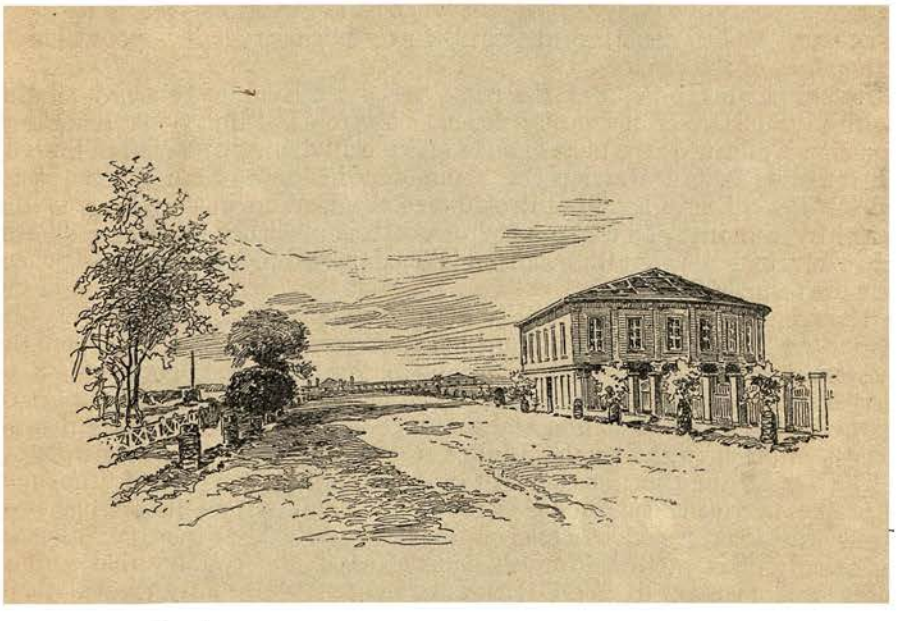
In the year 1889 Prince Ferdinand, a nephew of King Charles, received the title Prince of Rumania and was recognised as heir to the throne. In 1893 he was married to the princess Maria, a daughter of the duke of Coburg and a granddaughter of Queen Victoria. His children, Prince Carol—born in October, 1893—and the princesses Elizabeth and Maria, have been brought up in the orthodox, that is, the Greek faith.[a]

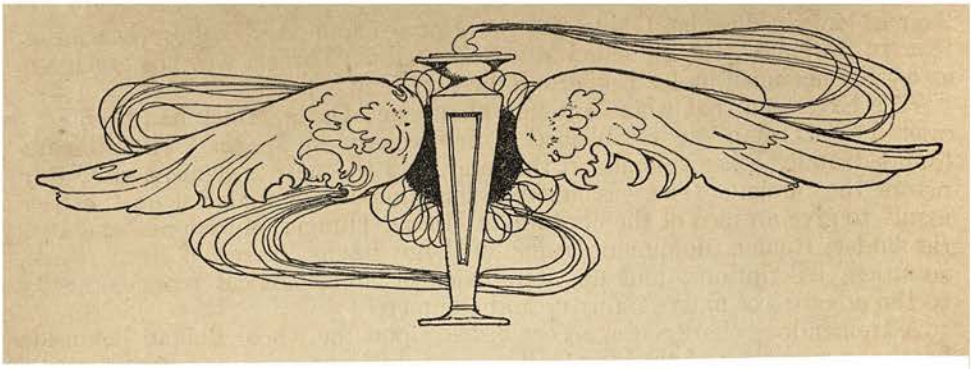
The legislative body is composed of two chambers, elected according to a complicated arrangement which is calculated to favour chiefly the interests of wealth. With the exception of servants working for wages, all Rumanians above twenty-one years of age and paying to the state any sort of a tax are inscribed on the electoral lists; but they are divided into four colleges, the votive powers of which differ singularly. The senate represents principally the great land property. The heir to the throne, the metropolitans, and the diocesan bishops are by right members of the senate. The term of office for members of the legislature is four years. At the end of every period the whole representative body is renewed; whereas the senators, elected for eight years, draw lots to see which member of every district shall present himself to the votes of the electors.

According to the letter of the constitution the Rumanians enjoy all the liberties formulated in documents of that nature. The liberty of association and union is affirmed; the press is not restricted; the town councils are elected, also the chief magistrates; only in communities of more than one thousand families has the prince the right of direct intervention in the choice of the municipal authorities. The penalty of death is abolished except in time of war. Instruction is gratuitous, and obligatory in the communities where there are schools. Finally, all cults are free, but the "orthodox religion of the East" is declared to be the dominant religion, and Christians only may be naturalised Rumanians. The Rumanian army is largely organised on the Prussian model. All citizens are held for service from the age of twenty to thirty-six; eight years in the active army and in the reserve of the active army, eight years in the militia and the reserve of the militia. From the age of thirty-six to fifty the inhabitants are registered in the national guard.[e]

The Jewish question has always been a thorn in the side of Rumania. When the new constitution was drawn up in 1866, one of its original provisions was that "religious belief shall be no obstacle to naturalisation in Rumania." This excited so much indignation in the country that serious rioting took place at Bukharest, and the synagogue recently erected there was burned to the ground (though subsequently rebuilt at the expense of Prince Charles). The obnoxious proposition was withdrawn, and the following article was substituted, "Only Christians can become citizens of Rumania." The bitter feeling against the Jews in Rumania is not so much due to religious fanaticism as to personal interest, and to the not ungrounded fear that, if given political and other rights, they will gradually possess themselves of the soil and oust the original proprietors of the country. In many towns in northern Moldavia the Jews are in a majority, and their total numbers in the united provinces are about three hundred thousand, *i.e.*, about one-twentieth of the entire population, a larger ratio than exists in any other country in the world. In most places they have the monopoly of the wine and spirit shops, and retail trade generally; and as they are always willing,

like most of their race, to advance money on usury, and, moreover, are more intelligent and better educated than the ordinary peasant, there is little doubt that in a country where the large landowners are proverbially extravagant and reckless, and the peasant proprietors poor and needy, the soil would soon fall into the hands of the Jews were it not for the stringent laws which prevent all foreigners (including therein all non-naturalised Jews) from owning land outside the towns. When, in addition, it is considered that the Moldavian Jews, who are mostly of Polish and Russian origin, speak a foreign language, wear a distinguishing dress, and keep themselves aloof from their neighbours, the antipathy in which they are held by the Rumanians generally may be understood, although, perhaps, not justified. The fact, however, that no attempt has ever been made to interfere with their religion, or religious practices and customs, is a proof that this antagonism has nothing to do with religious fanaticism.[r]





CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF BULGARIA

EARLIEST INHABITANTS OF BULGARIA

THE oldest inhabitants of the present Bulgarian lands belonged to the Thraco-Illyrian family of Indo-Germans, and were divided into two branches, an eastern and a western, the Thracian and the Illyrian. The eastern branch included the Thracians and perhaps the Macedonians; it is not impossible that the Pelasgi may have been related to them. The western branch was formed by the Illyrians and the Epirots. Thracians and Illyrians stood to each other in somewhat the same relationship as Slavs to Lithuanians or Germans to Scandinavians.

The Thracians have now wholly disappeared; their Romanised descendants are the Rumunea. Of the Illyrians and Epirots only the wild Albanians, or Arnauts, are still in existence. Next to the Basques the Albanians are the oldest people in Europe. As to the character and customs of the Thracians, the oldest and most important witness is Herodotus. "The Thracian people is, at least next to the Hindus, the most numerous of all peoples. And if they had one master or held together in unity, they would be by far the most powerful of all people, in my opinion. But since it is in no way possible that that should ever happen, they are exceedingly weak."

The only attempt to unite the separate Thracian districts into one kingdom was made by a tribe called the Odrysæ. Their prince, Teres, in 450 B.C. united most of the tribes into one state, which he left to his son Sitalces, well known from Grecian history. His successor ruled the whole land from the Danube to the Ægean Sea, from the Bosporus to the Strymon. But after his death the empire fell in pieces. King Philip II of Macedonia conquered the Illyrians and Thracians after sanguinary battles. At the beginning of the third century B.C. the Celts appeared in what is now Bosnia and completely devastated and plundered the peninsula. On the southern slope of the Balkans they established a powerful community with its capital Tyle, whence for a whole century they kept all their neighbours in continual terror.

The Romans appeared on the peninsula during the Second Punic War. It took them a century and a half to bring the Thraco-Illyrian lands into their power; much blood was shed before the Thracians bowed under the

[29 B.C.–650 A.D.]

Roman yoke. The land between the Hermes and the Danube became a Roman province with the name Mœsia (29 B.C.). Thracia was not organised as a province until under Emperor Tiberius (in 26 A.D.).

We have seen that when Aurelian abandoned Dacia, which had been conquered by Trajan, he established a new colony in Mœsia. The Romans founded many other colonies in the land, and the native element gave way before the foreign. There is an abundant amount of material on the peninsula to give an idea of the civil life in Mœsia, Thracia, Macedonia, and Illyria under Roman dominion; ruins of large towns, traces of army roads, countless inscriptions, and an abundance of archæological remains testify to the advance of native industry and commerce.

A tremendous change was accomplished upon the whole Balkan Peninsula by the immigration of the Slavs. There are different opinions as to when and how this came about. The Bulgarian historian Drinov[h] claims that the colonisation did not take place all at once, but gradually, in the course of about three hundred years, and that it began in the third century, that is, before the great migration of peoples, and came to an end in the seventh century. This view appears to be the correct one. In the fifth century the Slavs were already a comparatively numerous and influential people, although their settlements to all appearances were still few.

CUSTOMS OF SLAVS AND BULGARS

Concerning the tribes which were settled on the Balkan Peninsula in the sixth and seventh centuries, we have the contemporary accounts of the Grecians, Procopius and Mauricius, and of the Syrian, John of Ephesus. All the Slavs, according to Procopius, were tall, with strongly built bodies. Their hair was neither very light nor wholly dark, but rather blond. Among their present descendants black hair is not unusual. Mauricius describes the natural character of the old Slavs as free from cruelty and trickery. He highly praises their hospitality. Among the southern and northern Slavs the family is the basis of the life of the states and of the communities.

The state system of the Slavs was democratically organised. Procopius relates that they "are not ruled by one man, but from the most ancient times have been under a democracy. In favourable and unfavourable situations all their affairs are placed before a common council." Several families living in one settlement formed a stem; the district occupied by one stem was called a *Zupa*. The rule of a single person was obnoxious to the Slavs. "Rulers they cannot endure, and live together in disunion," says Mauricius. The Byzantines relate of the Slavs of the sixth century that they lived in miserable huts far from each other, which they built in the forests, by the side of rivers, swamps, and lakes. Their dearest possessions they hid under the earth. They usually fought on foot, almost naked, and armed with a firm black shield; many fought even without a shield.

The earliest information concerning their religion is found in Procopius: "They recognise one god, the creator of the lightning, as the only lord of all things, and they offer to him oxen and various animals in sacrifice"; and further: "They worship also rivers as well as nymphs, and other divine beings, to all of whom they make offerings and from whom they seek auguries." The Slav prayed to the gods in open nature, in groves, under trees, on cliffs and hills. The sacrifice was attended with singing. The changes in the seasons, which meant so much to an agricultural people, they celebrated with

festive holidays, which have been preserved on the peninsula through the Middle Ages down to the present day.

As to their cosmogony, the Slavs were universally of the opinion that the earth had originated in the sand of the sea, which God brought up from the depths and scattered over the surface of the water. They thus imagined the earth to be floating on the surface of the sea. Concerning the customs and the life of the old Bulgars numerous accounts have been preserved, many by the Byzantines and Arabs.

The chief seats of the Bulgars in Mœsia were probably in the present Dobrudscha and on the shores of the Pontus. Thence, shortly after their arrival, they had moved to the Slavic Severans. Until the tenth century the central point of the Bulgarian kingdom was in the region of the Kamtchik river, and on the plains of Dobrudscha. The settlements of the reigning Ottomans are still thickest in those regions to-day. All the expeditions of the Byzantines in the eighth and ninth centuries were not westwards towards Sofia by way of Philippopolis, but towards the mouth of the Danube and the region about Varna.

The old Bulgars lived in polygamy, or had at least two wives apiece. As a dowry the bride had gold, silver, cattle, horses, etc. Concerning the dress, it is reported that men and women alike wore wide trousers, and that the women veiled their faces like Mohammedan women. The men shaved off the hair of their heads and, according to the oriental custom, wore a turban, which was not taken off in the temple. Their food consisted principally of meat, but they ate only that of young animals. If anyone became ill they sought to cure him by superstitious rites. Ribbons were put around the neck of the diseased person, or little stones were given him for medicine. According to the accounts of the Arabs, the dead bodies of aristocrats were either burned together with their attendants, or else laid away in a mound in which also the servants and wives of the deceased were placed and left to smother.

Their justice was barbaric. If anyone was seized for theft or robbery, and did not wish meekly to acknowledge the deed of which he was accused, the judge beat him upon the head or pricked him in the hips with iron points until he confessed. Executions were a common form of punishment. Not only did the rebellious nobles who were overpowered lose their lives and their property, but also their children and relatives were put to death. Court etiquette had an Asiatic character. The prince ate at a special table; not even his wife might keep him company. The courtiers ate at a certain distance from the prince, sitting around him on stools or squatting on the floor. Human skulls were used as drinking goblets. The left was the side of honour. On the conclusion of treaties the oath was taken on a bare sword, and at the same time dogs were cut in two.

The ancient Bulgars lived in war and for war; they were a wild people. Their frontiers were guarded by many stations, and no one, whether free or slave, might leave the country under pain of severe punishment. If anyone did escape, the sentinels lost their lives. According to Arabic accounts, a thorny barrier with apertures surrounded the whole land; the single villages, however, were not walled in. A horse-tail was used as a war standard, like the Turkish *bunchuk*. Fighting was not allowed every day. On certain unlucky days it was deemed advisable to avoid battle. Before marching to an encounter the chiefs sent one of the most faithful and intelligent men to examine all the weapons and horses. Alas for him who was found lacking in anything! He was at once punished by death. Before beginning a battle

they had recourse to incantations, games, songs, and auguries. Whoever deserted in battle was barbarously punished; the same fate befell him who refused obedience to his commander.

According to the Arabian Masudi (956) the old Bulgars had neither gold nor silver coins; everything was paid for with oxen and sheep. When there was peace with the Greeks, they sold Slav boys and girls into slavery at Constantinople. The ancient Bulgarian state had an aristocratic organisation. The prince was called *chan*. Besides the prince, the highest power was in the hands of a council of six aristocrats who were called *foyers* (nobles). Such were the customs of the Bulgars when, under Asparuch, they settled in Mœsia in 679. What a difference between this people and the old Slavs of the peninsula of the sixth and seventh centuries as Procopius and Mauricius describe them—what a difference between the Bulgars of Asparuch and the Slavs who now bear the name of Bulgarians!

Concerning the relation of the old Mœsian Slavs to their Bulgarian masters but little information has come to light. It appears, however, that the Bulgarian element had only a slight influence on the character and customs of the Slavic people. The barbarian immigrants learned from the already civilised Slavs, rather than the Slavs from the Bulgars. The Bulgarian princes lived on terms of friendship with the Slavic chiefs. The official positions were open to both. Crum feasted in the company of Slavic *boyars*. In 812 one of the Bulgarian ambassadors bore the Slavic name Draguin, and by the middle of the ninth century Slavic names occur among the members of the reigning family. The welding of the ruling people, which was unimportant as to numbers, with their Slav subjects must have taken place rapidly.

The ancestors of the present Bulgarians are consequently not those small companies of the Bulgars of Asparuch which took possession of Mœsia on the Danube in 679, but the Slavs who in the period from the third to the seventh century settled in Mœsia, Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly—indeed, in almost every part of the peninsula. The blood of the Finnish Bulgars, which flowed mostly in the veins of the noble families, seems now to have long since ceased.

It took about two hundred and fifty years to weld together the ruling with the subject people. The governing people, the Finnish Bulgars, after they had united the Slavic tribes into one state, lost their language and customs, but gave their name as an inheritance to the Slavic districts subject to them. The conquered people, the Slavs, absorbed the ruling race, which spoke a different language but lost its ancient name. And thus all who lived in the same state are called by the same name—Bulgarians. The Old-Bulgarian, a Finnish language, had no influence on the Slavonic. The German Franks and Lombards stood in a similar relation to the Romans in Gaul and in the present Lombardy. The name of the state was, and is, stronger than the name of the people.

Concerning the ancient history of the Bulgars, before their arrival in the Balkan Peninsula, we possess two accounts, a native and a Greek. The former is as interesting as it is obscure. Its text is Slavic, but interspersed with hitherto unexplained words from the wholly forgotten language of the non-Slavic Bulgars. It contains an enumeration of the Bulgarian princes from earliest times to the year 765. It appears to have been originally written with Greek letters; later it was transposed into Slavic characters. The Grecian account is found in the chronicle of the patriarch Nicephorus (815) of Constantinople. The two accounts contain few harmonising statements. The former begins with the reign of two princes, who appear to have

reached a regular biblical age—one of them having ruled for three hundred, the other for one hundred and fifty years. According to this chronicle, five princes ruled during the five hundred and fifteen years from 164–679 A.D.[b]

Asparuch, who, as we have seen, first led the Bulgars across the Danube, reigned until about 700. His successor, Tervel, entered into an alliance with the Byzantines and aided them when Constantinople was besieged by the Arabs in 719. From the death of Asparuch until the end of the eighth century nearly a dozen rulers occupied the throne of Bulgaria at different times, until at the beginning of the ninth century a really great ruler reigned.[a]

CRUM (802–815 A.D.)

In 802 there ascended the throne the most powerful of the Bulgarian princes, the fierce Crum, a tireless and unconquerable warrior. When he took over the empire it reached from the Balkans to the Transylvanian Carpathians. Crum conquered a large part of east Hungary and the Byzantine provinces up to Constantinople. In Hungary at that time Charlemagne, after fierce battles, had conquered the weakened kingdom of the Avars (796). All the land up to the Danube was under the dominion of the Franks.

A Bulgarian Monastery

During the reign of Nicephorus, in 809, the Bulgarians appeared in the vicinity of the Strymon and after a terrible massacre seized Sofia, which till then had been in Grecian hands. One expedition of Nicephorus undertaken in revenge had no very creditable outcome. After two years spent in preparation Nicephorus again broke into Bulgaria at the head of a large army, plundered the land for three days, burned Crum's residence, and proudly refused all overtures of peace. It was not granted him, however, to return home. Crum blockaded all the passes of the Balkans. Nicephorus found himself so surrounded and shut in that he exclaimed: "Let no one hope to escape the danger; we should need to be birds to do so!" The massacre began on the morning of July 26th, 811. The whole Byzantine army was destroyed. No prisoners were made. The victorious Bulgarian prince stuck the head of the unfortunate Nicephorus on a lance and left it on view for several days; then he made the skull into a goblet mounted with silver and out of it drank at banquets the health of Slavic *boyars*.

After the battle Crum broke into Thrace and Macedonia, and besieged Constantinople. But soon seeing the inadvisability of the siege, he demanded as conditions of peace a yearly tribute, a quantity of gala garments, and a certain number of beautiful girls. During a personal interview with the emperor he narrowly escaped assassination through the treachery of the Greeks. In revenge he laid waste the whole country surrounding Constantinople as far as the Hellespont. Countless prisoners were dragged from

Thrace into the trans-Danubian Bulgaria, among them being the boy Basil, the son of a Slavic peasant, the future emperor. Crum prepared a second expedition against Constantinople, but died suddenly on April 13th, 815—like Attila, of apoplexy.

Crum was succeeded by Cok or by Dukum and Diceng. In 820 Omortag came to the throne. He abandoned Crum's designs upon Constantinople, and concluded an armistice with Emperor Leo for thirty years, in order to be able to direct his attention to the west. A Bulgarian army sailed up the Drave, took possession of Pannonia, and placed Bulgarian magistrates over the Slavs. But this dominion was of short duration. Only Syrmia, in the corner between the mouths of the Save and Drave, as well as East Hungary, remained under Bulgarian rule till the coming of the Magyars. Omortag's name has been preserved on a remarkable column discovered in the church of the Forty Martyrs at Tirnova in 1858.

THE CHRISTIANISATION OF THE LAND

When the Bulgarians settled in Mœsia among the Slavs, Christianity was not unknown in the land; the Russian historian Golubinski even believes that they found there churches and clergy, although in small numbers. Crum filled his land with Christian captives, among them bishops and priests, who were not afraid to preach the gospel of Christ to the heathen. Omortag, when he saw the rapid spread of Christianity, and realised the danger arising therefrom, desired to stop the course of things by use of force. Manuel, the bishop of Adrianople, was killed, together with three other bishops and three hundred and seventy-four captives. But the persecution only aroused the zeal of the preachers. Omortag was soon obliged to give back all captives to the Byzantines.

It was not, however, until the reign of Boris, who ascended the throne in 852, that Christianity attained formal recognition in Bulgaria. This was largely the work of two men who by their personal efforts brought about a great change in the condition of the Slavs. It was they who introduced the Slavs among the civilised peoples of Europe, inasmuch as they gave them a writing, literature, and liturgy in the mother tongue. The brothers Constantine and Methodius were born in Thessalonica, and it is very probable that they were descended from a Slavic family. Constantine (born 827) was sent to Constantinople at the age of fourteen to be educated there, together with the young Michael III, under the guidance of the future patriarch Photius. Even then his inclination for solitude and his modest bearing manifested themselves. Consequently the ecclesiastical profession attracted him most and he chose that as his life-work. In 851 he was intrusted with an embassy to the empire of the caliphs on account of his knowledge of oriental languages.

Methodius was a man of the world. On account of his influence in the vicinity of Thessalonica, the emperor intrusted to him the government of a Slavic principality; but after a few years Methodius left the world and became a monk in the monastery of Olympus. There his brother sought him out and from that time forward they did not separate. In 863 they began their activity in Moravia by teaching the word of God in the Slavic tongue. The Christian faith spread rapidly among the Slavs of Pannonia and Moravia at the same time that Boris was cultivating relations with the Franks.

Boris realised that Christianity was indispensable if he wanted to maintain his kingdom among powerful Christian neighbours—Franks, Moravians, and

Byzantines. The Slavs of Thrace and Macedonia had already for the most part thrown off heathendom, and even in Boris' own realm Christianity had begun to strike deep roots ever since the time of Crum. Boris accepted Christianity for political reasons, just as the Russian Vladimir and the Magyar Stephen did later. During a great famine in his own land Boris began a war with Emperor Michael III. After a few successes he proffered the hand of peace and used this opportunity to receive Christianity from Byzantium. The ceremony of baptism took place on the same spot as the peace negotiations. The emperor stood as godfather, and Boris, upon becoming a Christian, received the name of Michael.

On his return from the campaign Boris lost no time in leading all his dependents to the new faith, but he met with energetic opposition among the boyars who had remained true to pagan beliefs. They raised a revolt among the people and attempted to overthrow Boris in order to place a pagan on the throne. The revolt ended in their complete discomfiture. Boris had the rebellious boyars put to death with their wives and children, fifty-two persons in number. Whole families were thus exterminated by the unworthy deed of this newly converted Christian. The common people who had joined the rebels were allowed to go unpunished.

Not long after his conversion Boris withdrew from the Greeks and entered into negotiations with the pope. He began to be anxious for the ecclesiastical independence of his land, since the Greeks were not willing to give the Bulgarians even a bishop of their own. In August, eight hundred and sixty-six Bulgarian envoys appeared in Rome before Pope Nicholas I. They brought their message in the form of one hundred and six questions as to how they should have to order their lives as Christians. Some of these questions were extremely naïve, such as whether or not it would be permitted them in future to wear trousers. One important question was whether they did not have the right to receive a patriarch, to which the pope avoided a direct answer by saying that he would first send two bishops to convince himself of the condition of the country.[b]

Nicholas, however, and his successor, Adrian II, failed to keep the advantage which the Roman church seemed to have gained. They refused to appoint an archbishop desired by Boris and showed generally an unconciliatory spirit, so that Boris, whose patience was soon exhausted, sent to the council of 869 to ask whether Bulgaria belonged under the pope or under the patriarch of Constantinople. The influence of the papal legates could not prevent the oriental fathers from declaring in favour of the latter, and thus this monotonous question, which was so important for the history of the country, was decided. An archbishop was sent to Bulgaria from Constantinople, ten new bishoprics were founded, and the Roman clergy left the country.[a]

Friendly relations grew up between Constantinople and the Bulgarians, and Boris' son Simeon was sent to be educated at Constantinople, where he learned as a child to know the works of Demosthenes and Aristotle, which won for him the title of Half Greek. Boris after reigning thirty-six years laid down his crown in 888 and retired to a cloister. His oldest son, Vladimir, succeeded him upon the throne, but after four years the aged Boris was obliged by the mismanagement of his son to leave the cloister, dethrone Vladimir by force, and to give the throne to the younger son, Simeon. Michael Boris died May 2nd, 907. His picture on a gold background is in a manuscript of the thirteenth century in a library at Moscow. With Boris begins the series of national saints.

THE FIRST BULGARIAN EMPIRE (893-1018 A.D.)

Simeon (893-927), the son of Boris, is the most important of all the rulers over the Bulgarian people. By his martial deeds he brought the Byzantine Empire to the verge of destruction. The adoption of the imperial title and the foundation of the Bulgarian patriarchate, by which he placed his throne on an equality with that of Constantinople, were the introductory steps to the establishment of a new Greco-Slavic empire on the ruins of the monarchy of Constantine the Great. To his martial fame he joined the brilliance of a creative mind. Old-Slavic literature, then budding, counts his name among its authors.

With Simeon's accession to the throne the peace which Boris had kept with the Byzantines came to an end and gave way to a bitter struggle for the existence or non-existence of the empire of Constantinople, which with rare interruptions lasted for fully thirty years. The direct cause was furnished by a commercial question, doubtless an unusual event at that time. When Simeon could not effect a settlement peaceably, he declared war, defeated the Byzantine army, and sent the prisoners home with their noses cut off. Thereupon Emperor Leo called in the aid of the Magyars. Simeon had to retreat into his fortifications while the enemy devastated his land as far as Preslav (893). But when the Magyars went home the Bulgarians followed them to their steppes and defeated them there.

Soon afterwards Simeon again conquered the Greeks near Adrianople. In order to put an end to their alliances with the Magyars forever, he, in conjunction with the Petchenegs living on the Dnieper, fell upon the families of the Magyars while the latter were fighting in Pannonia, and either killed them or took them captive. From the battle near Adrianople to the death of Leo (911) the peace between Bulgarians and Greeks was not disturbed. In this interval of quiet, literature, in which Simeon took much pleasure, could develop unhindered. Bishop Constantine, Pope Gregory, John the exarch, and other writers raised it in the space of a short half century to such a height that in the field of church literature it did not stand much below the Latin and Greek. His contemporaries used to compare Simeon to King Ptolemy of Egypt. But the tendency of his learning and the art of his education were foreign to the Bulgarians, and did not succeed in warming either the heart or the fancy of the people. The period of Simeon, the golden age of Bulgarian literature, has no poetry. From that time Byzantinism began to find its way among the Slavs; the Bulgarians transplanted it to Servia and Russia.

Simeon's residence was in Preslav, in a beautiful mountainous district; at present a village occupies the spot, called by the Turks Eski-Stamboul (Old-Stamboul), surrounded by extensive ruins. John the exarch describes the impression which Preslav in its prime made upon a stranger: "When he who came from far enters the outer court of the princely residence, he will be astonished, and when he approaches the gates he will question in amazement. And when he crosses the threshold, he sees buildings on both sides, ornamented with stones and covered with different sorts of woods. And when he goes further into the court, he sees lofty palaces and churches with countless stones, woods, and frescoes, their interior inlaid with marble and copper, silver and gold, to such an extent that he does not know with what to compare it, because in his own land he has never seen the like, but only poor huts of straw. Wholly beside himself he will sink down in bewilderment.

But if by chance he catches sight of the prince, sitting in a robe embroidered with pearls, with a chain of coins about his neck, with bracelets on his arms, girded with a purple girdle and with a golden sword at his side, and sees his boyars sitting on each side of him in golden chains, girdles, and bracelets, then, if anyone on his return home asks him, 'What hast thou seen there?' he will answer, 'I know not how to describe it. Only your own eyes would be able to comprehend such magnificence.' '' Now there is nothing left of all this splendour but a few stones.

In 912 a decided change took place in Simeon's reign. Emperor Leo was dead. His successor, Alexander, frivolously insulted the Bulgarian envoys who had come to renew the terms of peace. But he died soon, and was followed by Constantine VII, at that time a child of seven. No one in Constantinople wanted war, but Simeon's anger could no longer be assuaged. In 913 the Bulgarians appeared under the walls of the world city on the Bosporus. In the following year Simeon held Adrianople for a time. After three years' preparation the Byzantine army, followed by a fleet, proceeded along the coast of the Black Sea to the Bulgarian frontier. In August, 917, a battle was fought in sight of the Balkans, which ended in the destruction of the Byzantines. Although Simeon might have marched against Constantinople, he contented himself with a blockade. Besides Constantinople and a few coast strips nearly everything was in his power. The boundaries of the Bulgarian realm extended at that time from Menembria on the Black Sea, past Adrianople, to Mount Rhodope. In the south the boundary went from Olympus to the mouth of the Kalama opposite Corfu, from sea to sea. The Albanian coast with a few exceptions was ruled by Simeon as far as the Drin. Towards Servia the Bulgarian border was formed by the Drin, the White Drin, and the Ibas; from there it reached to the Save. Belgrade was under Bulgarian dominion. Beyond the Danube, before the Magyar invasion, Wallachia and perhaps also parts of Hungary and Transylvania seem to have belonged to Bulgaria.

The ruler of such a monarchy could not be satisfied with the simple title Prince, which Boris and his predecessors had borne, but took the imperial title Czar of the Bulgarians and Ruler of the Greeks. Since an emperor could not be imagined without a patriarch at his side, the archbishopric of Bulgaria was elevated to a patriarchate. Simeon received the imperial crown from Rome, not from Constantinople. Simeon died on May 27th, 927, after appointing his younger son, Peter, to be his successor.[b]

DECLINE OF THE BULGARIAN EMPIRE

With the accession of Peter, son of Simeon, begins the decadence of the Bulgarian Empire. Wallachia, Transylvania, and Servia in succession shook off the Bulgarian yoke, and the emperor Nicephorus Phocas, who had during this interval of rebellion in the north fortified his Asiatic frontiers, turned his attention to the conquered territory of the empires in Europe, and under his successors Bulgaria became a Byzantine province.[a]

In the intellectual life of the Bulgarian people, also, there was a decline under Czar Peter. Under Boris and Simeon we see wide-awake and enthusiastic teachers, fresh youthful spirits, spreading enlightenment among the people with word and pen. Under Peter, men of gloomy disposition came into the foreground, men who withdrew from human society into impenetrable forests and mountains, to lead there a life of the strictest asceticism, without

touching a pen. The most important of these was John of Ryl, afterwards the patron saint of Bulgaria. Born in a village in the province of Sofia, he passed his youth as a poor shepherd. After the death of his parents he entered a cloister, which he soon exchanged for the solitude of the heights of the Ryl plateau. For twenty years he lived in a dark cave, then in the hollow of an old oak, and finally for seven years upon an unapproachable cliff under which at present stands the great Ryl monastery. Czar Peter once visited the hermit. John died in 946, at the age of seventy. Contemporaneously with him lived, in the north of Macedonia, three other equally celebrated hermits.

Bogomiles

While the ascetics lived on the mountain tops, a new belief gained ever firmer foothold among the people, the teaching of the Bogomiles. Five centuries of southern Slavic history are inseparably connected with the history of the Bogomiles. From Bulgaria it spread over the whole peninsula, to the Slavs and Greeks, and still further into Italy and France.

In the Occident they were no longer called Bogomiles, but had numerous other names, such as Manicheans, Paterenes in Italy, Cathari in Germany, and Albigenses in France. They never called themselves anything else than *christiani, boni christiani, bons hommes.* That their belief originated in Bulgaria was forgotten neither by them nor by their opponents. Gibbon calls them simply Bulgarians.[b] The name Bogomile comes from the founder of their remarkable sect, a reformer of the Paulician doctrines, by the name of Bogomil (Love of God), who appeared in the first half of Peter's reign. His disciples gained a large following by their strictly moral lives. They were of peaceful disposition, abstained from loud talking or laughing, and were distinguished by faces white from fasting. That gave them an appearance of sanctity, which in the Orient from the most ancient times has not failed to be effective.[a b]

The Bogomile theology was founded on the principle that there are two original elements, a good and an evil. The good and the evil divinity are not equal in power and antiquity. The good divinity is a perfect triunal being, from whom nothing incomplete and temporary has proceeded; it is the creator of the heavenly, the invisible, and perfect world. The evil divinity, according to Christian terminology called Satan or the devil, created everything visible and corporeal, together with the universe and everything animate and inanimate. Satan was thus for the Bogomiles the creator of the world. The earth, his work, was according to their belief doomed to destruction.

The Greek Bogomiles relate that Satan, after he had created his heaven and earth, formed Adam out of the soil but could not animate him. He thereupon sent his messengers to God asking him to bestow his spirit, since man would be of service to them both. The good God fulfilled Satan's wish and man obtained life. Eve was created in the same way. The fall of man was caused by Satan. Free will is not, according to the Bogomile doctrine, an attribute of man. Satan ruled the world from the beginning during the Old Testament; it was he who brought on the flood, who scattered the people of Babel, who destroyed Sodom. Hence the Bogomiles rejected Moses as well as the prophets.

They rejected completely the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Every "perfect" Bogomile, whether man or woman, might preach. The church superiors were only administrators of the community, appointed by election. There were

no church buildings. Like the old Slavs, the Bogomiles called upon God everywhere, under the open sky, on mountain tops, in groves and in their huts. Christian temples and churches were to them the seats of evil spirits, and their bells were trumpets of the devil. Satan, they said, lived first in the temple at Jerusalem, then in the church of St. Sofia at Constantinople. However, in southern France, and perhaps in Bosnia, they had houses of prayer; these were simple little structures, without tower or bell, without ornament or portrait, without chancel or altar; a table covered with a white linen cloth, and upon it the open Testament, took the place of the altar.

The "perfect" Bogomiles were distinguished from ordinary believers by special asceticism. They might not marry, could not eat meat or drink wine, dressed in black, lived in poverty, and abstained from all enjoyments of life. The conditions for becoming a "perfect" Bogomile were so difficult that in the beginning of the thirteenth century, when this strange cult was at its height, among a million Bogomiles there were only four thousand "perfect" ones.

This gloomy doctrine ruled the minds of the Slavic people upon the Balkan Peninsula and maintained itself there with varying fortunes until the coming of the Turks. In the Middle Ages, at a time when religious questions were pre-eminent, there arose among the southern Slavs the struggle of Christianity against oriental Bogomilism; to this were added the contest for the independence of the orthodox national church and the effort to unite the Eastern church with the Western. Whoever understands the undermining effects of Bogomilism and of dissension will easily comprehend the rapid successes which in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries gained for the Ottomans supremacy over the peninsula.[b]

BULGARIA IS INCORPORATED INTO THE GREEK EMPIRE

We now turn to an event whose influence upon the history of the Bulgarians persists to this day: that is, the first appearance of the Russians in their territories. Ever since then Russia has been a factor in the history of Bulgaria, and at this moment the attitude of Russia is potent in determining the policy and fate of the country. Nicephorus, deeming it prudent before attacking so powerful a country as Bulgaria to provide himself with an ally, turned to the Russians.[a] Accordingly an embassy with rich presents was sent to their prince Sviatoslav, a man who loved adventure above everything else. Sviatoslav with an army of ten thousand proceeded down the Russian rivers, and in August, 967, appeared at the mouth of the Danube. The opposition of the Bulgarians was soon broken. The Russians quickly took possession of Silistria and a number of other Danubian cities, and Sviatoslav pitched his winter quarters in the city of Preslav on the Danube.

In the mean while Nicephorus felt obliged to change his tactics, partly because of disturbances which had broken out in Constantinople on account of oppressive taxes, partly because of anxiety caused by the unexpectedly rapid advance of the Russians. He made peace with Czar Peter, and promised to drive the Russians from the Danubian territories.[b]

Various complications, however, prevented the speedy fulfilment of this promise. Peter died in 969, and was succeeded by Boris II. In the western provinces a revolt headed by the boyar Shishman in 963 had torn these provinces loose from Peter's authority and established there a new dynasty. Sviatoslav was pleased with the southern lands he had discovered and was

not inclined to return to his comfortless north. "Here all good things flow together," he said of his new quarters; "the Greeks send gold, rich stuffs, wine, and fruit; the Bohemians and Hungarians, silver and horses; the Russians, wax, honey, and slaves." He consequently renewed his attack upon the Bulgarians, captured their king, crossed the Balkans, and appeared on the Grecian frontier intent on the early subjugation of the country.

It was not Nicephorus, but his successor, John Zimisces the Armenian, who finally drove back the Russians. This he did quite as much to save his own empire as to help the Bulgarian czar. After a long and desperate siege the Russians were finally forced to retire. Sviatoslav himself was attacked on his homeward march by the Petchenegs, who killed him after a fierce contest, and in derision of his former pretensions converted his skull into a goblet.[a]

Bulgaria was now wholly occupied by the Greeks. Zimisces had no thought of giving back his empire to the liberated Boris, although at his coming he had everywhere heralded himself as the liberator from Russian dominion. Czar Boris II and the Bulgarian patriarch Damian were deposed, and Bulgaria incorporated into the Byzantine Empire. Returning home in triumph, the victor offered up in the church of St. Sofia the crown of the Bulgarian czar—the mortal enemy of the Roman Empire. Thus after three hundred years of victorious existence the Bulgarian Empire on the Danube (the old Mœsia) became subject to the Greeks.[b]

Only in the western part of the empire was there a final flicker of independence, like a separate firebrand which suddenly flares up and burns for a time after the main fire is extinguished. For nearly half a century after the fall of Boris II, the Shishman dynasty maintained itself under Shishman's youngest son, Samuel, who came to the throne after the death of his three elder brothers.

Basil II, the Bulgar-Slayer

Samuel's successes and conquests were possible on account of the weakness of the Byzantine Empire after the death of John Zimisces, during the minority of Basil II. When, however, the latter came of age, he made the final overthrow of Bulgarian independence the main object of his life, and by his severity and cruelty won for himself the title of Bulgar-Slayer.[a] He continued to fight against Bulgaria almost uninterruptedly for several decades. It would be tiresome to relate the vicissitudes of this war; to narrate the cruelties which were perpetrated in detail would be disgusting; they can be easily imagined if one reflects that the Greeks, violent by nature and embittered by hatred, were frequently called on to exercise the right of retaliation, and that they employed the rudest and most inhuman mercenaries for that purpose. Finally Basil performed an act of cruelty which exceeds all that had hitherto been perpetrated and which surpasses belief. It is said that he caused fifteen thousand captive Bulgarians to be blinded, allowing every hundredth man to keep one eye, so as to serve as a guide for the others. When they were led home, their king, Samuel, was overcome with the horror of the sight and died after two days. This brought dismay into the ranks of the Bulgarians. Furthermore, Samuel's son and successor was killed by a noble; the conquest of the devastated and depopulated land was at last possible. In the year 1018 Basil had conquered the whole of Bulgaria. At the same time he forced the Croatians and Servians to do him homage, and occupied the whole eastern coast of the Adriatic.[c]

BYZANTINE SUPREMACY (1018–1186 A.D.)

Desolate and empty was the realm which the terrible victor took over. Thousands of inhabitants had fallen in the wars or had been carried off to distant lands as far as Asia. The power of the boyars was broken by the loss of their leaders; many were forced to exchange their old freedom for Byzantine court positions. The last czarina, Maria, and Samuel's daughter Catherine, graced the Byzantine court as ladies in waiting. The Bulgarian princes occupied military posts in Constantinople or Asia. The princesses were married to aristocratic Byzantines.

One important institution of the old empire was preserved by Basil II. The Bulgarian church kept its autonomy, only its head was now called archbishop instead of patriarch.[b] But even the church was affected by the general decline, and, although it did maintain its existence, it was worried and harassed by the Bogomiles, who continued to gain ground.

During the period of one hundred and seventy years elapsing between the fall of the house of Samuel and the foundation of the second empire Bulgaria has practically no national history. After the death of Basil II the land was overrun first by the Petchenegs, who were allowed by the Byzantines to settle beside the Bulgarians, and then by the Kumani, who drove the Petchenegs into Wallachia. Efforts of the Bulgarians to rebel and regain their liberty were foiled by the lack of union among the people themselves and the rival pretendents to the throne.

The country presents a sorry picture during this period. The policy of each of its Byzantine governors was to make as much money out of the country as possible before he was replaced by a successor. It was wholly like Mohammedan rule in the provinces to-day. Overrun as the country was by barbarian invasions, torn by internal rebellions and party quarrels, it is surprising to find that the national spirit was not wholly broken; but broken it was not, as is shown by the rise of the Asen brothers, who succeeded in throwing off the foreign yoke. Two brothers, Peter and Ivan (John) Asen, descendants of the old family of Shishman, made the tour to Constantinople, which sons of good family were expected to do. They asked, like well-bred youths with ambition, for what they probably deserved—a grant of certain lands; this in right of their descent. They expressed a desire also for an official appointment, if the emperor should be so disposed. Both demands were refused, and a high court functionary emphasised the refusal by slapping the younger of the two brothers on the cheek. It is due to this event that the empire staggered still more feebly; that the Turk, who was strenuously encroaching from the south, received fresh encouragement, and that there was a second Bulgarian empire.[a]

THE SECOND BULGARIAN EMPIRE (1186–1398 A.D.)

Returning home, the brothers called the people together in the church of St. Demetrius at Tirnova which they themselves had founded. There, it is related, certain men and women were influenced to proclaim with prophetic enthusiasm that it was the will of God that the boyars throw off the yoke of so many years and win back their freedom; that St. Demetrius had abandoned the Greeks and the church laid waste by the Normans, and had come to bring help to the Bulgarians. This "miracle" overcame even hesitating

spirits. Boyars and peasants seized their arms. Ivan was crowned czar of the Bulgarians and Greeks. At the same time a new archbishop, Basil, was established at Tirnova in independence of the patriarch at Constantinople.[b]

The Bulgarians were aided in their revolt by the Servian prince Nemanya, also by the wild tribes of the Kumani. Only for a short time was there an armistice, when in 1188 the Byzantines in some unknown way managed to make a prisoner of the Bulgarian queen.

In 1189 the crusaders appeared under Frederick Barbarossa, and the Bulgarians and Servians alike made him friendly overtures. Peter promised to put an army of forty thousand Bulgarians and Kumani at his disposal if he would march against Constantinople and give Peter the Greek crown. Frederick, however, refused the offer. The Bulgarians were even more successful against the impotent Isaac. They stormed Nish and captured Sofia, from which latter city the bones of St. John of Ryl were transferred to Tirnova.

DEATH OF ASEN; REIGN OF KALOYAN

The feeble Isaac having been deposed and blinded by his brother Alexius III, the latter wished to make peace with the Bulgarians, but Asen demanded impossible conditions and continued to press the war with vigour. But, owing to a family intrigue, his victorious career was violently interrupted by an assassin's dagger, and in 1196 Asen I, the restorer of the Bulgarian Empire, fell after a nine years' reign.[a] Peter took over the reins of government in conjunction with his young brother Kaloyan. But his peaceable nature ill pleased the Bulgarians. After a short time he too was murdered, likewise by one of his countrymen (1197).

He was followed by his brother Kaloyan (1197–1207), an implacable enemy of the Greeks, and similar to Asen in character but much more fierce and cruel. As an experienced general and statesman he placed political success above religious interests. The Bogomiles, so far as we know, were left unmolested, and he established himself on a friendly footing with the pope.[b] He allied himself with the fierce Kumani by marriage, and in conjunction with them made inroads into the Byzantine Empire as far as the very walls of Constantinople.[a] Finally (1201) the Byzantines were obliged to conclude peace with Kaloyan. All the territories he had captured were left in his power, and his empire extended from Belgrade to the Black Sea, from the mouths of the Danube to the Struma and the upper Vardar. Kaloyan, however, saw how necessary it was for him to have a confirmation of his title to rule. Since that could not be obtained from Byzantium, he turned to the pope. He had tried three times to send an embassy to Rome, but on account of the hostility of the Hungarians and Byzantines he had never succeeded. The report, however, reached Innocent III, and in 1199 a papal messenger, a Greek priest from Brindisi, arrived in Tirnova, wholly unexpectedly. He brought Kaloyan a letter from Innocent stating that he had heard of Kaloyan's descent from a Roman family and admonishing him to manifest his allegiance to the papal throne. The fierce Bulgarian seized this opportunity with pleasure. He was delighted that God had reminded him of the race and of the fatherland from which he had sprung, and he asked the pope to bestow upon him the imperial crown and to receive him into the Roman church (1202). In order to obtain his wish the more quickly he conferred his land in perpetuity upon the pope. He was moved to haste by a circumstance which gave a new direction to oriental affairs.

THE BULGARIAN CONFLICT WITH THE LATINS

On June 23rd, 1203, just as the sun was setting, the fleet of the Latin crusaders appeared before Constantinople. Three hundred ships carrying Venetians, Lombards, French, and Germans, to the number of about forty thousand men, bore down upon the Byzantine Empire. Commanding the fleet, whose course the sly Venetians had diverted from Palestine, the original goal, stood the blind doge Enrico Dandolo, an implacable enemy of the Byzantines.

Constantinople was not taken in a day. Nine months passed amidst varying fortunes of battle. Finally, on April 23rd, 1204, the walls were stormed and the city was conquered. Kaloyan's position was immediately changed by this event. While the Latins were still besieging Constantinople he promised to come to their aid with one hundred thousand men if they would agree to recognise him as ruler of the Bulgarians and give him a crown. His offer, however, was rejected. When, then, Emperor Baldwin was visiting the Thracian and Macedonian cities, Kaloyan again offered to enter into a treaty of peace. He received the haughty answer that he was not to treat with the Franks as a king with friends, but as a slave with his masters, since he was wholly unjustified in assuming dominion over the land which he had torn from the Greeks.[b]

Kaloyan wrote later to Innocent III: "They proudly replied to me that they would have no peace with me unless I returned the territory which I had wrested from the empire. I answered that I possessed this land more justly than they themselves possessed Constantinople." To Johannitsa's pretensions of descent from the Romans of Trajan, the crusaders opposed their descent from Francus, son of Priam. "Troy," said they, "belonged to our ancestors."

It would have been wise of the crusaders, who in the Orient had to defend themselves against the Greeks of Nicæa and the Turks, and in Europe against the despots of the Epirus and other petty Greek or Vlach princes, to make an alliance with the powerful czar of the Balkans, who proclaimed himself their brother in origin. They preferred to have one more enemy, the most redoubtable of all. The rupture with the king of "Blaquie and Bouguerie" (Bulgaria) was complete. The Bulgarians found allies among the Greeks. Their old hatred against Kaloyan was forgotten in their new exasperation against the Latins. Thracians called upon Kaloyan; at Didymotichon they massacred the Frankish garrison; at Adrianople they drove out the Latins, and hoisted the banner of the czar. Baldwin hastened with the *élite* of his army to recapture that place; they would not wait for the reinforcements which Boniface was bringing from the south, nor those which were hastening from Asia with Henry of Flanders, nor for the twenty thousand Armenians who were to follow them and who were massacred by the Greeks.

On April 14th, 1205, before Adrianople they met the army of Kaloyan, composed of Vlachs, of Bougres (Bulgarians), of Greeks, and of fourteen thousand unbaptised Kumani. The latter, fighting after the fashion of nomads, by a feigned flight attracted the French cavalry, which they riddled with arrows. Baldwin with his battle-axe performed prodigies of valour. The disaster was complete. The emperor Baldwin was taken captive. Different reports were circulated as to his fate. It is best, without doubt, to hold to the letter which Kaloyan wrote to the pope: *Debitum carnis exsolverat dum carcere teneretur.*[d] Kaloyan survived Baldwin only two years. He was mur-

dered by his general while asleep in his tent, probably at the instigation of his Kumanian wife. The report was spread that Demetrius, the patron saint of Thessalonica, had killed him with his own hand.[a]

Thus, in the autumn of 1207, ended the prince who had filled the Byzantines with such terror that they called him *Skylojohannes*—that is, Dog John. However prejudiced the Greek and Latin chroniclers may be concerning him, they do not write without foundation. His character is stained with blood and it cannot be washed clean. Among the Bulgarians the memory of the "great and most pious" czar is held in high esteem. He still figures to-day in the myth of the Thracian Bulgarians.

Kaloyan's nephew Boril, who was probably one of the accomplices of the murder, usurped the throne, and the legitimate heir, Asen's young son Ivan Asen, fled to Russia with his brother Alexander. Boril's reign lasted until 1218;[b] only two events of importance occurred during it. One was the persecution of the Bogomiles, which was a complete departure from the previous policy of the czars, and the other the marriage of Boril's beautiful daughter with the Frankish emperor Henry, who hoped thus to gain an ally against his enemies. The alliance, however, had no important results, and Boril was before long dethroned by Ivan Asen II, who reigned from 1218 to 1241.[a]

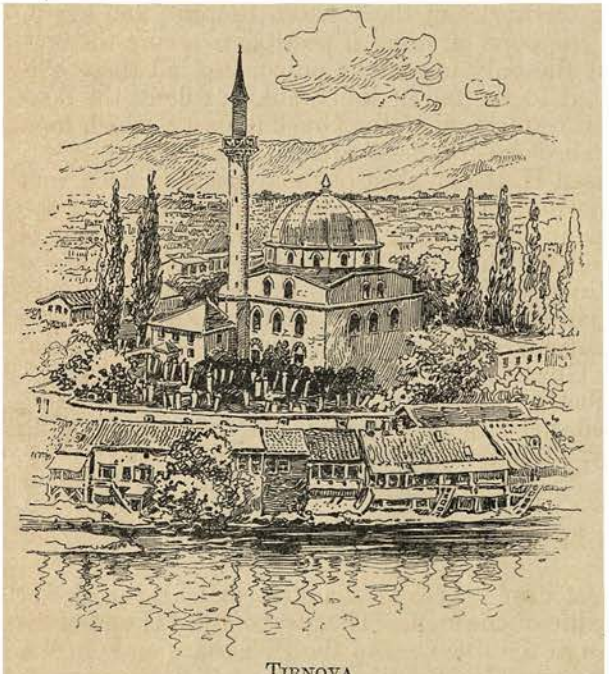
IVAN ASEN II (1218-1241 A.D.)

Ivan Asen II, "son of the old czar," the greatest of the dynasty of the Asens, extended the boundaries of his kingdom—although he found the realm in a decadent condition, and was himself no conqueror. Under him the country obtained an importance which it had not had for centuries and which it never reached after him. He devoted himself not only to expansion, but to the improvement of the internal administration. No deeds of cruelty mar his memory; he was a humane and mild ruler. The Byzantine Acropolita relates of him that all his contemporaries held him to be a remarkable and fortunate man "because he neither raged against his own countrymen with the sword, nor spotted himself with the murder of Greeks, as his predecessors among the Bulgarian rulers were in the habit of doing. Therefore he was not only respected and loved by the Bulgarians, but by the Greeks and other peoples as well."

For the first time since Samuel the Bulgarian Slavs were united under one sceptre; Asen's empire touched three seas. At Tirnova Asen built a cathedral (now a mosque) in which an inscription records his victories as follows: "In the year 6738 (*i. e.* 1230) of the third indiction, I, Ivan Asen, czar and autocrat of the Bulgarians, faithful to God in Christ, son of the old Asen, have built this most worthy temple from its foundations and have completely decorated it with paintings in honour of the forty holy martyrs, with the aid of whom, in the twelfth year of my reign, when the temple was being painted, I fought in the war against Rumania and defeated the Greek army, and took captive the czar Theodore Comnenus himself with all his boyars (nobles). And I have conquered all lands from Odrin (Adrianople) to Drac (Durazzo), the Greek, the Albanian, and the Servian land. Only the towns around Carigrad (Constantinople) and that city itself did the Frazi (Franks) hold, but these two subjected themselves to my rule, for they had no other czar than me, and lived out their days according to my will since God has so ordained. For without him is no deed or word accomplished. To him be honour forever. Amen."

The residence city of Tirnova was raised to a high state of magnificence under Asen II. At that time it presented a very different appearance from the present Tirnova with its scanty ruins. In Bulgarian records it is designated with glowing epithets in Byzantine style: "Tirnova, the city of czars, the queen of cities, the ruling, the widely celebrated city, the second in word and deed after Constantine's city." When Tirnova was founded is not known. One tradition states that it was built by giants; according to another, Crum was the founder. In the tenth century it was the cradle of Shishman's revolution. The brothers Asen and Peter were the first to establish its glory by fixing their residence there and making it the seat of the archbishopric. It is not impossible that their paternal castle was in Tirnova.

Even to the present day the superb location of the old Bulgarian metropolis astonishes every traveller. It consisted originally of two citadels separated by a rushing stream. The church of the Forty Martyrs was built on the bank of the river in the northern part of the town. There are many miracles reputed to the saints buried here, especially to the holy Ilarion of Moglena. The deceased czars slept here in subterranean vaults. The walls of the church were covered with inscriptions which are still to be seen in the mosque. Besides this the city was filled with churches and cloisters which the Turks after their conquest transformed into mosques or into baths.



TIRNOVA

Concerning the environs of Tirnova we have an interesting account dating from the time of the last patriarch, Euthymius. "Near the city Tirnova, separated from it only by the river, is a grassy meadow visible from all sides, richly watered by the streams which converge at that point. This meadow refreshes the eyes of the beholder, even from a distance; it is planted with trees, it is full of the most varied kinds of flowers and fruits, and is overtowered by a thick and roving forest; charming, too, are the streams that water it. Here stood a church of the Virgin, the mother of Christ, where every year the people from the whole city gathered with wives and children for a holiday." Tirnova, as the seat of the czars, patriarchs, and nobles, was the centre of all Bulgarian life in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The citizens often took a decisive part in political events.

The peace which ruled in Bulgarian lands under Asen II brought about a rapid development of commerce. Asen granted special privileges to the Ragusans, who had gradually come to control all the internal trade of the peninsula; they were to travel unmolested in his empire, to buy and sell as

[1241–1257 A.D.]

"the truest, dear guests of my empire." The Ragusans in later times still remember the "true friendship" of this "celebrated czar Ivan Asen."

Ecclesiastical life also developed, and monasteries and cloisters received large donations from Asen II. The followers of different sects—orthodox, Catholic, and Bogomile—lived undisturbed in Asen's realm. The pope complained in a letter to the king of Hungary of Asen's tolerance towards the Bogomiles, saying that he gave refuge and protection to the heretics, so that his whole land was contaminated and filled by them. The independence of the church of Tirnova was recognised by the Greeks under Asen II.[b]

Concerning his foreign policy James Samuelson[e] says: "Like many other Eastern rulers of his day in Hungary, Wallachia, Constantinople, and elsewhere, Ivan Asen was constantly making and breaking alliances: now with Béla, the great king of Hungary; now with Vatatz, ruler of Nicæa, who occupied one of the fast-dissolving territories of the Eastern Empire; and again, when it suited his views, with the pope, in order if possible to secure the possession of Constantinople; but the only important outcome of all these alliances was that they contributed to the fall of the Frankish rule in the last-named city, and facilitated the restoration of the Greek dynasty, which took place in 1261, when Michael Palæologus resumed sway at Constantinople."[a]

In June, 1241, died Ivan Asen II, the greatest of the dynasty of Asen, and next to Simeon the most important of all Bulgarian czars. The son of the refounder of the empire, he spent his youth in exile, and not till after severe trials and battles did he ascend the throne; when he died he left an empire which touched the shores of three seas, and of which the position was firmly established among the Christian states by friendly relations with the rulers of the Greeks, Servians, Hungarians, and Germans. The Bulgarian national church was recognised by the Greeks. An active commerce, splendid buildings, and a rare religious liberty testified to the progress of civilisation. Under a brave and experienced successor the empire would have continued to grow in power and prosperity. But it was otherwise decreed.

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE SECOND BULGARIAN EMPIRE

After the death of the great czar it became manifest that all this power and glory stood or fell with the life of one man. The ideal of Asen II and of his dynasty, as was already shown in the title Czar of the Bulgarians and Greeks, was a Slavic monarchy with its capital at Constantinople; his successors were not able to maintain their supremacy even over the Macedonian and Thracian Slavs.[b] Within sixteen years after the death of Asen II all his possessions had reverted to Greek, Macedonian, and Servian rulers, and the Asen dynasty had come to an end with the murder of Kaliman II, who in his turn had murdered his cousin Michael, the son of Asen II, and successor of his brother Kaliman I.[a]

With Ivan Asen II there disappeared all chances for the future of Bulgaria. With that dynasty, which came to an end in the third generation, disappeared traditional policies; the territorial greatness of the Bulgarian state was attacked. The son of Ivan Asen, Kaliman I (1241–1246), aged nine years at his accession, died at the moment when the war against the Greek Empire was about to commence. That empire, profiting by the situation, tried to expel the Bulgarians from Macedonia, from the valley of the Struma, and from Thrace, which they had occupied under Ivan Asen II. It attained its ends in the years 1254 to 1257 during the reign of Michael Asen (1246–1257),

another son of Ivan Asen II and brother-in-law of Urosh I of Servia. After the assassination of Michael the succession to the throne gave rise to a series of difficulties which did not end, except for a few interruptions, until almost the time of the Turkish conquest. The reign of Constantine Titch, a Bulgarian noble related to the kings of Servia, was fairly long (1258–1277), but brought no amelioration. The boundaries of Bulgaria, between the Danube, the Maritza, and the systems of the Vitoch and of the Rilo-Dagh, remained unchanged. The prolonged illness of Constantine, the intrigues of his wife, the proximity of enemies, especially of the Tatars, gave rise to disorders which lasted nearly twenty years.

Ivailo, Ivan Asen III, *protégé* of Byzantium, Svetslav, George Terterij, Smiletz, followed one another without one of them succeeding in establishing order. The Tatars under Tchoki-Khan invaded Bulgaria. The western part of the country, the region about Widdin, established a partial independence under Shishman.

The son of George Terterij, Theodore Svetslav, restored the central power and succeeded in reigning from 1295 to 1322. His son, George Terterij II, attempted, but without success, during his reign of one year, to extend the state at the expense of Byzantium (1322–1323). Dying without children, he was succeeded by Michael Shishman of Widdin (1323–1330), the first of the dynasty. Very ambitious, unfortunate in his ambitions, jealous of the progress of Servia, he sought an alliance with Byzantium. Hence his divorce from the sister of Urosh III. John Alexander, nephew of Michael, succeeded him; the marriage of his sister with Dushan inaugurated the policy of alliance between the Servians and Bulgarians, so dear to Dushan, and which was indeed salutary and prudent.[d]

Alexander died, probably, in 1365, and left a disunited, decayed empire, the three rulers of which were the last Christian lords in the land. In Tirnova resided Czar Ivan Shishman III; Ivan Scracimir ruled in the west in Widdin; and Dobrotic was the independent ruler of the Black Sea regions.[b] With the death of Dushan, who had called himself Czar of the Bulgarians, disappeared the supremacy of Servia over Bulgaria; and the country, which we have seen split up among different rulers, could offer no effective resistance to the advancing Turks. The latter were already in possession of strongholds on the southern coast, and after the death of Dushan they began their resistless advance towards the north. In 1366 Shishman III was forced to pay tribute to Murad I and to send his sister into Murad's harem. The battle of Kosovo sealed the fate of Bulgaria and of the whole peninsula. Shortly after that battle the Turks directed their attack against Bulgaria.[a]

What Byzantine pseudo-civilisation, the egoism of the boyars, and religious turmoils had destroyed, could not be remedied by the self-sacrificing courage of individual heroes. Fortified strongholds and a warlike people were not lacking. Large towns like Tirnova and Nikopoli still maintained their independence. In the spring of 1393 Bayazid rallied the Asiatic army, crossed the Hellespont, and joined his occidental army corps; among them may have been the Christian armies of Macedonia. He intrusted the leadership to his son Djelebi and sent him against Tirnova. The city was suddenly surrounded on all sides, but it was not taken until after a three months' siege. In the absence of the czar Shishman, who was trying his fortune elsewhere against the Ottomans, the patriarch Euthymius was the chief person in the city. He went manfully out to the Turks to soften the anger of the barbarian prince. Bayazid's son, when he saw the patriarch approaching, undaunted and serious, as though all the terrors of war were only paintings on a wall,

stood up, received him kindly, offered him a seat, listened to his petition, but followed up his promises with few deeds.[b]

The governor left behind by Djelebi treacherously killed all the prominent Bulgarians. Euthymius himself escaped only by a miracle. Different legends relate the death of Shishman, but nothing certain is known of his fate. Scracimir still continued to hold his stronghold of Widdin, but he surrendered to Sigismund of Hungary before the battle of Nikopoli (1396), and that battle finally decided the fate of Bulgaria.[a] After the fall of Widdin the whole of Bulgaria from Varna to the Timok was subject to the Asiatic barbarians. Of the cities many were destroyed, but others received new protection through Turkish privileges. The boyars maintained themselves for a long time, chiefly by accepting Islam. The villages were terribly depopulated, for the Turks transformed whole regions into deserts and everywhere burned cloisters and churches. The inhabitants of the plains fled to the mountains and founded there new cities. A large mass of the people, together with boyars and clergy, escaped to Wallachia.

BULGARIA UNDER THE TURKS

Our story of the mediæval Bulgarian Empire is at an end. If we glance back at the long series of varying events which affected the Bulgarian people during eight centuries, we get a picture in sombre tones. For many centuries the Bulgarians held the whole peninsula in suspense, shared their literature and culture with the remaining orthodox Slavic world, and, by the doctrines of a native sect, shook the whole of southern Europe; and what was the conclusion? The nation once so respected and feared passed politically under the yoke of the Turks, intellectually under the yoke of the Greeks, and remained in this servitude until in our days it has shown that its task is not finished. The three causes which contributed directly to the fall of the Tirnova Empire were Byzantinism, Bogomilism, and mediæval feudalism.[b]

The five centuries of Turkish rule (1396–1878) form a dark epoch in Bulgarian history. The invaders carried fire and sword through the land; towns, villages, and monasteries were sacked and destroyed, and whole districts were converted into desolate wastes. All the regions formerly ruled by the Bulgarian czars, including Macedonia and Thrace, were placed under the administration of a governor-general, styled the beylerbey of Rumelia, residing at Sofia; Bulgaria proper was divided into the sandjaks of Sofia, Nikopoli, Widdin, Silistria, and Küstendil. Only a small proportion of the people followed the example of the boyars in abandoning Christianity; the conversion of the isolated communities now represented by the Pomaks took place at various intervals during the next three centuries.

A new kind of feudal system replaced that of the boyars, and fiefs or *spahiliks* were conferred on the Ottoman chiefs and the renegade Bulgarian nobles. The Christian population was subjected to heavy imposts. Among the most cruel forms of oppression was the requisitioning of young boys between the ages of ten and twelve, who were sent to Constantinople as recruits for the corps of janissaries. Notwithstanding the horrors which attended the Ottoman conquest, the condition of the peasantry during the first three centuries of Turkish government was scarcely worse than it had been under the tyrannical rule of the boyars. The contemptuous indifference with which the Turks regarded the Christian *rayas* was not altogether

to the disadvantage of the subject race. Military service was not exacted from the Christians, no systematic effort was made to extinguish either their religion or their language, and within certain limits they were allowed to retain their ancient local administration and the jurisdiction of their clergy in regard to inheritances and family affairs.

While the Ottoman power was at its height the lot of the subject-races was far less intolerable than during the period of decadence, which began, as we have seen, with the unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1683. Their rights and privileges were respected, the law was enforced, commerce prospered, good roads were constructed, and the great caravans of the Ragusan merchants traversed the country.

Down to the end of the eighteenth century there appears to have been only one serious attempt at revolt—that occasioned by the advance of Prince Sigismund Báthori into Wallachia in 1595. A kind of guerilla warfare was, however, maintained in the mountains by the *haiduti*, or outlaws, whose exploits, like those of the Greek *klephts*, have been highly idealised in the popular folk-lore. As the power of the sultans declined anarchy spread through the peninsula. In the earlier decades of the eighteenth century the Bulgarians suffered terribly from the ravages of the Turkish armies passing through the land during the wars with Austria. Towards its close their condition became even worse, owing to the horrors perpetrated by the *krjali*, or troops of disbanded soldiers and desperadoes, who, in defiance of the Turkish authorities, roamed through the country, supporting themselves by plunder and committing every conceivable atrocity.

NATIONAL REVIVAL

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the existence of the Bulgarian race was almost unknown in Europe even to students of Slavonic literature. Disheartened by ages of oppression, isolated from Christendom by their geographical position, and cowed by the proximity of Constantinople, the Bulgarians took no collective part in the insurrectionary movement which resulted in the liberation of Servia and Greece. The Russian invasions of 1810 and 1828 only added to their sufferings, and great numbers of fugitives took refuge in Bessarabia, annexed by Russia under the treaty of Bukharest. But the long-dormant national spirit now began to awake under the influence of a literary revival. The precursors of the movement were Paisii, a monk of Mount Athos, who wrote a history of the Bulgarian czars and saints (1762), and Bishop Sofronii, who has given a vivid picture of the times. After 1824 several works written in modern Bulgarian began to appear, but the most important step was the foundation, in 1835, of the first Bulgarian school at Gabrovo. Within ten years at least fifty-three Bulgarian schools came into existence, and five Bulgarian printing-presses were at work.

The literary movement led the way to a reaction against the influence and authority of the Greek clergy. The spiritual domination of the Greek patriarchate had tended more effectually than the temporal power of the Turks to the effacement of Bulgarian nationality. After the conquest of the peninsula the Greek patriarch became the representative at the Sublime Porte of the *Rûm-milleti*, the Roman nation, in which all the Christian nationalities were comprised. The independent patriarchate of Tirnova was suppressed; that of Ochrida was subsequently Hellenised. The Fanariot clergy —unscrupulous, rapacious, and corrupt—succeeded in monopolising the

higher ecclesiastical appointments and filled the parishes with Greek priests, whose schools, in which Greek was exclusively taught, were the only means of instruction open to the population. By degrees Greek became the language of the upper classes in all the Bulgarian towns, the Bulgarian language was written in Greek characters, and the illiterate peasants, though speaking the vernacular, called themselves Greeks. The Slavonic liturgy was suppressed in favour of the Greek, and in many places the old Bulgarian manuscripts, images, testaments, and missals were committed to the flames.

The patriots of the literary movement, recognising in the patriarchate the most determined foe to a national revival, directed all their efforts to the abolition of Greek ecclesiastical ascendency and the restoration of the Bul-

MONASTERY OF IVERON AT MT. ATHOS

garian autonomous church. Some of the leaders went so far as to open negotiations with Rome, and an archbishop of the Uniate Bulgarian church was nominated by the pope. The struggle was prosecuted with the utmost tenacity for forty years. Incessant protests and memorials were addressed to the Porte, and every effort was made to undermine the position of the Greek bishops, some of whom were compelled to abandon their sees. At the same time no pains were spared to diffuse education and to stimulate the national sentiment.

NATIONALITY RECOGNISED

Various insurrectionary movements were then attempted, but received little support from the mass of the people. The recognition of Bulgarian nationality was won by the pen, not the sword. The patriarchate at length found it necessary to offer some concessions, but these appeared illusory to the Bulgarians, and long and acrimonious discussions followed. Eventually the Turkish government intervened, and on the 28th of February, 1870, a firman was issued establishing the Bulgarian exarchate, with jurisdiction over fifteen dioceses, including Nish, Pirot, and Veles; the other dioceses in dispute were to be added to these in case two-thirds of the Christian population so desired. The election of the first exarch was delayed till February, 1872, owing to the opposition of the patriarch, who immediately afterwards excommunicated the new head of the Bulgarian church and all his followers. The official recognition now acquired tended to consolidate the Bulgarian nation and to prepare it for the political developments which were soon to follow. A great educational activity was at once displayed.

THE REVOLT OF 1876

Under the enlightened administration of Midhat Pasha (1864–1868) Bulgaria enjoyed comparative prosperity, but that remarkable man is not remembered with gratitude by the people owing to the severity with which he repressed insurrectionary movements. In 1861 twelve thousand Crimean Tatars, and in 1864 a still larger number of Circassians from the Caucasus, were settled by the Turkish government on lands taken without compensation from the Bulgarian peasants. The Circassians, a lawless race of mountaineers, proved a veritable scourge to the population in their neighbourhood. In 1875 the insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina produced immense excitement throughout the peninsula. The fanaticism of the Moslems was aroused, and the Bulgarians, fearing a general massacre of Christians, endeavoured to anticipate the blow by organising a general revolt. The rising, which broke out prematurely at Koprivshtitza and Panagjvrishche in May, 1876, was mainly confined to the sandjak of Philippopolis. Bands of bashi bazouks were let loose throughout the district by the Turkish authorities, the Pomaks, or Moslem Bulgarians, and the Circassian colonists were called to arms, and a succession of horrors followed to which a parallel can scarcely be found in the history of the Middle Ages. The principal scenes of massacre were Panagjvrishche, Perushtitza, Bratzigovo, and Batak; at the last-named town, according to an official British report, five thousand men, women, and children were put to the sword by the Pomaks under Ahmed Aga, who was decorated by the sultan for this exploit. Altogether some fifteen thousand persons were massacred in the district of Philippopolis, and fifty-eight villages and five monasteries were destroyed. Isolated risings which took place on the northern side of the Balkans were crushed with similar barbarity.

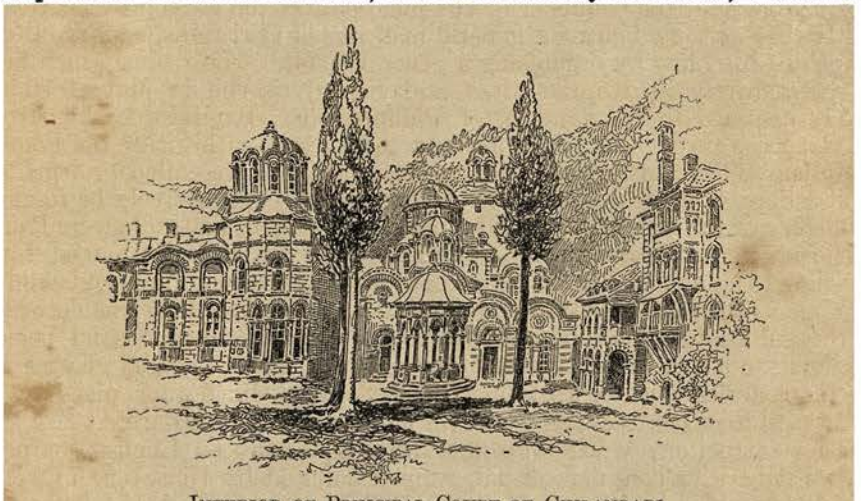
These atrocities, which were first made known by an English journalist and an American consular official, were denounced by Gladstone in a celebrated pamphlet which aroused the indignation of Europe. The great powers remained inactive, but Servia declared war in the following month, and her army was joined by two thousand Bulgarian volunteers. A conference of the representatives of the powers, held at Constantinople towards the end of the year, proposed, among other reforms, the organisation of the Bulgarian provinces, including the greater part of Macedonia, in two vilayets under Christian governors, with popular representation. These recommendations were practically set aside by the Porte, and in April, 1877, Russia declared war. In the campaign which followed the Bulgarian volunteer contingent in the Russian army played an honourable part; it accompanied Gurko's advance over the Balkans, behaved with great bravery at Eski-Sagra, where it lost heavily, and rendered valuable services in the defence of Shipka.

TREATY OF BERLIN

The victorious advance of the Russian army to Constantinople was followed by the Treaty of San Stefano (March 3rd, 1878), which realised almost to the full the national aspirations of the Bulgarian race. All the provinces of European Turkey in which the Bulgarian element predominated were now included in an autonomous principality, which extended from the Black Sea to the Albanian mountains, and from the Danube to the Ægean, enclosing Ochrida, the ancient capital of the Shishmans, Dibra, and Kastoria, as well

as the districts of Vranya and Pirot, and possessing a Mediterranean port at Kavala. The Dobrudscha, notwithstanding its Bulgarian population, was not included in the new state, being reserved as compensation to Rumania for the Russian annexation of Bessarabia; Adrianople, Saloniki, and the Chalcidian peninsula were left to Turkey. The area thus delimited constituted three-fifths of the Balkan Peninsula, with a population of four million inhabitants. The great powers, however, anticipating that this extensive territory would become a Russian dependency, intervened; and on the 13th of July of the same year was signed the Treaty of Berlin, which in effect divided the "Big Bulgaria" of the San Stefano treaty into three portions.

The limits of the principality of Bulgaria, as now defined, and the autonomous province of eastern Rumelia, have been already described; the remaining portion, including almost the whole of Macedonia and part of the vilayet of Adrianople, was left under Turkish administration. No special organisation was provided for the districts thus abandoned; it was stipulated that laws similar to the organic law of Crete should be introduced into the various parts of Turkey in Europe, but this engagement was never carried out by the Porte. Vranya, Pirot, and Nish were given to Servia, and the transference of the Dobrudscha to Rumania was sanctioned. This artificial division of the Bulgarian nation could scarcely be regarded as possessing elements of permanence. It was provided that the prince of Bulgaria should be freely elected by the population, and confirmed by the Sublime Porte with the assent of the powers, and that, before his election, an assembly of Bulgarian notables, convoked at Tirnova, should draw up the organic law of the principality. The drafting of a constitution for eastern Rumelia was assigned to a European commission.



INTERIOR OF PRINCIPAL COURT OF CHILANDARI

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Pending the completion of their political organisation, Bulgaria and eastern Rumelia were occupied by Russian troops and administered by Russian officials. The assembly of notables, which met at Tirnova in 1879, was mainly composed of half-educated peasants, who from the first displayed an

extremely democratic spirit, in which they proceeded to manipulate the very liberal constitution submitted to them by Prince Korsakov, the Russian governor-general. The long period of Turkish domination had effectually obliterated all social distinctions, and the radical element, which now formed into a party under Tzankov and Karavelov, soon gave evidence of its predominance. Manhood suffrage, a single chamber, payment of deputies, the absence of a property qualification for candidates, and the prohibition of all titles and distinctions, formed salient features in the constitution now elaborated. The organic statute of eastern Rumelia was largely modelled on the Belgian constitution. The governor-general, nominated for five years by the sultan with the approbation of the powers, was assisted by an assembly, partly representative, partly composed of *ex-officio* members; a permanent committee was intrusted with the preparation of legislative measures and the general supervision of the administration, while a council of six "directors" fulfilled the duties of a ministry.[9]

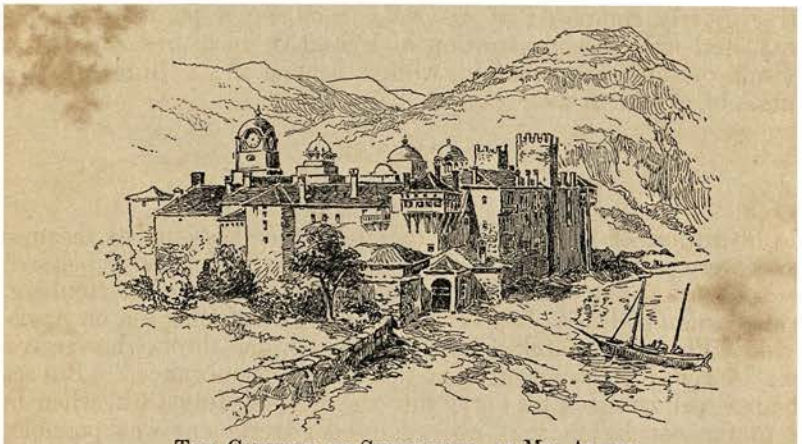
PRINCE ALEXANDER AND RUSSIA

The liberation of Bulgaria was taken by the Russians to mean simply that they were privileged to act in the country exactly as they pleased, as if it were a conquered province. When Prince Alexander of Battenberg, who at the suggestion of Russia had been chosen prince of Bulgaria on April 29th, 1879, asked Prince Bismarck if he should accept the throne, he received the answer: "Accept it; it will be at least a pleasant remembrance." But scarcely had the new prince made his entry into the city, on July 13th, when he was forced to the conclusion that no organised government was possible, with either the radical constitution framed by the assembly of notables at Tirnova under Russian influence, or with the brutal high-handedness of the Russian Pan-Slavists who had gained possession of the highest civil and military positions. But not until after two personal interviews at St. Petersburg did he succeed in persuading the czar to suspend the constitution. Thereupon in 1881 he called on the Bulgarian people to choose between his abdication and a seven years' dictatorship for the purpose of creating the necessary provisions and of revising the constitution. At the elections a grand *sobranye* was chosen which accepted these conditions without debate.

But although one evil was thus removed, the other, the Russian pressure, still remained and was continually on the increase. The Russian generals Sobolev and Kaulbars, the former the minister of the interior, the latter of war, acted in harmony with the Russian representative Jonin, as though the prince and their Bulgarian colleagues had no privilege except that of submitting without question to Russian demands. Kaulbars decreed among other things that no officer might be appointed who had not served two years in the Russian army. When the conflict between the Russian and Bulgarian ministers came to an open break the prince, in answer to an appeal to St. Petersburg, received the laconic answer that the mission of the two generals was not yet ended and that their opponents must give way. But the brutal arbitrariness with which the Russian magnates misused their positions had a result which was far from intended by themselves: it led to an understanding between the hitherto hostile parties. The conservatives, who did not wish to see the Turkish supremacy replaced by a Russian, united with the liberals, who above everything else wanted the re-establishment of the constitution. Trusting to this coalition, Prince Alexander, on September 10th, announced

to the Russian ministers their dismission, but they coolly answered that they had the czar's orders to remain at their posts even against the will of the prince, and on the same day Jonin presented a note which, in addition to the retention of the two generals, demanded the establishment of a commission to draw up a new constitution, and the relinquishment by the prince of his extraordinary powers.

Thereupon the Russians turned to the liberals, who were ready to accept any alliance which would give back to them the constitution of Tirnova. Sobolev had already arranged with Zankov, the liberal leader, that at the convention of the little sobranye the deposition of the prince would be insisted upon. But this time also the "Russian triumvirate" missed its aim. At



THE CONVENT OF SPHIGMENU, AT MT. ATHOS

the last minute the Zankovits recognised that instead of founding the freedom and independence of Bulgaria they were about to assist in establishing a Russian dictatorship. Instead of deposing the prince, the little sobranye in an address expressed to him only the unanimous desire of the nation for the re-establishment of the constitution, with the change of one necessary point, and this was willingly conceded. The two Russian ministers left Sofia in anger. "That was your last triumph, highness," said Sobolev to the prince at parting, "and at the same time the last misdeed which the emperor will let go unpunished." In fact deep indignation was felt at St. Petersburg over this unexpected turn of affairs, the more so because the new czar had as much personal dislike for his Battenberg cousin as his father had had liking for him. When the prince desired to give the portfolio of war to another Russian general, Liessovoi, the latter as well as a Russian adjutant of the prince, instead of the confirmation which had been hoped for, received orders from St. Petersburg to leave Sofia within forty-eight hours. The prince worthily answered this insult by dismissing the remaining Russian officers who were in his personal service and by recalling by telegraph the thirty-five Bulgarian officers who had positions in the Russian army. The people placed themselves unanimously on his side; if Russia did not wish to lose influence, it was needful not to overstretch the bow.

It was probably this reflection which moved the czar not to reject the concessions offered by the prince. Through the younger Kaulbars, who was sent to Sofia, an agreement for three years was reached, in accordance with which the ministry of war was for the future also intrusted to a Russian

general, who, however, had to swear obedience to the prince, the constitution, and the laws, and had to avoid all interference in internal affairs. In the mean while the little sobranye had finished the revision of the constitution, the most important change in which was the introduction of the dual chamber system. The new constitution was first to be tried for three years and then laid before a grand sobranye for final approval. The prince hereupon, in January 1884, laid down the extraordinary powers which had been given him.

UNION WITH EASTERN RUMELIA

The agreement with Russia, however, which had been won with such toil, was only of short duration. A chief source of discontent for the radical national party lay in the fact that the congress of Berlin had opposed the creation of a Great Bulgaria and that eastern Rumelia had received a separate governor in the person of Aleko Pasha. From that time the radical national party worked tirelessly but in secret for the reuniting of the two Bulgarias; sworn officers won over the garrison of Philippopolis. On September 18th, 1885, a revolution was accomplished there without bloodshed. Aleko's weak successor, Gavril Pasha, was arrested, the union of eastern Rumelia with Bulgaria proclaimed, and Prince Alexander invited to come to Philippopolis. He did not delay in responding to the summons, but his first act upon arriving in Philippopolis was to recall the tokens of Turkish sovereignty which had been taken away, and to cause it to be explicitly stated in Constantinople that he had no intention of interfering with this sovereignty. On the advice of Germany and Austria the Porte, in order to avoid bloodshed, refrained from sending troops as it had intended.

On the other hand, Emperor Alexander gave the sharpest possible expression to his disapproval of this act of independence. It was not enough that he bluntly expressed this opinion to the Bulgarian deputation, which under the metropolitan Clement had been sent to him at Copenhagen—not enough that he immediately recalled all Russians serving in the Bulgarian army. When the prince offered, in case these measures were directed against himself, to abdicate if, on the other hand, Russia would uphold the union, the czar struck his name off the list of the Russian army without condescending to answer him. Most strangely had the great powers directly interested in the Bulgarian question completely reversed their former positions. Russia, which formerly had written the liberation of Bulgaria on its banner, was now full of jealousy towards the independence which those Bulgarians were demanding under the leadership of their prince, and opposed the union of the two Bulgarias, the separation of which had had to be wrung from her with difficulty at the congress of Berlin. On the other hand, the powers which had then fought against the partition of Bulgaria—the Porte, England, and Austria—found this Great Bulgaria very convenient as a wall against Russia. No wonder that the conference of ambassadors which met at Constantinople at the suggestion of the Porte did nothing towards the solution of the question. Matters became still more complicated by the fact that Greece and Servia thought that, by the extension of Bulgaria, portions of the Turkish inheritance upon which they had counted were to be taken away from them; and, in order to prevent it, they made military preparations which far surpassed their financial ability. Futile were all efforts made by diplomacy to prevent the firebrand in this dangerous corner of Europe from breaking into flames. King Milan took advantage of the crossing of a line by Bulgarian troops to declare war in Sofia on November 13th, 1885.

[1885-1886 A.D.]

WAR WITH SERVIA

On the very next day the Servians entered Bulgaria under the leadership of their king. One division marched against Widdin; the main branch proceeded towards Sofia by way of Tsaribrod, Trin, and Küstendil. Considering the superior numbers and better equipment of the Servians, the struggle seemed hopeless for the Bulgarians, whose army had lost nearly all its superior officers through the recall of the Russians; and the beginning of operations appeared to confirm this view. The Servians took in quick succession the poorly fortified strongholds at Tsaribrod, Trin, and Adlieh (Kula) (near Widdin) from their opponents and forced them back over the Dragoman pass as far as Slivnitza. A few more vigorous attacks and they would have arrived before Sofia. But the leaf turned contrary to all expectations. Prince Alexander, immediately after the Servian declaration of war, had conformed with the demand of the Porte that he should withdraw his troops from eastern Rumelia. He explained at Constantinople that in defending the Bulgarian frontier he had been at the same time defending the Turkish. He fortified himself further by calling on the intervention of the great powers. He then collected fifteen thousand men and appeared with them on the scene of battle at Slivnitza. On the 17th he repulsed an attack of the Servians; on the 18th he took the offensive; on the 19th, while he had hastened back to the capital, Major Gudschev captured the Servian positions and forced the enemy back into the Dragoman pass; on the 23rd Tsaribrod was occupied by the Bulgarians. This defeat, so wholly unexpected, completely cured King Milan of his desire for war. In a telegram to the Porte he offered to stop hostilities, whereupon Turkey, thereby acting in harmony with the terms of the Treaty of Berlin, ordered the victor to conclude an armistice.

Prince Alexander, however, felt that his martial honour forbade him to stop fighting except on Servian soil; he refrained also from sending a commissary of the Porte to eastern Rumelia before the end of the war. On November 26th he crossed the Servian frontier, and on the 27th and 28th in a sharp battle stormed Pirot and the heights behind. He was already preparing to penetrate into the interior of Servia when the Austrian ambassador in Belgrade, Count Khevenhüller, came to him from Count Kálnoky and presented a collective note of the powers which demanded the cessation of hostilities. It was hinted that if the prince advanced further he would come upon the Austrian whitecoats. There was nothing left for the prince but to agree to an armistice; after long and fruitless negotiations, on December 22nd an international military commission commanded both parties to vacate hostile territory and to agree to a peace lasting until March 1st, 1886.

Servia was unyielding. Finally, on March 3rd, the negotiating parties had to be content with the simple re-establishment of peace without coming to an agreement upon details. Prince Alexander had used the intervening time to accomplish as much as was possible in eastern Rumelia and to conclude a treaty with the Porte on February 2nd, 1886, through which the general government over this province was assigned to him provisionally for five years, and both Bulgarias pledged themselves to support each other in case of need. This greatly annoyed Russia, who, however, by her interference succeeded in causing the conference of ambassadors at Constantinople to make various changes in the treaty. Alexander's name was struck from it, and the renewal of his election every five years was reserved for confirmation by the powers. The union of the two Bulgarias, however, remained an accomplished fact. The Peace of San Stefano had been realised of itself.

Russian Intrigues

But scarcely had peace been restored when Russian intrigues stirred up new disturbances in Bulgaria. After throwing off the Turkish yoke people had so firmly expected the dawn of a golden age that disappointment opened a way for such influences. In conjunction with the Russian military attaché, Zankov, Major Grujev and Captain Benderev formed a conspiracy to overthrow the prince. Sofia was purposely almost emptied of troops. On the 21st of August Alexander was surprised at night by mutinous officers, cadets, and soldiers; he was forced on the pain of death to sign a sort of abdication, was carried to the Russian frontier town Reni, and from there, on an order from St. Petersburg, was brought to the Austrian frontier. In Sofia the metropolitan Clement held a sort of high court at which everyone who appeared received one or two rubles and proclaimed that God had loosed the Bulgarian people from Prince Battenberg and had brought them back under the protection of the powerful czar. Thereupon the populace was driven to the Russian consulate, upon the balcony of which the metropolitan, standing between the consular administrators, blessed the kneeling people. He himself became the head of the new cabinet. Zankov was minister of the interior. But it soon became clear that neither people nor army approved of the unscrupulous deed. Protests poured in from all sides. The militia of eastern Rumelia under Mutkurov marched against Sofia, the conspirators, as many as had not escaped by flight, were taken prisoners, and on the 24th Mutkurov with Karavelov and Stambulov formed a provisionary government in the name of the prince. A deputation started out to find the latter and invite him to return. It found him in Lemberg, and although deeply wounded by the ingratitude shown him he decided to come back. On all sides he was received as in triumph.

But he was forced to the conclusion that he could not maintain himself against the lasting hatred of Russia, without plunging Bulgaria into incalculable difficulties. From Rustchuk he sent a humble telegram to the czar which closed with the words: "Since Russia has given me my crown, I am ready to return it to the hands of her sovereign." Undignified as this offer was, it nevertheless failed completely in attaining its object. The answer of the czar was a curt rejection: "I cannot approve of your return to Bulgaria, as I see calamitous results for the country, which is already so severely tried. I shall refrain so long as you remain there from all interference in the unfortunate state of affairs to which Bulgaria is again reduced." It was the most pregnant expression of the fiction, popular in Russia, that the government of the prince was anarchy from which Russian rule must free the country. This proclamation of implacable enmity against his person decided the prince. After he had made his solemn entry into Sofia he reappointed the provisory government, abdicated on September 7th, and left the country.

With redoubled emphasis the efforts were now renewed to force Bulgaria into a Russian vassalage. More imperiously than a Roman pro-consul, General Kaulbars, the new representative of Slavic authority, imposed the threefold command: To raise the state of siege, to liberate the imprisoned conspirators, and to defer the election for the grand sobranye, which had been fixed for October 10th. But both regency and people opposed a firm and temperate resistance to these officious attempts. The elections to the sobranye resulted in a complete defeat for the Russian party. The originators of a treacherous attempt against the little coast fortification of Burgas were overpowered and brought before a tribunal regardless of all protests of Kaul-

bars, whereupon the general, with all Russian consuls, left the country. A great patriotic *liga* was formed to support the regency and to put an end to the uncertainty, above all to choose a new prince; there was no lack of voices demanding the re-election of Alexander in spite of Russia, but he declined definitively. So also did Prince Valdemar of Denmark, who was unanimously chosen by the sobranye; whereupon a delegation went the rounds of the signatory powers asking to be given another candidate. On July 7th, 1887, the grand sobranye elected unanimously Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, a grandson on his mother's side of Louis Philippe.*f*

BULGARIA UNDER PRINCE FERDINAND

Prince Ferdinand, then twenty-six years old, was thus suddenly called from the position of a lieutenant in the Austrian army to rule over the "peasant nation," as Bulgaria is sometimes called, a nation numbering two million peasants with little idea of the responsibilities and privileges of constitutional rule. The task might not have been so difficult had Bulgaria been left to herself, but the experience of Prince Alexander had shown that the position of her ruler might be full of peril owing to Russian intrigues.

PRINCE FERDINAND
(1861–)

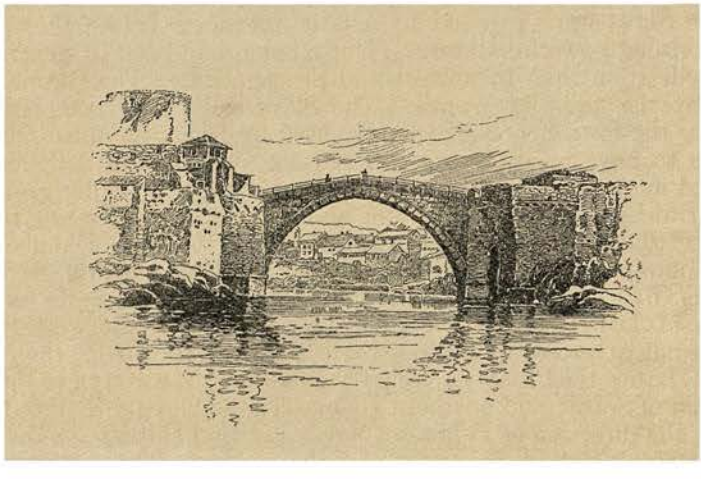
At first the government was almost wholly in the hands of Stambulov, the able prime minister, who had been principally instrumental in bringing Ferdinand to the throne and now kept him there in spite of the fact that the European powers, following Russia's lead, refused to recognise him. Notwithstanding this slight, which placed Bulgaria under the social ban of the great powers, the organisation and development of the country went quietly forward. Various plots and conspiracies against the new ruler were suppressed by Stambulov, and an attempt to assassinate the prime minister himself also failed, the bullet intended for him killing Beltchev, the minister of finance, instead.

Stambulov cultivated friendly relations with the Porte, and obtained from the sultan important concessions for the Bulgarian clergy and Bulgarian schools in Macedonia. But with all his good qualities Stambulov did not possess those of a courtier. Ferdinand found his prime minister's arbitrary ways irksome, and this feeling was increased upon his marriage. In 1893 Ferdinand had married Princess Marie Louise of Parma, a princess of Bourbon blood, who

arrived in Sofia full of ideas of court ceremonial and of the respect due to royalty, which were foreign to the people over whom her husband ruled. Particularly distasteful to her was the peasant statesman and prime minister, and she refused to have him at her dinners. The death of the exiled Prince Alexander in the same year, and the birth of a son and heir in the following January, strengthened the position of Prince Ferdinand, and he began to show more independence towards Stambulov. He was also more than ever anxious to obtain recognition at the foreign courts, and felt that his prime minister stood in the way. The latter had been in office seven years, and his domineering manner had not failed to make enemies. In May, 1894, the "Bulgarian Bismarck," as Stambulov has been called, resigned, and a new ministry was formed by Doctor Stoilov. In the following year (July 15th, 1895) Stambulov was brutally attacked in the streets of Sofia and almost hacked to pieces, although he did not die until three days later. The murderers were never brought to justice.

Ferdinand now entered on a policy of effecting a *rapprochement* with Russia and judged the time of the accession of a new czar to the throne (November, 1894) to be propitious to an urging of his suit. Nicholas was personally more favourably disposed to Ferdinand than his father had been, but the prince was given to understand that the baptism of his eldest son, Boris, into the orthodox Greek faith was *sine qua non* of his recognition by Russia. Boris had been baptised into the Roman Catholic faith, that having been one of the conditions imposed by the duke of Parma on the marriage of his daughter, but in February, 1896, he was rebaptised into the Greek church. In the following March the sultan named Ferdinand prince of Bulgaria and governor-general of eastern Rumelia, and his position was officially recognised by the powers.

During Ferdinand's reign there has been a marked improvement in the condition of the country. Towns have been rebuilt, railways constructed, and a national bank established. The people are industrious and prosperous, and there is no great poverty or wealth. They show an astonishing eagerness for education, and nearly one-tenth of the budget consists of appropriations for schools. The ruler over this nation of peasants is a familiar figure in the popular health resorts of Europe, where he goes by the name of "Nanda."[a]



CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF SERVIA

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY

Of all the races which possess Europe the most numerous is that of the Slavs. But, as has been observed by Herder, who in the eighteenth century was one of the first to draw attention to the Slavs, "they occupy more space upon the map than in history." Their civilisation and their destiny have been determined by two important facts: (1) They appeared upon the scene much later than the other European peoples; the Latins had already a long past of progress and glory, the Germans and the Celts were already submitting to the influence of Greco-Roman culture and of Christianity, when the Slavs were passing through a patriarchal period. (2) Placed on the frontier of Europe, the Slavs were exposed to Asiatic invasions before they had succeeded in forming powerful states. Their mission had been in general less to promote civilisation than to protect and propagate it. The Germans called the Slavs by the name of Wends. The Slavs call themselves Serbs, from which comes the form Spores, frequently used by Byzantine historians. The word seems to have meant people, or nation. The names Serb and Wend are still used in our day, but they now designate only particular groups.

The territories of the lower Drave and of the Save were overrun at an early date by Slavs, coming from the north or from the lower Danube. These territories, however, were not really occupied by them until during the reign of Heraclius (610–641). At that time the Croats and the Serbs established themselves in Dalmatia and the adjacent countries on the west. History, however, is not at present able to establish their origin or fix their point of departure. Later, the Croats occupied Croatia from the Kalpa to the Verbas, the southeast of Setria, and northern Dalmatia; the Serbs settled to the south and east in the direction of Belgrade, Novibazar, and Durazzo. The Romans kept only a few cities on the coast and the islands. The dispersion of the Slavs accentuated the differences which had already begun to appear between

the Slavs of the west and those of the south and east. Moreover, each of these two larger groups was subdivided into a certain number of peoples and tribes. Of the southern group, the Croats and the Serbs, who were afterwards divided by Christianity, which the Croats received from Rome, the Serbs from Byzantium, formed at the beginning one and the same people. To-day they speak the same language, but the Croats use the Latin alphabet and the Servians the Cyrillic. They number about seven millions, half of whom are in Austria and the others spread over Servia, Montenegro, and Turkey (Bosnia, Turkish Croatia, Herzegovina, etc.). It should be noted that the Serbs and Croats appear to have come from the north of the Carpathians, where the writers of the tenth century still mention a White Servia and a White Croatia.

Until the beginning of the tenth century the Slavs, already separated into different groups and often hostile to each other, formed nevertheless only one people. The preaching of Cyril and Methodius is the last episode of Pan-

MOSTAR, CAPITAL OF HERZEGOVINA

Slavic history; from that time the history of the different Slavic states begins. The individuality of each group becomes marked more and more precisely; the dialects are mixed with foreign elements and become so distinct, not only in pronunciation but in their syntax, that the primitive unity is perceptible only to the eye of a philologian. The common institutions, the elective power of the *knezes*, the popular assemblies, the communal organisation of the family, the juristic solidarity of the clans, the equality of members of the family and of the tribe, are maintained now only among certain of the western Slavs, and they are almost everywhere replaced by feudal traditions or imitations of foreign right. And yet, in the midst of their so different careers and in spite of the chasm which events have placed between them, the sentiment of a common origin has never wholly disappeared from among the Slavs. More actively among the neighbouring groups, the idea of Slavic unity is preserved among all, at least as a vague remembrance and an obscure presentiment.

Even after their final separation, the primitive unity of the Slavs was transmitted by a certain parallelism in the development of their history.

[1000-1189 A.D.]

Thus the tenth and eleventh centuries are characterised by the union of primitive tribes into states. Several of these new monarchies soon attained real power. The Slavs of the east early reached a remarkable degree of material and intellectual development, but the action of Byzantine civilisation profoundly altered the character of these people, and their momentary progress was dearly bought by a political and social disorganisation which prepared the way for the disasters of the following epoch. Fortune was less cruel to the Serbs and Croats than to some other of the Slavic tribes, yet their history is in the tenth and eleventh centuries still very perturbed. The Serbs established in Servia proper, in Montenegro, Herzegovina, and on the shores of the Adriatic were subject to different princes, over whom the grand *zhupan* exercised only a very precarious authority; he resided at Novibazar in Old Servia. All this period of Servian history is a long series of battles with the Bulgarians and Byzantines, who successively established their authority over these regions. In the eleventh century the Greeks, despite the stipulations they had entered into, attempted to take Servia under their immediate control, and to subject it to their financial system. In pursuance of this design a Greek governor was sent into the country. But the proceeding incited a general revolt. A Servian chief, Stephen Voyislav, who was imprisoned at Constantinople, found means to effect his escape and return to his native land. He quickly assembled the nation around him; and the Greek governor with his dependents, who are represented as mercenary and tyrannical like their master, was compelled to leave the country.[b] Voyislav appears to have taken up a position near the coast; vessels from Byzantium, laden with rich treasures, fell into his hands; and he entered into alliance with the Italian subjects of the Greek Empire, who were at that time endeavouring to obtain their freedom.[c]

It was in this century also that the grand zhupan Michael was recognised as king by Pope Gregory VII. Not, however, until the rise of the Nemanya dynasty did Servia develop a truly national history.

NEMANYA DYNASTY

The founder of this dynasty was Stephen Nemanya, the descendant of a princely family of Dioclea (the present Montenegro), who came to the throne in about 1159.[a] He was an energetic and warlike prince, who attempted to group the Servian tribes, isolated in their savage independence, into one state. He had first to defend himself against his own family. It appears that he owed much to Manuel Comnenus; however, Stephen's conquests in Croatia and Dalmatia finally led the emperor to march against him in person. Without waiting for battle (1173), Stephen made his submission, and to this remained faithful till the death of Manuel (1180), when he considered himself free. He then took up arms again, wrested Nish from the Greeks, extended his empire over Dalmatia to the mouth of the Cattaro, over Herzegovina, over Montenegro and Danubian Servia, but not over Bosnia, because there he came into conflict with the Hungarians. In 1189, when Frederick Barbarossa passed through Stephen's country, he had an interview with the Servian prince at Nish. Stephen offered him the aid which the Greeks refused, and asked his support against them and authorisation for the marriage of his son with the heiress to the Dalmatian crown. The German emperor declined this alliance. It was feared in Germany that a great Slavic state would menace the Holy Empire. Stephen Nemanya was afterwards at war with Isaac Angelus, whose niece he subsequently married.

In the interior he succeeded in establishing his authority over the ambitions of the local chiefs and the separatist tendencies of the tribes. The zhupans ceased to be the masters of their zhupanies in order to become agents of the prince. He fought the obstinate pagans and the Bogomiles; he understood that paganism and heresy are supports of particularism. He founded churches and monasteries, of which the most celebrated were that of Kilandjar on Mount Athos and that of Tsarska-Lavra at Studenitza, which was his burying-place and that of the kings, his successors. He entered Tsarska-Lavra as a monk in 1195, and died there in 1200; the Servians honour him under the name of St. Simeon. His third son, Rastko, was a monk also; he became St. Sava, the father of the national church, one of the promoters of the literary movement. The patriarch of Constantinople reorganised their church as autocephalus, and St. Sava was its first archbishop at Ujitsa (1221).[b] Stephen II was of a peace-loving turn of mind and never fought unless obliged to do so. The chief disturbance in his reign was occasioned by Andrew II, king of Hungary, whose territories had been brought into close contact with Servia by the annexation to that country of Bosnia and Dalmatia. He tried to stir up Stephen's second brother, Vouk, to rebel against him, but their third brother, Sava, succeeded in making peace. Stephen died in 1224, and was followed on the throne by his three sons in succession. The first two, Radoslav (Stephen III) and Ladislaus, did not distinguish themselves in any way.[a]

Urosh the Great and Milutin

In 1242 (Stephen) Urosh, the youngest son of Stephen, succeeded his brother Ladislaus. His able and prosperous reign lasted until 1276. Between the Greek Empire and its adversaries he always took sides with the latter. To strengthen his position with the Bulgarian he gave his daughter to the emperor Michael VIII. To protect himself on the north and to facilitate the occupation of the Matchva he had his son Dragutin marry Princess Catherine, a Hungarian. He himself had married a French woman, the princess Hélène, a relative of the Anjous of Naples, in the praise of whom all Servian historians unite. The alliance with the Angevin kings protected the kingdom of Urosh on the west, and permitted him to devote his energies to the struggle with Constantinople. Although his successes were slight, he merits his cognomen of Great for having laid the foundations of a firm and prudent policy. The creation of the mining industry and a good commercial policy augmented the wealth of the country. It is under him that Servia began to gain ascendency over Bulgaria, in which country the policy of expansion was coming to an end with the Asen dynasty. A palace revolution interrupted this happy reign. In 1276 Urosh was obliged to abdicate in favour of his rebellious son Dragutin, who was supported by a Hungarian army. Pursued by remorse, Dragutin himself in 1281 abdicated in favour of his brother Milutin. He kept for himself northern Servia, the Matchva, and the adjacent part of Bosnia; he reigned there for a long time, and contributed much to the renascence in this reign of Slavo-Byzantine civilisation.

During the reign of his brother Milutin (1281–1321), one of the most remarkable among the Nemanyas, the work of Servian unity was signally advanced. Continuing his father's policy, Milutin succeeded in definitely establishing Servian domination beyond the Tchas-Dag, in the valley of the Vardar, at the expense of the Byzantine Empire. Allied with the Greek despots of Epirus and with the king of Naples, protected on the Hungarian side by his brother Dragutin, Milutin marched towards the valley of the Struma, and

occupied the region of Seres and Kavala. The Servian arms for the first time reached the sea of the Archipelago (1282–1283). Shortly afterwards Milutin occupied the region of the lakes of Ochrida and of Presba. A marriage with the daughter of the Bulgarian emperor George Terterij was sufficient, in the opinion of Milutin, to assure him peace on the side of Bulgaria. Nevertheless in 1291 he had to defend himself against a Bulgarian prince, Shishman of Widdin, who began to be alarmed at the greatness of the Servian state. Shishman, being defeated, was treated diplomatically by Milutin, who in order to cement the peace gave him in marriage the daughter of one of his chief dignitaries. The union was afterwards still further strengthened by the marriage of Neda, Milutin's daughter, with the son of Shishman.

The war against the Byzantine Empire recommenced in 1296 and 1297. Northern Albania was conquered, and the Servian kingdom continued to expand in Macedonia. Andronicus (II) Palæologus, already engaged by the Turks in Asia, sought peace in Europe by an alliance with the power he feared the most, and he gave his daughter Simonide to Milutin in marriage. The good understanding between the two sovereigns was not disturbed, and Milutin ended his reign in peace. It was a glorious reign, for, including the possessions of Dragutin, the Servian dominion extended on the one hand from the Bosnia to the Rilo-Dagh and to the Struma; on the other from the Save and the Danube to the mountains of Strumitza and to Prilip in Macedonia. His reign was not less beneficent at home. Servian annals glorify him for having constructed or restored forty churches in his own states, and abroad at Jerusalem, at Thessalonica, near Seres, and at Constantinople. In this last city he built and endowed a *xeuodochie*, a free asylum for the poor.

Milutin was of an authoritative temperament, and imperative in his demands for obedience. His son Stephen, the future Urosh III, had a taste of this domineering will. The peaceful policy pursued during the latter part of the reign had not failed to excite the discontent of partisans of expansion. Stephen put himself at the head of the malcontents. His father gave an order—which was not executed—to have his eyes put out, and had him imprisoned at Constantinople. Stephen stayed there seven years. In 1321 he was called to suceed Milutin.

Urosh III; Expansion Under Dushan

The reign of Urosh III was signalised by a war against the Slavic state of the east. The brother-in-law of Urosh, Michael, czar of the Bulgarians, repudiated Neda to marry a Byzantine princess. Since the growth of Servian power was viewed with anxiety in Constantinople as well as in Bulgaria, a coalition was formed against Urosh III. The war which resulted ended in a crushing defeat of the Bulgarian army at Küstendil. The victory was due in great measure to the heroism of the crown prince Dushan. According to the traditional policy of the Nemanyas, an attempt was made to create new bonds between vanquished Bulgaria and Servia. Dushan married the sister of Czar Michael. In 1336, Dushan, fearing that his father would disinherit him in favour of another son whom he had had by his second wife (a Byzantine princess), took up arms and dethroned him. It has been said of Stephen Dushan that he was the Charlemagne of Servia. Like the great emperor of the west, the Servian czar had himself represented on his coins with a globe in his hands surmounted by a cross. If he has merited the title of "Great," which all foreign historians have attributed to him, it is perhaps less for having

conducted Servia to the highest degree of power which she attained in the Middle Ages than for his glorious conception of an empire of the East, remodelled by him, rejuvenated by him, and established at the extremity of Europe as a barrier to the Turk, who was every day becoming more threatening. At his arrival the moment seemed to have come for deciding the question which had long been hanging fire: would the hegemony in the peninsula remain with the Greeks, or would it pass to the Slavs, who were younger and more energetic?

It appeared as if its solution would be favourable to the Slavs. Fifty years after the restoration of the Grecian Empire the interior anarchy and the Turkish peril had reduced that empire nearly to its last extremity. Different factions were undermining the states, and each in turn hired the Ottoman. With the Slavs, on the other hand, the conflict between the Servians and Bulgarians had just ended—an alliance united the two peoples. Would not the genius of Dushan assure pre-eminence to the Slavs in their struggle with the Byzantines? The first ten years of Dushan's reign confirmed all hopes. Successful campaigns extended the realm towards the south and brought it, by conquests in Macedonia, near the shores of the Ægean, and by acquisitions in Albania near those of the Adriatic. With the exception of Thessalonica, Chalcidice, and the Morea, Dushan was already master of nearly all the western provinces of the empire.

Arrived at this degree of power, Dushan decided that the title of king (*kral*) was not sufficient, and immediately after the conquest of Seres he proclaimed himself "emperor (czar) of Servia and Rumania." Convinced that the dismemberment of the Byzantine Empire must be to his profit, Dushan, while biding his time, devoted himself to accentuating among foreign nations the prestige of his new dignity, and to reinforcing it in the interior by organising the young Slavic empire. Hence he surrounded himself with grand officials, despots, logothetes, chamberlains, following the example of Byzantine sovereigns; hence he made journeys into his recently acquired territories. Hence also did he accomplish the great work which terminated in 1349 in the promulgation of laws known by the name of the Code of Dushan, the greatest of his titles to glory. This code establishes the authority of law, and puts an end to arbitrary power. It solemnly proclaims the pre-eminence and the exclusive rights in the Servian Empire of Greek orthodoxy, the state religion, and reserves the right to punish Catholics and heretics.

Other measures were less fortunate; for example, the division of the empire into large governmental districts prepared the way for its dismemberment in the day when the imperial power should no longer be in firm hands. The voyevods, following the example of the counts of the west, were later to attempt independence by usurping lands and imperial powers. But Dushan did not foresee a future of that sort. What he foresaw was Constantinople as the capital of the Servian Empire. Nevertheless the dissolution of the Byzantine Empire was not as near nor dismemberment as easy as Dushan had at first thought. In the first place, Servia, purely a land power, could not furnish him with the fleet without which no one could be lord either of Thessalonica or Constantinople. In vain did he seek the alliance of Venice, whose vessels had contributed in great measure to the victory of the Latins in 1204; the republic had no intention of helping in the rebuilding of a great Balkan state, in the creation of a new power on the Mediterranean. Furthermore, those Turks known to Dushan, in his conflict with the Byzantine Empire, as mercenaries or allies of the Greeks, formed projects analogous to his. They were going to seize Gallipoli (1356), closing the Dardanelles and barring

to the Slavs the maritime route to Constantinople. Nevertheless, the czar of Servia was preparing a final attack upon the capital of the Greek Empire when he died suddenly, on December 20th, 1355.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE SERVIAN EMPIRE

It is related that Dushan had gathered his voyevods about his death-bed and conjured them to remain united and faithful to his son. Scarcely had the emperor expired when the voyevods cried, "Whose shall be the empire?" True or false, the anecdote symbolises exactly the perilous situation in which the sudden death of Dushan left the Servian Empire. There was an heir, it is true, a son of Dushan—Urosh; but he was only nineteen; and furthermore, his devout, peaceful character, wholly lacking animation, was in striking contrast to that of his father; it was, indeed, Louis le Débonnaire after Charlemagne. However, the work of dismembering the empire did not begin at once, and, with the exception of a few losses on the borders, the union survived for ten years after the death of Dushan. The governors, in appearance at least, respected the imperial authority.

To the internal causes of destruction, which were analogous to those which brought on the dissolution of the Carlovingian Empire, was added an external peril: in the Orient the Turks were coming, as in the Occident the Normans came. The state created by Murad I (1360-1389) in Thrace was growing rapidly. The Turks were pressing the Servians at the southwest, towards Seres and Drama by Rhodope (Despoto-Dagh), and by the Ægean Sea; they were approaching Macedonia by the Maritza. The Servian provinces of this region had to organise their defence alone, for the nobles of central Servia, guided by wholly egoistic views, seemed in no way to care for the danger threatening the south, and the emperor Urosh was not able to recall them to the idea of a common danger. In these circumstances the secession of the south was inevitable. The despot Vukashin, who governed Macedonia and held Prisrend, the capital of the empire, separated himself from the empire. He proclaimed himself king of Servia (1366), and gave the title of "despot" to his brother Ugliecha, who occupied Seres, Drama, and the coast region. He prepared to fight against the Turks. The Servian Empire was thus separated into two parts: the provinces of the north under Urosh V and his vassals, the provinces of the south under Vukashin and his brother, of the Mernitchevitch dynasty.

The rôle of the two Mernitchevitch was most glorious. Vukashin and his brother did not wish merely to safeguard themselves; divining the projects of the Turks, they desired to keep them from gaining ground in Europe. But the heroism of Ugliecha could not prevent Murad I from establishing his capital at Adrianople. In 1371 the two brothers prepared for a supreme effort: Greeks and Servians were enrolled; never before had such an army been opposed to the Turks since their establishment in Thrace. The result was the disaster of the Maritza (September 26th, 1371) and the end of Ugliecha and of Vukashin. It was a death-blow to the state of southern Servia. The Servian rulers of Macedonia became vassals of the Turks, though not their subjects. The son of Vukashin, Marco Kralevich (1371-1394), kept indeed the title of king under the suzerainty of the sultan. It has been said of Marco Kralevich that he was the Roland of Servia. No hero was more popular, and his name with that of the czar Lazarus fills the most beautiful *jesmas* (national songs). Marco and his horse Sharatz are as popular to-day

as Roland and his sword Durandal were in the Middle Ages. Marco has remained the type of a knight, as generous as he was heroic, a great fighter and a great drinker. At the death of Marco and of his friend Constantine the semblance of independence which the Turks had left to southern Servia disappeared; Macedonia and its dependencies were partitioned off into *ziamets* and *timars* of the Ottoman Empire.

Northern Servia had made a great mistake in leaving Vukashin to fight alone at Adrianople. Events now transpired similar to those which had taken place in southern Servia. Here also the particularist tendency was in force. Only the centre of Servia remained faithful to Urosh V. He died shortly after the battle of the Maritza (December 2nd, 1371). He left no heirs. Prince Lazarus and his brother-in-law Vuk Brankovich found themselves masters of the most important fragment of what had been the empire of Dushan. It appears that Lazarus wished to make himself heir and to reorganise the empire. But the feudal lords would not abandon their independence. Altmanovich, feudal lord of the mountainous country between the Narenta and the Levi, took arms against the new prince; this deplorable war was unfortunate for its author. The other feudal lords recognised the authority of Lazarus, and northern Servia was nearly reconstituted under a firm central power. It was precisely at this moment that Murad I decided to finish the conquest of the peninsula. Lazarus had concluded an alliance with the king of Bosnia, and the contingents of the latter were found at the side of the Servian nobility on the battle-field of Kosovo, June 15th, 1389.[b]

The Battle of Kosovo (1389 A.D.), *and the Last Struggles*

On the mountain heights, crowned by the chief seat of the Servian Empire —on the field of Kosovo—the Servians, the Bosnians (who after Dushan's death had regained their independence), and the Albanians once more stood united against the Ottomans. But the Turks were stronger than all these nations combined. The particulars of the battle are obscured by national pride and the vagueness of traditions, but the result is certain: from that day the Servians became subject to the Turkish power. The sultan of the Ottomans and the Servian *kral* were both slain in the conflict. But their successors, Bayazid and Stephen Lazarevich, entered into an agreement which formally established the inferior position of the Servians. Lazarevich gave the sultan his sister to wife, and undertook to render him military service in all his campaigns, and throughout his life he honourably performed his portion of the compact. In the great battles of Nikopoli and Ancyra, in which the Ottoman Empire was in jeopardy, Lazarevich fought by the side of his brother-in-law. Apparently he was bound to this house by an oath, and with the zeal of a kinsman he exerted himself in the adjustment of quarrels that on one occasion broke out in the Osmanli family. But, in so doing, he only confirmed the subjugation of his own nation. During the lifetime of Lazarevich, affairs went on tolerably well; but after his death the Osmanlis hastened to lay claim to Servia, on the ground that they inherited the land through their relationship with him. The contest on the subject of religion, which had never been adjusted, although hitherto there had been few disputes, was soon renewed. The Turks affirmed that they could not permit a Christian prince to retain possession of such rich mines and strong forts, lest he should at some future time use them to impede the progress of the Moham-

[1396–1457 A.D.]

medan faith. With the spur of religion the sultan urged on the spirit of conquest.

About the year 1438 we find a mosque erected at Krushevitza, and Turkish garrisons placed in the fortresses of Golubatz and Semendria (Smederevo) on the Danube, and in the immediate vicinity of the richest mines. Matters had advanced so far that deliverance could be hoped for only through foreign aid, and now, indeed, only through the assistance of the Western Empire. The Latins still maintained an undoubted superiority on the sea; and in eastern Europe, where the Jagellos had united Lithuania and Poland and given a king to Hungary, a powerful land force was organised, which appeared well qualified to make head against the Ottomans. The Servian and Bosnian princes delayed not a moment in joining this force. The alliance thus cemented appeared formidable. It was principally brought about by the exertions of the Servian prince, George Brankovich, who throughout all his misfortunes had sustained the character of a wise and brave man, and who did not now spare the treasures which he had collected in better days. So successful and decisive were the results of this alliance (especially of the long campaign in which János (John) Hunyady celebrated Christmas on the conquered snow plains of the Balkans) that the Turks felt the insecurity of their tenure; and in the Peace of Szegedin (July 1444) actually restored the whole of Servia.[c]

This restoration, however, was of short duration. Scarcely were the Turks' backs turned when the king of Hungary, in spite of the solemn treaty he had just made, attacked them again, but this time the Christians were completely defeated, at Varna, 1444. Brankovich, however, still maintained his throne with the aid of Hunyady until his death in 1457. Two years later the Turks incorporated Servia in the Ottoman Empire.[a] A Servian song relates that George Brankovich once inquired of John Hunyady what he intended to do with regard to religion should he prove victorious. Hunyady did not deny that in such an event he should make the country Roman Catholic. Brankovich thereupon addressed the same question to the sultan, who answered that he would build a church near every mosque, and would leave the people at liberty to bow in the mosques, or to cross themselves in the churches, according to their respective creeds. The general opinion was that it was better to submit to the Turks and retain their ancient faith, than to accept the Latin rites. Brankovich, who, even when he was ninety years old, was urged to adopt the Western creed, steadfastly refused; and when, after his death, the females of his family went over to the Latin church, their ruin was only hastened thereby. The last princess, Helena Palæologa, offered her country as a fief to the see of Rome—an act which excited a rebellion among her subjects. The Servians themselves invited the Osmanlis into their fortresses, that they might not see their strongholds given over to a cardinal of the Romish church.

SERVIA UNDER THE TURKS

The chief nobles of the country, whom the Turks began to annihilate as they had already annihilated the royal house, soon perceived that their only safety lay in embracing Mohammedanism. Thus they retained an hereditary right in their castles, and, so long as they remained united, enjoyed much influence in the province. Sometimes a native vizir was accorded them. By this means, however, they separated themselves from their people, who,

in defiance of every inducement, remained true to their old faith; and, being excluded from holding any office in the state, and from carrying arms, they, in common with all the Christian subjects of the Turkish Empire, became *raya*. In Herzegovina this state of affairs was in some degree ameliorated by the fact that certain Christian chiefs maintained their ground through the aid of an armed population. From time to time they thus obtained, by *berates* from the Porte, a legal acknowledgment of their rights, which the pashas were compelled to respect. In Servia proper—on the Morava, the Kolubara, and the Danube—the old system, on the contrary, was upheld in all its severity. The army of the grand seignior almost every year traversed this country to the seat of war on the Hungarian frontier; consequently independence could not be preserved.

It appears, indeed, that the peasantry in the neighbourhood of Belgrade were summoned to Constantinople to render feudal service during the hay-harvest in the sultan's meadows. The country was divided amongst the *spahis*, whom the inhabitants were bound, by the strictest enactments, to serve. The Servians were not allowed to carry any weapons, and in the disturbances which broke out we find them armed only with long staves. They would not keep horses lest they should be robbed of them by the Turks. A traveller of the sixteenth century describes the people as poor captives, none of whom dared to lift up his head. Every five years the tribute of youths was collected—a severe and cruel exaction, which carried off the bloom and hope of the nation into the immediate service of the grand seignior, and turned against themselves their own native strength. But a change was gradually working in the destiny of nations. The alliance of Hungary with Austria, and, consequently, with the empire and military forces of the Germans, checked the advances of the Ottomans, and at length effected the deliverance of this country from the Turks. The religious dissensions had divided the nation, but at the same time had developed the power and spirit of the people, who zealously seconded the active interference of the Protestant princes.

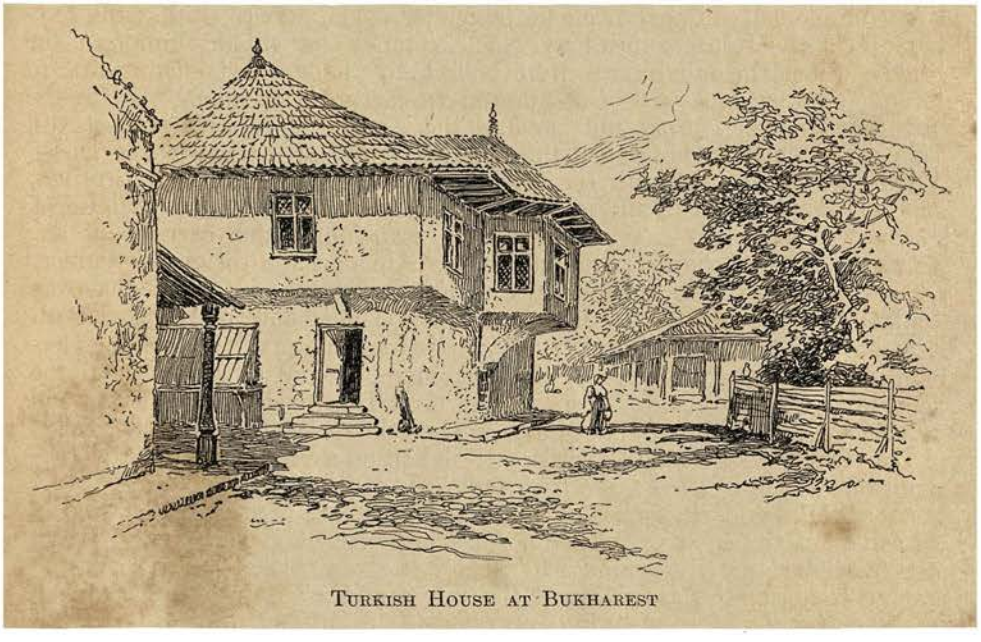
At the Peace of Passarowitz an extensive portion of Servia remained in the hands of the emperor, who did not fail to encourage the culture of the soil by exonerating the peasants from the obligation of serving in the army, and by promoting German colonisation. These reforms, however, soon ceased, so that, after the lapse of twenty years, the conquered Servian districts had to be given back again to the Turks. This was owing more to the complications of European politics than to any increase of the Turkish power, but its result was to render the condition of the Christian population in those parts far worse than it had been. Not only was vengeance taken on those serfs who had not been so wise as to emigrate, but large tracts of land were transferred to other proprietors. Yet the chief and deepest injury was inflicted on the ecclesiastical constitution. Hitherto the Servian patriarchate, with the Servian bishoprics, had been preserved under the dominion of the Turks. This gave the nation, so far at least as regarded the church, a certain share of political power, and procured for the rayah a representation opposed to the power of the grand seignior; nor was this at all to be despised.

In itself it was a politic plan of the emperor Leopold to gain over to himself this powerful ecclesiastical authority, and to take it under his imperial protection; by which arrangement the entire Illyrian nation stood towards the emperor in the relation of protected states. It was on this ground that they rose so promptly, in the year 1689, in support of the emperor; their patriarch, Arsenius Czernowitz, leading them on by his example. He, with some thou-

[1689-1737 A.D.]

sands of the people, all bearing the insignia of the cross, joined the imperial camp. Now, therefore, would have been the time to carry their projects into execution. But Arsenius Czernowitz found himself compelled by the course of affairs to retire from the ancient archiepiscopal seat, and to migrate into Austria, which he did as a great national chief. Thirty-seven thousand families accompanied him and settled in the Hungarian territory, where the emperor, by important privileges, secured for them their religious independence (1691). Nor can we wonder that the Turks would not suffer an ecclesiastical ruler, so openly hostile to them as Czernowitz, to exercise any influence in their dominions. They at once endeavoured to render all intercourse with him impracticable, and themselves appointed a Servian patriarch at Ipek.

On the advance of the Austrians, in 1737, the Albanians and Servians once more rose in great numbers, their forces amounting, it is said, to twenty



TURKISH HOUSE AT BUKHAREST

thousand; but they were met by the Turks, near the Kolubara, where their entire host was slaughtered. Another circumstance conspired to produce an entire national defection from the ecclesiastical rule. An impostor, assuming to be Peter III, succeeded in gaining a following in Montenegro, and in obtaining an authority which extended far into the Turkish dominions. He was acknowledged by several bishops, and the then patriarch of the Servian church at Ipek sent him a valuable horse as a gift. Upon this the vizirs of Bosnia and Rumelia took the field against him, and succeeded in restricting his authority to Montenegro, whither the patriarch of Ipek was himself compelled to flee for safety.

These events determined the Porte not to suffer the election of another Servian patriarch. The dignity was united with that of the patriarch at Constantinople, over which the Porte exercised undisputed power. Greek bishops were in consequence placed over the Servian church. This proved a heavy blow for the nation. With the independence of the church the people were deprived of their last remaining share in the conduct of public

affairs, which itself had been in some measure instrumental in advancing civilisation. They now for the first time found themselves wholly subject to the Turkish government at Constantinople.[c]

SERVIAN INSURRECTION; KARA GEORGE

After the Ottoman conquest Servia had been divided into fiefs and distributed to *spahis*. Nevertheless the Servian peasant was not attached to the soil; the land belonged to him; he was obliged only to pay tribute to the feudatory lord. He himself elected his *kmet* (local magistrates); it was upon them that devolved the care of collecting the tribute and of maintaining order. But the vexation of pashas and the tyranny of feudal lords made these guarantees illusory, and the Servian peasant was treated like a beast of burden. A rayah could not enter a town on horseback; if he met a Moslem on the road he had to dismount and prostrate himself; the act of carrying any kind of armour was punished by death.

The neighbourhood of Hungary and the instigation of countrymen who had fled thither in order to escape the Turkish yoke and to seek a refuge and a home had kept alive in the Servian people the love of liberty and the sentiment of nationality. The malcontents had fled to the mountains, and popular songs surrounded the exploits of the *haiduks* with a halo of glory. In the war of 1787 the Servians had fought in the Austrian armies in crowds and had there acquired a military knowledge which they were before long to display before the eyes of the disconcerted Ottomans.

The pasha of Belgrade, Ebnet Bekri, tried to win back the Servians by kindness. He had recourse to equitable and humane measures. An amnesty was proclaimed to those who had sympathised with Austria; the janissaries were held with a firm hand and all excesses repressed. The grateful rayahs applauded the pasha and the peril appeared to be averted. The janissaries then called in Pasvan Oglu, the pasha of Widdin, who had just collected the remnants of the kridjaliks who had been expelled from Thrace and Macedonia; he invaded Servia and marched on Belgrade. Ebnet Bekri sought refuge among the Servians, who responded enthusiastically to his call; but the janissaries rebelled openly, assassinated the pasha and dispossessed the spahis. The most atrocious tyranny then oppressed the people. A deputation went to Constantinople and spoke thus to the sultan: "Art thou still our czar? Come and deliver us! If thou wilt not, tell us, so that we may escape to the mountains and forests and end our lives in the rivers!"

The janissaries responded to the orders of the padishah by massacring all the rayahs whom birth, position, courage or riches designated as being possible chiefs of a national movement. This sanguinary precaution produced an effect different from the one intended by its authors. Despair gave strength to the rayahs; a revolt broke out and in a few days the janissaries were forced to shut themselves up in the towns and strongholds. An old haiduk who had commanded a volunteer corps against the Turks in 1787, George Petrovich, surnamed Kara (the Black), was elected supreme chief of the insurgents. He at first refused the office, alleging as an excuse his violent character, which forced him to chastise without pity; the *knez* replied that under the existing circumstances severity was an indispensable quality. He pleaded his ignorance of the art of governing men; the knez promised him their counsel.

The following stories will give the reader a sufficient idea of the character of the future liberator of Servia. He was fleeing from his fatherland to join

[1787-1806 A.D.]

the Austrians, and was waiting on the banks of the Save for the Hungarian boats which were to transport him and his companions to the other side. All at once his father remonstrated against leaving his native land and begged his son to abandon the plan. Seeing that his prayers were of no avail, the old man resorted to threats; he declared his firm intention of denouncing George and all his family. Kara George tried to impress upon his father the importance of the cause. He pleaded with him in the name of the fatherland; all was useless. "Miserable old man," cried Kara George, drawing his pistol, "better for thee to die than to betray thy country and thy family." He fired, and his father fell dead at his feet.

Another story will complete the sketch of this terrible judge. A peasant had just lost his father; the Greek priest refused to perform the funeral service except for a sum of fifty piastres. All the resources of the orphan could not make up the sum demanded; it seemed that his father's body must remain exposed to the injury of the air and to the outrages of beasts and birds of prey. In despair the peasant sought out Kara George, who, with the fifty piastres, gave him the order to dig two graves. The funeral ceremony had hardly commenced when Kara George, accompanied by several soldiers carrying a coffin, arrived at the cemetery. When the old man's body had been placed in the grave, Kara George brusquely asked the *pope* (priest) how many children he had. "Heaven has granted me five," replied the priest. "Well," answered his interlocutor with a voice of thunder, "it may be that if you leave no fortune they will some day find themselves in the same straits as this young man; hence I wish myself to provide for the expense of your burial." At a gesture of the knez the soldiers seized the pope, and, in spite of his tears and his resistance, placed him bleeding in the second coffin.

Under such an energetic chief the insurrection gained ground rapidly; Shabatz and Semendria fell into his hands, and Kara George laid siege to Belgrade, where he was joined by the pasha of Bosnia, whom the sultan had sent against the janissaries. The city surrendered, and Bekir Pasha invited the Servians to lay down their arms and return to their habitual callings. Taught by experience, the Servians refused, and implored the protection of Russia, which supported their claims at Constantinople. The divan threw the envoys into prison and ordered the pasha of Nish to recall Servia to obedience. Hafiz was beaten, and a proclamation dated Semendria summoned the whole population to arms. Bekir, the pasha of Bosnia, and Ibrahim, pasha of Scutari, were not more successful. While Peter Dobrynias was detaining Ibrahim at Deligrad, Kara George with seven thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry shut in Hadji Bey at Petzka and defeated the Bosnians at Shabatz (August 8th, 1806). The Treaty of Semendria concluded between Ibrahim and Kara George granted autonomy to the Servians; the spahis were to receive an indemnity of 600,000 florins, and the Turkish garrisons were to occupy the most important strongholds. The sultan refused to ratify the treaty and the war recommenced with fury.

Belgrade succumbed, and the pasha, Suleiman, abandoned by his own forces, surrendered the citadel on condition of being allowed to retire with arms and baggage. The capitulation was agreed to but violated immediately. At some leagues from the city Suleiman was attacked, and he and all his followers were massacred by the very escort which had been charged with his safety. The Servians, having gained the upper hand, revenged the four centuries of oppression by horrible bloodshed. Servia had escaped the rule of the Mohammedan only to fall into anarchy; the military chiefs disputed the power. In the

mean while the insurgents were taking the offensive; Milan Obrenovich and Dobrynias marched upon Nish, while Kara George invaded Bosnia and besieged Novibazar (1809). The defeat of Milan and Dobrynias at Nish forced Kara George to evacuate Bosnia. Kurshid Pasha was advancing at the head of thirty thousand men. Kara George hastened to meet him, and three thousand Servians dispersed the Ottoman army; the Bosnians, defeated at Losnitza, recrossed the Drina in disorder. These triumphs had given Kara George predominance over all the voyevods. Dobrynias and Milenko, who did not wish to submit to him, went into exile. The Porte then offered to recognise him as hospodar on the guarantee of Russia, on condition that he give back Belgrade to the Turks and deliver up his arms. Kara George, who had in vain solicited the protection of Napoleon, threw himself wholly on the side of Russia; he refused the propositions of the Divan and communicated them to the czar. The Treaty of Bucharest was his reward. The emperor Alexander abandoned Servia to the vengeance of the Porte.

Milosh Obrenovich

All the old Turkish officials regained their places; the spahis resumed possession of their timars; the country was given up to pillage. At Kladovo the whole population was impaled; at Belgrade three hundred heads fell under the sword of the executioner. These massacres were not without result; indignation and despair reawakened the patriotism and energy of the rayahs; the country again rushed to arms. Of all the leaders, Milosh Obrenovich alone had not left Servia; unable to resist, he had made his submission. As a recompense Suleiman had appointed him knez of Rudnik. But his submission was only feigned; he was watching for a favourable moment to throw off the mask and satisfy his ambition. On Palm Sunday, 1815, he raised the standard in the cemetery of Takovo and proclaimed the independence of Servia. The defeat of an Albanian corps at Maidan caused a general uprising; the Turks, surprised by the impetuosity of the attack, fell back on all sides. But Kurshid Pasha was preparing to invade Servia on the west, while Marashli Pasha was entering by the valley of the Morava; profiting by the reciprocal jealousy and hatred of the two Ottoman generals, Milosh entered upon negotiations which ended in a treaty providing for a general amnesty; the collection of taxes by the inhabitants; the creation of an assembly of twelve knez elected by the people and charged with distributing the taxes; civil, religious, and judicial autonomy; the right of Servians to keep their arms and to elect a chief who would have civil and military authority over them.

Marashli Pasha, appointed to the pashalik of Belgrade, was ordered to treat the Servians as his own children. After having triumphed over his opponents through murder or banishment, Milosh, elected knez (prince), established a despotic government and kept the pasha a prisoner in the citadel of Belgrade. The assassination of Kara George removed the only competitor who could give him any serious cause for anxiety and left him free to rule as an autocrat. Kara George had been well received by the czar, who had raised him to the grade of general and had given him the cross of St. Anne, but inaction had weighed upon him. Hastening to accept the overtures made to him by the chiefs of the *Hetæria*, he had secretly proceeded to Servia. It was hoped that at his call the Servians would take up arms again; that call was to have been the signal for a general insurrection of Greeks and Rumanians. The presence of Kara George in Servia, however, would have been fatal to the ascendency

of Milosh; the knez did not hesitate what course of action to pursue; scarcely had Kara George set foot in Semendria when he fell under the blows of his rival's hired assassins. Milosh was not ashamed to dishonour himself by sending to Constantinople as a pledge of his fidelity the head of the hero of national independence. Thus did the victor of Stenitza pay tribute to the sultan with the head of the victor of Shabatz, Wawarin, and Losnitza. The gory head was exposed on the walls of the serai with the following inscription: "This is the head of the brigand Kara George."[d]

Servia, free and pacified, was nothing more than a tributary state under the hereditary government of Prince Milosh. He was a simple shepherd in his childhood; nature had made him great, the war of independence brave, necessity politic. This sovereign, with a principality equal to a kingdom, could not sign his name. "Not knowing how to write," he himself says in his proclamation to the Russians, "my youngest son, Michael, has signed my name and forenames, and I have affixed my seal to the act to testify that it emanates from me."[e]

The Turks entered into negotiations with Milosh; on the 6th of November, 1817, at Belgrade, he was proclaimed hereditary prince of Servia and recognised by the Porte. As a result of the Peace of Adrianople the relations of Servia with the Porte were regulated by a hatti-sherif of August 3rd, 1830. According to it the Obrenovich family were to govern Servia, as hereditary rulers, under the suzerainty of the Porte and with the assistance of a national assembly. Servia was to be left wholly to itself, so that Turkish officials were to remain in power only in the fortresses which the Turks had held from ancient times. Outside the garrison no Moslem was to reside in Servia, which was to be allowed to organise its own military force. At every fresh accession to the throne the new prince was to pay the Porte 100,000 piasters (about £940), certainly a very moderate sum.

NEW ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS

When the old Milosh was driven out by a revolution in 1839, his younger son, Michael, was chosen by the Servians to succeed him, since the eldest son of Milosh, Milan, died only three weeks after his father's ejection. Michael also was driven out in 1842, by an insurrection which the constitutional party succeeded in raising, since the prince had caused dissatisfaction among the people by various financial measures. Michael went first to Semlin, and at the restoration of the Servian government returned to his father, the old Milosh, at Vienna. In his place Alexander, the son of Kara George, was proclaimed prince by the national assembly; he had obtained from Michael permission to return to Servia. Michael had treated him with the greatest friendliness. Although Russia at first protested against Alexander's election, he was finally established as prince in 1843, and he made it his chief duty to develop the internal conditions of Servia—to complete and improve the network of roads and to raise the system of public instruction without injuring the finances of the country. He placed himself on a good footing with the Porte, and at the outbreak of the Eastern war in 1853 did not allow Russia to force him from his neutrality.

In the Peace of Paris of 1856 Servia's affairs were again regulated by Articles 28 and 29, which read: "Art. 28. The principality of Servia remains dependent on the Porte in accordance with the imperial decrees which regulate its rights and its immunity, and which henceforth are placed under the

united guarantee of the contracting powers. Accordingly the principality will preserve its independent national administration, as well as complete freedom of religion, of legislation, of commerce and navigation. Art. 29. The right of the Porte to maintain garrisons in the fortresses, which is stipulated in former conventions, is preserved intact. No armed intervention may take place in Servia without previous agreement of the contracting powers."

During the whole of Alexander's reign the Obrenovich, supported by Russia, had continued to conspire against the prince. In 1857 an elaborate, far-reaching plot against him was discovered. Alexander wished to take revenge on its promoters, but he was forced to recognise that the plot had grown far beyond his control. The national assembly demanded his abdication, and, when he fled, declared him deposed and recalled the old Milosh to the throne on September 22nd, 1858. Milosh came, but died on September 26th, 1860, and was succeeded by his son Michael, who now became prince for the second time. The latter during his long exile had developed the idea of Servian nationality, and he held firmly the theory that the little principality of Servia could play the same rôle in the war of the Christian populations of the Balkan Peninsula against the Turks which Piedmont had played in the war against Austria.

On June 15th, 1862, a tumult broke out in Belgrade. The city still had a Turkish garrison, according to the renewed stipulation of 1856. The Turks retreated into the citadel and on June 16th bombarded the city for four hours. This caused so much excitement that the Turkish pasha who was in command at Belgrade judged it advisable to negotiate. Prince Michael called one hundred thousand Servians to arms, formed foreign corps out of the racially related Bosnians, Herzegovinians, and Bulgarians, procured a quantity of weapons, and laid siege to the fortresses garrisoned by the Turks—Shabatz, Semendria, and Ushitsa. He demanded that Servia, without intervention of the Porte, should have the right to adjust its constitution to changing circumstances; that the Turks should give over to him the fortified places still occupied by them, and also the citadel of Belgrade; or else that these strongholds should be dismantled; finally, that the Mohammedans must either leave Servia or come under Servian jurisdiction.

On the appeal of the Porte a conference of the signatory powers of the Treaty of Paris came together to settle the dispute. Servia obtained many of its demands, but those in regard to the strongholds were granted only with limitations. The Porte acquiesced in dismantling Ushitsa and Sokol; on the other hand it wished to keep Shabatz, Semendria, and Kladova as belonging to its general system of defence, likewise the citadel of Belgrade, wishing also to extend this last, since it left the city wholly exposed. Michael at first declared himself satisfied with what he had obtained, but in 1866 he again demanded that the Porte should withdraw the Turkish garrisons from Servian strongholds, and he again entered into extensive military preparations. The Porte declared itself ready to vacate the Servian strongholds, but made counter demands: Servia was to disarm the national militia, increase its annual tribute to the Porte, and the powers which signed the Peace of Paris were to guarantee that Servia would henceforth comport itself quietly and properly in regard to the Porte. Michael roundly rejected these counter demands; the powers had to intervene a second time, and finally the Porte consented—although with provisos which only covered its retreat—to intrust, that is, to abandon, to the Servians all Servian fortresses with the single exception of Zvornik. On June 10th, 1868, Prince Michael, who in his second term of government had certainly protected energetically the interests of Servia, was

[1862-1878 A.D.]

murdered by a band of accomplices in the garden of his Belgrade palace. Only the Porte or the Karageorgevich family can be suspected of having instigated the murder.

SERVIA BECOMES A KINGDOM UNDER MILAN

The national assembly immediately called the young prince Milan (Milano) to be Michael's successor. Prince Milan, born August 10th, 1854, was a grandson of Prince Ephraim, a younger brother of the old Milosh Obrenovich. Milan's father, Ephraim's only son, died young, and Prince Michael, who had no children, adopted his orphaned cousin Milan, and in 1864 sent him to Paris so that he might acquire a European education. On June 23rd, 1868, Milan, who was hardly fourteen years old, arrived at Belgrade, and on July 5th was solemnly anointed prince in the cathedral. On account of being a minor he was placed under a regency, which established his policy in the paths pursued by his adoptive father, Michael.[f]

In 1869 the regency adopted a new constitution placing all power in the hands of the ruler and of the national assembly or *skupshtina*. This consisted of one hundred and twenty members, a fourth of whom were appointed by the prince, the rest being elected by the people to serve for terms of three years. This assembly met every year, although in special cases it was replaced by the grand skupshtina, consisting of four hundred and eighty members, all of whom were elected by the country at large. Prince Milan, who came of age in 1872, continued to favour Russian policy. This prince stands in marked contrast to the prince of Rumania, who came to the throne two years before him, and who at once devoted himself to the care of developing the country given him to rule, and of placing it on a military footing. Prince Milan had been educated in Paris, and his nature and inclinations appear to have fitted him for a life of extravagance and self-indulgence rather than for the duties of a king. Hence when he was drawn into declaring war with Montenegro against Turkey in 1876 his army proved far inferior to that of his ally and likewise to that of his opponent, and only by the intervention of the European powers was Servia saved from a loss of territory in consequence of her defeats.

Peace was concluded with the Porte in 1877, which did not prevent Milan from taking part in the Russo-Turkish war the same year. This time he was more successful, and among other victories he conquered the ancient town of Nish, which had belonged to Turkey ever since the battle of Kosovo. The Treaty of San Stefano, followed by the Treaty of Berlin, put an end to further hostilities. This treaty, signed in 1878, recognised the independence of Servia and gave her certain additions of territory; but Milan was disappointed in the attitude of Russia at the congress and turned his hopes towards Austria. In this he was at variance with his wife, Natalie, whom he had married in 1875 and whose sympathies were with Russia. The struggle between the pro-Austrian and the pro-Russian parties lasted throughout the reign of Milan. The government began to grow unpopular. In accordance with the Treaty of Berlin it was necessary to build railroads and to indemnify the Turkish landowners in the newly acquired districts. These measures required money, and this meant increased taxation and government monopolies on certain products. In 1882 an attempt was made on the life of the prince. In the same year Milan, with the assent of the powers, had adopted the title of king, and Servia had become a kingdom.[a]

AUSTRIAN AND RUSSIAN RIVALRY

Russian and Austrian influence struggled with each other for the Servian supremacy. King Milan inclined to Austria—a policy indicated by the material interests of the country—whereas the radicals, who had an influential support in Natalie, a daughter of the Russian captain Keshko, held to Russia. The annuity which the czar gave as a dowry to the pretender Peter Karageorgevich on his marriage with the daughter of the prince of Montenegro, showed conclusively how far from firmly he and his dynasty were established on the new royal throne. An implacable dislike to Austria prevailed among his people, called forth partly by the intolerance of the Magyars, who in spite of the most solemn treaties were attempting to take away all national rights from the Serbs living in Hungary, as had already happened to the Rumanians there, partly by the usurious exploitation of the country on the part of the great Vienna banking-houses. Austrian policy fell into an irreconcilable contradiction, in that it tried to gain the confidence of the Balkan peoples, whereas the racially connected branches of these peoples were systematically oppressed in Hungary.*g*

The king's unpopularity was increased by the Bulgarian war. Servia and Bulgaria had each been watching the other's increase of territory with jealous eyes, and when the union of the two Bulgarias was proclaimed in 1885 the Servian government felt called upon either to prevent it or else to demand a compensatory increase of land for itself. The government accordingly declared war, expecting, in view of Bulgarian difficulties, to have an easy victory. But again the Servian army proved inferior to the armies of its neighbours, and again Servia was saved by foreign intervention, this time by that of Austria, who informed Bulgaria that she would meet Austrian troops should she try to advance into Servia. Peace was concluded in March, 1885. The only result reaped by Servia from the war was increased debt and a loss of what little military reputation she had acquired in the Russo-Turkish war. In addition to political difficulties, King Milan had domestic troubles which finally drove him from the throne. We have seen that the king and queen had opposite political views. Their disagreements unfortunately did not end here, and the king obtained a divorce from his wife in 1888, a proceeding which did him more harm than all his political mistakes. His enemies made effective use of these difficulties, and although the king regained his position temporarily by granting a liberal constitution, he was tired of ruling, and abdicated voluntarily in 1889, proclaiming his young son Alexander king of Servia.

THE REIGN AND MURDER OF ALEXANDER

The country was in a most confused state. Since Alexander was too young to rule, a regency had been appointed at whose head was Yovan Ristich, a man of much ability, who had already been regent during the minority of King Milan. This regency was strongly conservative, whereas the new constitution, the national assembly, and the government were all radical. The ex-queen continued to reside in Servia and her quarrels with Milan still continued to agitate public opinion. Furthermore, the unsettled state of affairs favoured the intrigues of the Karageorgevich party, which lost no opportunity of turning public dissatisfaction to its own advantage. The regency tried to help matters by appointing a liberal ministry, which at once tried to

do away with the radical national assembly. The country refusing to respond to this attempt, the hopeless complication ensued of a radical national assembly, a liberal government, and a conservative regency. To the surprise of all, this Gordian knot was cut by the young seventeen-year-old king, who suddenly arrested his regents while they were dining with him, declared himself of age, and dissolved the national assembly. This *coup d'état*, however, of 1893 failed to bring peace to the country. Party quarrels were rife; the Karageorgevich faction intrigued more openly; the public press attacked the king and his parents; there was even talk of Russia's sending a grand duke to rule in Servia. In the midst of all this turmoil Alexander, in 1894, asked his father, the ex-king Milan, to return, feeling the need of his greater experience in politics. The radical constitution of 1888 was abolished and the constitution of 1869 re-established.

Servia now settled down to a period of comparative tranquillity. The country appeared heartily sick of radical excesses, which now gave way to reactionary conservative measures. The liberty of the press was restricted and the laws of *lèse majesté* were made more severe. Agriculture and commerce received more attention, and a general improvement took place in the state of the country. In 1900 King Alexander married Mme. Draga Maschin, a former lady-in-waiting to Queen Natalie. This completely changed the political policy of Servia, who now attached herself to Russia. King Milan, who had caused relations with Austro-Hungary to become more friendly, was exiled from the country and died the next year. In 1901 Alexander gave the country a more liberal constitution and established a parliament with two houses—skupshtina and senate. The king's marriage gave great dissatisfaction in Servia. Draga possessed unlimited influence over her husband, and used that influence to insure the promotion of her friends or the downfall of her enemies. Matters reached a crisis when she was on the point of enforcing the nomination of her brother as heir to the throne, it having become evident, after a great deal of scandalous publicity, that she would not present King Alexander with a son.

A military conspiracy was formed, and the king and queen were brutally murdered in the palace at Belgrade, soon after midnight on June 11th, 1903. The premier, the minister of war, and the two brothers of the king were also killed. A provisional government was at once formed, which proclaimed the constitution of 1888 and invited Prince Peter Karageorgevich to become king. In spite of the horror felt at the unnecessary brutality of the proceedings, public sympathy in foreign countries was generally with the revolutionists, as King Alexander had lost public respect. In Belgrade itself there was great rejoicing.

THE SERVIA OF TO-DAY

King Peter arrived in Belgrade on June 24th, and was enthusiastically received by his people, although the Russian and Austrian ambassadors were the only foreign representatives present. Russia, seemingly following Austria's lead, severely denounced the assassination and summoned Peter to punish the conspirators. This the new king was hardly in a position to do, as his hands were tied and events were practically controlled by a military dictatorship. The recognition of Peter by the other powers followed in time.[a]

Taken as a whole, Servian society is prosperous. Since its independence the population has more than doubled. Hardly an eighth of the soil of Servia is under cultivation, and almost everywhere the methods of farming are the

most primitive; except in the most fertile valleys like those of the lower Timok, the land lies fallow for a year after every harvest. The exports of Servia bear witness to this primitive stage of rural economy. They consist chiefly in poorly fattened pigs, which are sent to Germany by hundreds of thousands. The sale of these animals is the clearest revenue of the Servian peasants; nevertheless they have begun in recent years to furnish a certain quantity of grain to the markets of western Europe. Except at Belgrade the industry of the country is still in its infancy. Servia makes the great mistake of despising all manual labour except agriculture. The young people of education aspire above all to places in the administration, and contribute towards developing that scourge of bureaucracy which does so much harm in the monarchy of Austro-Hungary. But many students on their return from foreign universities are engaged in spreading instruction throughout the country, and very great progress is being achieved in this direction; it may be said that this progress has been rapid since the period, not so long ago (1839), when the sovereign himself confessed to not being able to write.

The ambition of the Servians is to cause the disappearance from their country of anything which could recall the old Moslem domination; they apply themselves to that task with persevering energy, and from a material point of view the work is nearly finished. Belgrade "the Turkish" has ceased to exist; it is replaced by an occidental city like Vienna and Budapest; palaces in European style rise in the midst of mosques with minarets and cupolas; magnificent boulevards cross the old quarters with their winding streets, and a beautiful park covers the esplanade where the Turks used to raise bleeding heads upon stakes. Shabatz on the Save has become a "little Paris," the inhabitants say; on the Danube the city of Posharevatz, celebrated in the history of treaties by the name of Passarowitz, is equally transformed. In spirit, also, Servia is more and more breaking away from Turkish fatalism. Only a short time ago it was a people of the Orient; from now on it belongs to the Western world, by labour and initiative.

All cults are free, yet the Greco-Catholic religion is called the state religion. This used to recognise the patriarch of Constantinople as its nominal head, but since the nineteenth century it has called itself "autocephalous," and is governed by a synod composed of the archbishop of Belgrade, the metropolitan of Servia, and three diocesan bishops.

In Servia all able-bodied men form part of the army, but, to speak properly, the standing army, numbering four thousand men at the most, is only a framework in which all the corps of the national militia would have to enlist in case of need. Servia could easily put a hundred to a hundred and fifty thousand men into the field. Its military organisation is proportionately perhaps the strongest possessed by any state in Europe.[h]

CHAPTER IV

THE LESSER BALKAN STATES

Of the minor states of the Balkan Peninsula, only Montenegro, Bosnia, and Herzegovina have had an independent history. As their politics cannot be said to have influenced world history to any extent, it has seemed advisable to give it only a general treatment, chronicling the main facts in the form of a tabulated chronology. Albania and Macedonia as such have had no individual history, and only a general description of their people and their condition has been given.

Montenegro

There is a tradition that at the creation the Lord passed above the earth distributing stones over its surface out of a bag, and that when he was passing over Montenegro the bag burst and all the remaining stones fell out upon the "Black Mountain." There are different tales concerning the origin of the name *monte negro*, or black mountain; it is usually supposed to have come from the forests of black pines which once covered the slopes of the mountains. It was here that those Servian families who preferred independence under any hardships to becoming subject to the Turks sought refuge after the battle of Kosovo. The history of the country, however, goes back still farther. It formed originally a part of Illyria, and was annexed to Rome under Augustus. It was affected by the barbarian invasion like the rest of the peninsula, and in the seventh century it formed a part of the Servian Confederation. About the year 900 Ragusa was the seat of the Servian government.[a]

In the dismemberment of the Servian Empire which followed the death of Dushan and the assassination of his son Urosh, a noble Servian called Balcha or Basha seized the fortress of Skadar (Scutari), and extended his authority as far as Cattaro. The present Montenegro, Podgoritza, Spuzh and Jabliak, the isles of Lake Scutari, and the territory of Bari composed his domains. One of his successors, Ivan Czernowitz (Ivan the Black), driven from his capital, Jabliak, in 1484, and forced back into the mountains of the

Czornahora by the Ottomans, fixed his residence at Cettinje and caused a general assembly to vote a law somewhat as follows: "In times of war against the Turks no Montenegrin shall be able, without the order of his chief, to leave the field of battle; he who takes to flight shall be dishonoured forever, despised and banished from the midst of his family, who shall give him a woman's dress and a spindle; the women shall drive him out with blows of the spindle as a coward and a traitor to his country." The Montenegrins

CETTINJE, THE CAPITAL OF MONTENEGRO

then began a struggle without cessation or mercy which was to last without interruption up to our day. Sometimes the conquerors, sometimes the conquered, they never bent their necks to the Moslem yoke; never did the Ottomans succeed in gaining a footing in those rugged mountains where reigned the religion of liberty.

THE INAUGURATION OF A THEOCRATIC GOVERNMENT (1499 A.D.)

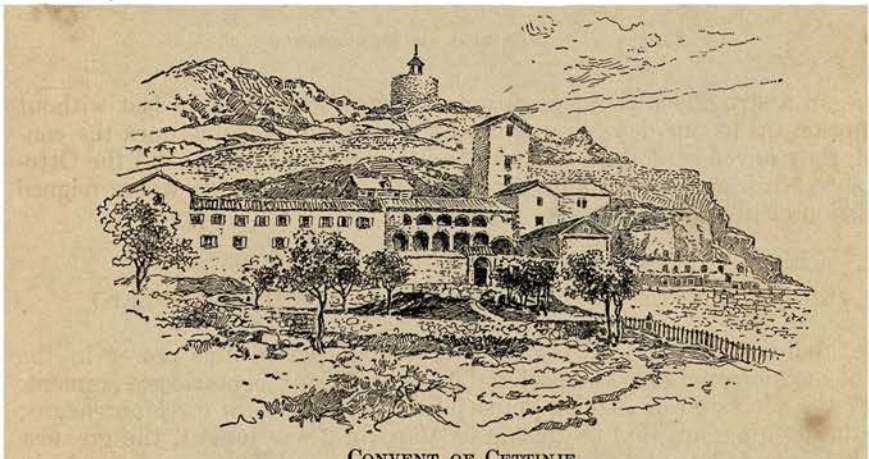
The abdication of George Czernowitz (1499) placed the power in the hands of the metropolitan (vladika) and inaugurated a theocratic government. In 1687 the accession of Danilo Petrovich began a new era for Montenegro; it was during his reign that the battle of Marchuliu was fought, the greatest which has ever taken place between Montenegrins and Turks, and in which, if tradition may be believed, twenty thousand Ottomans bit the dust (1711). One year previously relations between Montenegro and Russia had commenced. Towards the end of 1710 Peter the Great concluded a treaty of alliance with the vladika against the Turks. From this time on the Czornahora became in a way a Muscovite fief; the vladikas went to St. Petersburg to receive the episcopal consecration.[b] In 1767 occurred a curious interlude in the history of the Black Mountains. A doctor who had travelled considerably and had lived in Russia appeared in Montenegro and claimed to be the murdered Peter III of Russia. Sava, the vladika of that time, being a weak ruler, the impostor, who went by the name of Stephen the Little, succeeded in establishing himself in power and, as regent, proved an excellent ruler. He was killed in 1774.[a]

During the long reign of Peter I (1782–1830) the Russian influence became so preponderant that the subjects of the vladika accused him before the emperor of Russia of not being sufficiently orthodox and of not sufficiently

increasing the number of convents. Peter I condescended to justify himself before the Russian consul at Ragusa, and did not protest against the jurisdiction which the autocrat of all the Russias thus appropriated to himself.[b]

This adherence to Russia is remarkable in view of the treatment Montenegro received at her hands. More than once was she abandoned by her great ally after having performed the service demanded from her. After the Treaty of Pressburg, giving the Bocche di Cattaro to the French, Peter, at the request of the Bocchesi, assisted them in driving out the Austrians, and, with his Russian allies, defeated the French likewise. The Montenegrins, however, were prevented from following up their victories by orders from the czar to deliver up the Bocche to the Austrians. The loss of their port was a severe blow to the brave Montenegrins, who had even defied the great Napoleon with success. After his defeat in 1813 they made an attempt to regain Cattaro, and, aided by an English fleet, succeeded in doing so, but again Russia forced them to give it up to Austria.[a]

Peter II (1830–1851) made the power of the ruler absolute by liberating it from the control of the chiefs of *nahie* and of *plemena*. This vladika is the greatest historical figure of Montenegro;[b] "he was seen now as a captain at the head of his troops, his sword in hand, giving an example of all military virtues; now as priest and preacher, carrying only the cross, bringing back



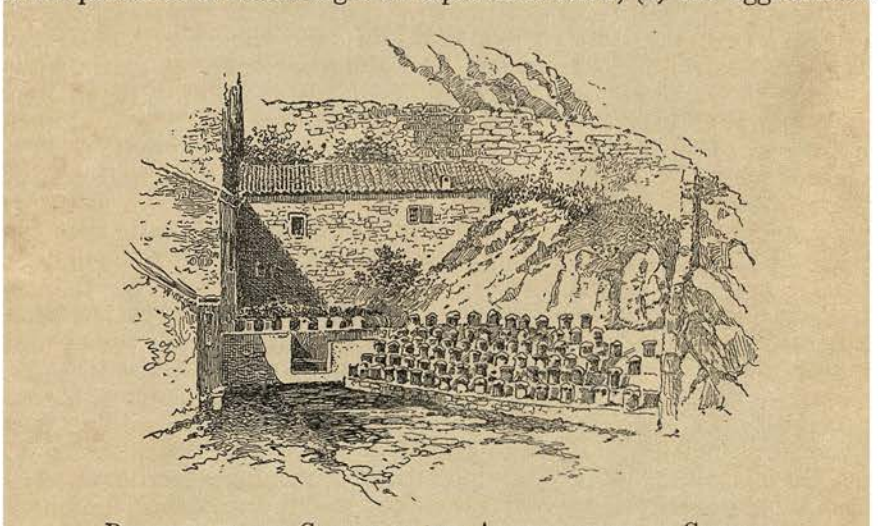
CONVENT OF CETTINJE

to gentleness his savage companions; and again as an inexorable judge, causing the guilty to be executed in his presence, or as an incorruptible chief, refusing with pride all favours with which people tried to bind his independence."[c]

WARS WITH THE PORTE

For two centuries the position of prince-bishop had been in the Petrovich family, the nephew succeeding the uncle. At the death of Peter II, his nephew Danilo, caring little for spiritual honours and deeply in love with the beautiful Darinka Kuetich, secularised the power, after having secured the approval of the principal chiefs and of Russia. To the office of bishop, however, only members of the princely family were eligible, or, in case of their default, members chosen from the most noble families of the country. The

Porte, which had always made claims upon Montenegro, although it did not own a foot of territory there, took offence at this innovation, and Omar Pasha was ordered to chastise the principality (1852). After a sanguinary struggle of three months, which cost Turkey four thousand five hundred dead, five thousand wounded, and 31,000,000 piastres, the intervention of Austria and Russia forced the sultan to suspend hostilities (March, 1853). Danilo, departing from the policy of his ancestors and considering more the interests of Montenegro than those of Russia, sought the friendship of Austria; in spite of the agitation proceeding from St. Petersburg, in spite of the recriminations and revolts of his subjects, he preserved neutrality during the Crimean war. When the congress of Paris met and the Porte wished to make Europe recognise its imaginary sovereignty over the Czornahora, Danilo addressed a memorandum to the powers, in which he demanded: (1) The recognition of the independence of Montenegro in diplomatic form; (2) the aggrandisement



BEEHIVES IN THE GARDEN OF THE ARCHIMANDRITE AT CETTINJE

of his frontiers on the side of the Herzegovina and Albania; (3) the exact demarcation of his frontiers; (4) the cession of Antivari.

Diplomacy, imagining perhaps that people may be disposed of like merchandise, responded to the demands of the prince by ordering him to submit to the Porte; in exchange the latter would consent to grant him a certain portion of land in Herzegovina on condition of receiving a tithe therefrom; it would pension the prince, who would descend to the rank of a *Mushir*, and would give the Montenegrins free access to all its ports. Turkey supported these propositions by the presence of an army on the frontier; the prince in vain made appeals to Paris, Vienna, and St. Petersburg; he was refused everywhere. The French government alone showed some interest and promised to recognise diplomatically the independence of Montenegro. Hostilities opened on May 4th, 1858; on the 13th, Hassan Pasha, defeated at Grahovo by Mirko Petrovich, brother of the prince, left three thousand men on the field and lost all his artillery. The intervention of the powers again arrested bloodshed. Things remained *in statu quo*; all that Montenegro gained was to have her frontiers regulated by an international commission to which her delegate was admitted by Europe. On August 13th, 1860, Danilo was assas-

sinated at Cattaro, leaving only one daughter. His nephew, Nicholas Petrovich, son of the victor at Grahovo, succeeded him and gave over the direction of affairs to his father, Mirko.[b]

In the same year an insurrection broke out in Herzegovina, and although Montenegro at first remained neutral, she concentrated her troops, which led to an order from the Porte to disarm. This was refused, and war was declared in 1862. The European powers refused to take any part in the struggle. The pope alone raised his voice in favour of that little people fighting for its liberty against such heavy odds. The event could not long be doubtful. After various engagements[a] Mirko made a desperate attempt; on August 23rd he attacked the Turks at Rieka; all that human nature could display of bravery and heroism was expended by Mirko, but the struggle was too unequal; the Montenegrins were defeated. Diplomacy then emerged from its apathy and peace was signed on August 31st. The conditions imposed by Omar Pasha were most severe. Mirko was forbidden to remain in the principality, and Turkey had the right to build forts the whole length of the route leading from Scutari to Herzegovina across Montenegro, and to garrison them. The Turks did not insist on the expulsion of Mirko, "the sword of Montenegro"; that would have been a miserable vengeance, and they did honour to themselves in renouncing it. As to the second point, however, the Porte was inexorable.[b]

A period of peace followed this war, during which the army was reorganised, a system of education established, and a constitution given to the people, who had no desire for such a thing, being content, as of old, to be under the autocratic power of their prince. In 1876 Prince Nicholas allied himself with Milan of Servia against Turkey, and although he was successful, the Servian army was not, and a peace was concluded in November of the same year. In the next year, on the occasion of the Russian war with Turkey, Montenegro again took the field and gained a number of victories, the most important for her being the reconquest of the seaports which had belonged to her previously. The Treaty of Berlin gave her Niksic, Spuzh, Podgoritza, Plava, Gusinie, and Antivari, thus more than doubling her territory. As the Moslem inhabitants of Plava and Gusinie objected to annexation, a conference of the powers in 1880 decided to give those towns to Turkey, substituting for them Dulcigno, which was to be given to Montenegro. It was not, however, until after a great deal of diplomatic correspondence and the appearance of a European fleet that Dulcigno was finally ceded to Montenegro.[a]

ALBANIA

The name of Shkyiperi which the Albanians themselves give to their country probably signifies "land of rocks," and no designation could be better deserved. Stony mountains cover all the country from Montenegro to the frontiers of Greece. The only plain of any extent which is found in Albania is the basin of the Skodra or Scutari, which bounds the plateau of the Black Mountain on the south, and which may be considered the real frontier of Albanian territory. The bottom of this basin is occupied by the vast lake of Scutari, the remnant of an old inland sea which was much larger. The Albanian or Shkyipetar population is divided into two principal races, the Toskides and Ghegides (Tosks and Ghegs), both of which are without doubt descended from the ancient Pelasgians, but in many places they are mixed with Slavic, Bulgarian, and Rumanian elements. Perhaps other ethnograph-

ical branches are represented in the Shkyiperi tribes, for some of them present the most noble type of Hellenic, while others have a mask of repulsive ugliness. The dialects of the two nations differ greatly, and it is not without difficulty that a Khimaran (Acroceraunian) succeeds in understanding a Mirdite or some other Albanian of the north. To the difference of idiom is usually joined a hostility of race. Ghegides and Toskides detest each other so intensely that the Turkish army has taken the precaution to separate them for fear they come to blows. When it is necessary to suppress an insurrection of Shkyiperi the government always makes use of Albanian troops of the hostile race; it is then served with the fury of hatred.

Before the migrations of the barbarians the Albanians occupied all the western part of the Balkan peninsula up to the Danube. But they were obliged to draw back, and the whole territory of Albania was occupied by Servians and Bulgarians. A large number of Slavic names, which are found in all parts of the country, recall this period of conquest, during which history does not pronounce even the name of the autochthonous population. But as soon as the power of the Servians succumbed to the blows of the Ottomans, the Albanians reappeared, and since then they have not ceased to recede upon their neighbours of Slavic origin. In southern Albania is another race, the groups of which are scattered amidst the Shkyiperi population in greater numbers than among the Greeks of Olympus and Acarnania. This race is that of the Zinzares, also called Macédo-Wallachian, "lame Wallachians," or simply southern Rumanians. They are in fact the brothers of those other Rumanians who in the north occupy the plain of Wallachia and Moldavia. Like the Rumanians of the Danube, they are probably Latinised Dacians. They resemble the Wallachians in features, bearing, and character, and, like them, they speak a neo-Latin language, mixed, however, with a large number of Greek words. In the valleys of the Pindus the majority of the Zinzares are nomad shepherds, and often their villages are abandoned for months. Besides these Zinzares, the Epirot Greeks, the Servians, and the few Ottomans in the large cities, the population of western Turkey, between the mountains of Bosnia and Greece, is composed of Ghegides and Toskides, half barbarians, whose social state has not been altered for three thousand years. By their customs, their ways of thinking and feeling, the Albanians of our day still represent the Pelasgians of olden time.

ALI PASHA OF JANINA
(1741-1822)

There is no modern people whose military annals show more astonishing examples of valour than those of the Albanians. In the fifteenth century this people had Scanderbeg, their "Alexander the Great," who, while he did not have as large a theatre for his glory as Macedonia, was not inferior to Alexander in genius, and was very differently great in justice and kind-

ness. And what people ever surpassed in courage those mountain Suliotes, among whom—and they numbered into the thousands—there was found not one old man, not one woman, not one child, who begged for mercy from the murderers sent by Ali Pasha? The heroism of those Suliote women, who set fire to their ammunition, who hurled themselves from the tops of cliffs or plunged into torrents, holding hands and singing their death-song, will always remain one of the marvels of history. But with this bravery there is mingled among many Albanian tribes a great savagery. Human life is lightly valued among these warlike peoples; and as soon as it is shed, blood calls for blood, the victims are avenged by other victims. They believe in vampires, in phantoms, and sometimes they burn old men suspected of being able to kill by their breath. Slavery does not exist, but the woman is always a servant; she is regarded as a wholly inferior being, without rights and without a will.

Family ties are very strong among the Albanians. The father keeps his rights of sovereign lord up to the most advanced age, and as long as he lives all that is earned by his children and grandchildren belongs to him; often the family community is not broken even after his death. The different families of a common descent never forget their relationship, even when the name of their ancestor has long been lost; they remain united in clans called *phis* or *pharas*, which unite in a body for attack or defence or for the preservation of common interests. Among the Albanians, as among the Servians and among many ancient peoples, the brotherhood of choice is not less strong than that of blood; young people who wish to become brothers bind themselves by solemn promises in the presence of their families, and, opening a vein, drink a few drops of blood each from the other. In spite of this remarkable tendency which leads the Albanians to associate in clans and in communities, in spite of their enthusiastic love for their native country, the Shkyipetar peoples have remained with no political cohesion; the physical condition of the soil they inhabit and their unfortunate passion for battles have condemned them to a scattering of their forces, and, in consequence, to slavery. The religious hatreds between Moslems and Christians, between Greeks and Latins, have contributed to the same result.

It is generally admitted that the number of Mohammedan Albanians exceeds those of Christians of diverse creeds, but the lack of definite statistics does not permit a positive statement. When the Turks became masters of the country and the bravest Albanians took refuge in Italy to escape the oppression of their enemies, most of the tribes which remained behind were forced to adopt Islam; besides, a number of chiefs, who lived by brigandage, found it to their advantage to become Moslems in order to continue without danger their depredations. That is the reason for the fact that the Mohammedan population of Albania generally represents the aristocratic element, at least in the cities. Moreover, the Moslem Albanians have much more warlike fanaticism than religious zeal, and a number of their ceremonies, especially those which are connected with traditions of their country, are not at all different from those of the Christians. They have become converted, but without the least conviction; as they themselves say cynically, "There where the sword is, is the faith!"

At the end of the eighteenth century Albania of the south and Epirus had still a wholly feudal organisation. The chiefs of the clans and the Turkish pashas, themselves half independent of the sultan, inhabited castles perched high on the rocks, and from time to time they descended, followed by their armed men, or, to speak more correctly, by brigands whom they had in their

hire. War was incessant, and the boundaries of possession changed incessantly with the fortune of arms. The terrible Ali of Janina changed this state of things; he was the Richelieu of the Shkyipetar aristocracy. Since his time the central power has gained in strength that which the feudal lords and family chiefs have lost. It is to the independent populations of southern Albania that one must go to see a social state which recalls the Middle Ages. As soon as one has crossed the Mat one perceives the change. All the men are armed; even the shepherd and the ploughman have carbines on the shoulder; the women and the children have pistols in the belt.

The families, clans, and tribes have their military organisation always complete and ready for the call to battle. The tribes of Kushka Kraïna, between Montenegro and the lake of Scutari, the clans of the Malissori, the Klementi, the Dukajins, are recompensed for their military services by an exemption from taxes. 'Although nominally subject to the Porte they are in fact independent; let anyone encroach on their immunities and they would indubitably turn against the pashas and make common cause with their hereditary enemies of the Czornahora. The Mirdites may be regarded as the type of these independent tribes of northern Albania. They live in the high valleys which rise like citadels at the south of the Drin ravine, and though they number hardly twelve thousand their quality of free men and their martial value insure them a considerable influence in all western Turkey. The region of the Mirdites is constituted into an oligarchal republic governed by ancient customs. The prince or pasha of Oroch is by right of title the chief administrator, but in point of fact he can give no commands; policy is determined by the old men, *vecchiardi*, of every village, by the delegates of the different military divisions, and by the chiefs of the clans, in council.

In the last century the young men of Khimara sold themselves to the king of Naples in sufficient numbers to form a regiment, the "royal Macedonian." Even in our day many Moslems and even Christian Toskides still hire themselves to pashas and beys. Known in general by the corrupted name of Arnautes, they are seen in the most remote parts of the empire, in Armenia, at Bagdad, on the Arabian peninsula. However, wars becoming more and more rare, the profession of a mercenary soldier has gradually lost its advantages, and in consequence the number of Albanians who emigrate to earn their living by honest labour increases every year. Like the Swiss of the Grisons and under the pressure of the same economical necessities, the Shkyipetars leave their mountains at the commencement of winter and go far away to practise their industry in the plain. Most of them return in the spring with a few savings, which the cultivation of their ungrateful rocks could not have procured to them; but there are those who emigrate without intending to return. A large number of Albanians who have become rich return to end their days in their native land, and build beautiful houses which surprise one in the midst of the rugged rocks of Epirus. Thus the Albanians themselves are drawn into a general progressive movement, and when they shall have entered into permanent relations with other peoples, it may be hoped with good reason that they will play an important rôle, for they are distinguished in general by fineness of mind, clearness of thought, and great force of character.[d]

Education is almost non-existent, and the vast majority of the population, both Christian and Moslem, are totally illiterate. The priests of the Greek church, on whom the rural population depend for instruction, are often deplorably ignorant. The merchant families of Janina are well-educated; the dialect spoken in that town is the purest specimen of colloquial Greek.[e]

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Bosnia, at the northwest angle of Turkey, is the Switzerland of the European Orient, but a Switzerland whose mountains do not reach to the regions of perpetual snows and ice. The mountain chains of Bosnia and of its southern province Herzegovina have for a great part of their extent much resemblance to those of the Jura. "Where the stones end and the trees begin," the Dalmatians used to say, "there begins Bosnia"; but certain Bosnian regions have already lost their vegetation. Likewise the plateaus of Herzegovina, those of Montenegro and the mountains of Dalmatia, have been almost entirely despoiled of their forests, although Bosnia proper is still very well wooded. Almost half of its territory is covered with forests. The song of birds is rarely heard in these great woods, but wild animals are plentiful; bears, boars, and squirrels seek here their shelter, and so many wolves are killed that their skins are one of the principal objects of Bosnian commerce. Taken as a whole the country is admirably fertile; it is one of the promised lands of Europe on account of the extreme fecundity of its valleys. In certain districts, notably on the frontiers of Croatia and in the neighbourhood of the Save, large herds of swine almost wild wander in the forests of oak; hence the name of "country of pigs," given by the Turks in derision to all of lower Bosnia.

A Bosnian Merchant
(1850)

With the exception of Jews, gipsies, and some Osmanlis, officials, soldiers, and merchants, who live in the most populous towns of Bosnia, all the inhabitants of the Illyrian Alps belong to the Slavic race. The inhabitants of Herzegovina are perhaps those which present a most marked type. They are descended, it appears, from Slavic immigrants who came from the banks of the Vistula in the seventh century. Like their neighbours the Montenegrins, their talk is much more lively than that of the Servians proper. While the Bosnians are, for the most part, united in origin, they are divided by religion, and from this division results their state of political servitude. At first thought it does indeed seem surprising that the Slavs of Bosnia have not succeeded, like their brother Servians, in shaking off the Ottoman yoke. They are much further removed from the capital of the empire and their valleys are much more difficult of access than the fields of Servia, and yet, in spite of the advantages of defence presented by land and climate, all the attempts at revolt which have been made against the Turks have miserably failed. It is because the Moslem and Christian Bosnian are enemies one of another, and because, among the Christians themselves, the Greek Catholics, governed by their popes, and the Roman Catholics, who blindly obey their Franciscan priests, detest each other and

betray each other. Being divided they became forcibly enslaved, and the condition of servitude has made them worse than their oppressors.

The Moslems of Bosnia, who call themselves "Turks," a name rejected as dishonourable by the Osmanlis of the rest of the empire, are not less Slav than the Bosnians of the two Christian sects. Like them they speak only Servian, although a large number of Turkish words have slipped into their dialect. They are the descendants of feudal lords who, in order to preserve their feudal privileges, became converted during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Among their ancestors the "Turks" of Bosnia count a number of famous brigands who made haste to change their religion in order to continue without peril their profession of pillaging. They soon surpassed the Mohammedan Turks in fanaticism, and reduced the Christian peasants to a veritable slavery. A wild pear tree is still pointed out near the gate of Bosnia-Serai where the notables of the place went from time to time to give themselves the pleasure of hanging some unfortunate rayah. Beys or spahis, the Moslem Bosnians form the most backward element of old Turkey, and many a time, notably in 1851, they have revolted to maintain their ancient feudal tyranny in all its rigour.

BOSNIAN COSTUME

The soil was divided under the Turks into *spahiliks* or Moslem fiefs, which were handed down according to Slavic custom, not by right of the first-born, but indivisibly to all the members of the family; these chose for their chief, when it was necessary to march to combat, either the eldest among them or the bravest. As for the Christian peasants, they were obliged to toil for the Moslem community, no longer as serfs, it is true, but as day-labourers working by the month or job; the most fortunate had a certain share in the benefits of the association, but they had to support the heaviest burdens. Hence it was natural that many Christians, like the Jews of other countries, abandoned agriculture to devote themselves to traffic; almost all trade is in the hands of the Greek and Roman Catholics of Herzegovina and of their foreign co-religionists of Slavic Austria.

In addition, the Bosnians of every sect and every religion possess the same natural qualities as the other Servians, their brothers, and sooner or later, whatever may be their political destiny, they will rise as a people to the same level of intelligence and worth. They are frank and hospitable, brave in combat, diligent, economical, given to poetry, steadfast in their friendships, constant in love; marriages are respected, and even the Moslem Bosnians reject the polygamy allowed them by the *Koran*. Incessant wars, tyranny on the one hand, servitude on the other, have brutalised their manners; the lack of roads, the forests and rocks of their mountains, have kept them remote from civilising influences.[d]

[1878-1896 A.D.]

In 1878 the Treaty of Berlin placed Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austrian administration, though they still recognised the suzerainty of the Porte. An Austrian military occupation was also established. Since that time the condition of the country has improved. New peasant colonies have been introduced and agriculture has flourished. During the period between 1892 and 1896, for example, the amount of grain produced was double that produced between 1882 and 1886. A large amount of fruit and tobacco is also raised. Mining is an important industry in Bosnia. The inhabitants engage in weaving, and in leather and metal work.

MACEDONIA

We have seen how, one after another, the different states of the Balkans have acquired their independence. The order of procedure in every case has been much the same: Turkish oppression exists until it becomes unbearable; revolt, massacres, interference of the powers, ensue; and these are followed by a recognition of the independence of the individual states. Servia, Greece, Rumania are now independent; Bulgaria is so practically; Montenegro claims to have never been anything else; Bosnia and Herzegovina are under Austrian administration. Only Macedonia and Albania are left, and in Macedonia is concentrated the whole force of the Eastern Question which was formerly spread over so large a space. The same factors are predominant—Greeks, Bulgarians, and Servians all have interests in Macedonia; even Rumania has her propaganda, although with no perceptible justification, as the people—the Kutzo-Wallachians—which she claims as her "brethren," absolutely reject the relationship.

It is this rivalry of nationalities which so seriously complicates the problem. Greece, Servia, and Bulgaria since becoming independent have earnestly desired the same boon for their brothers in Macedonia, but each one wishes it accomplished after a manner which shall extend her own territory. This rivalry is most conspicuous between Bulgaria and Greece. The Hellenes, for instance, would object quite as strenuously to having Macedonia independent and Bulgarian as they do to having it dependent and Turkish. As a result the country is the scene of rival agitations, to guard against which the European powers, Russia and Austria in the foreground, are jealously watching each other.[a]

The embittered struggle of the rival nationalities in Macedonia dates from the middle of the nineteenth century. Until that period the Greeks, owing to their superior culture and their privileged position, exercised an exclusive influence over the whole population professing the orthodox faith. All Macedonia was either Moslem or orthodox Christian, without distinction of nationalities, the Catholic or Protestant *millets* being inconsiderable. The first opposition to Greek ecclesiastical ascendency came from the Bulgarians. The Bulgarian literary revival, which took place in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, was the precursor of the ecclesiastical and national movement which resulted in the establishment of the exarchate in 1870. The first exarch, who was elected in 1871, was excommunicated with all his followers by the patriarch, and a considerable number of Bulgarians in Macedonia—the so-called Bulgarophones—fearing the reproach of schism, or influenced by other considerations, refrained from acknowledging the new spiritual power. Many of the recently converted uniates, on the other hand, offered their allegiance to the exarch. The firman of the 28th of February, 1870, specified a

number of districts within the present boundaries of Bulgaria and Servia, as well as in Macedonia, to which Bulgarian bishops might be appointed; other districts might be subjected to the exarchate, should two-thirds of the inhabitants so desire. In virtue of the latter provision the districts of Veles, Ochrida, and Uskub declared for the exarchate, but the Turkish government refrained from sanctioning the nomination of Bulgarian bishops to these dioceses. It was not till 1891 that the Porte, at the instance of Stambulov, the Bulgarian prime minister, whose demands were supported by the Triple Alliance and Great Britain, issued the *berat*, or exequatur, for Bulgarian bishops at Ochrida and Uskub; the sees of Veles and Nevrokop received Bulgarian prelates in 1894, and those of Monastir, Strumnitza, and Dibra in 1898. The Bulgarian position was further strengthened in the latter year by the establishment of "commercial agents" representing the principality at Salonica, Uskub, Monastir, and Serres. During this period (1891–1898) the Bulgarian propaganda, entirely controlled by the spiritual power and conducted within the bounds of legality, made rapid and surprising progress. In later years the interference of the Macedonian committee at Sofia, in which the advocates of physical force predominate, has done much to injure the movement.

In connection with its religious propaganda Bulgaria busily established schools in Macedonia, and in 1898 there were seven hundred and sixty-two with nearly forty thousand pupils. But the Bulgarians were not alone in their propagandising movement. In 1886 a Rumanian gymnasium was established at Monastir, and there are now some forty Rumanian schools in Macedonia supported by the Rumanian ministry of education. The Servian government has not been behind, and although it did not enter the field actively until 1890, the Servian schools in Macedonia now number a hundred and seventy-eight, with seven thousand two hundred pupils. Even the Albanians are demanding schools in which their language shall be taught, but so far none has been founded. Greek schools are still in the majority, in spite of all attempts of rival nationalities, and in addition to all these Christian schools there are the Turkish ones; so that it is small wonder if the population, which to begin with is racially so divergent, should not have become welded together.

The one hope of Macedonia to escape from under Turkish rule is by causing such horrors to take place that the European powers will feel obliged to interfere as they did in Bulgaria and to establish an autonomous government. Russia, however, in 1896, declared that she would not interfere, and in 1897 entered into an agreement with Austria to preserve the *status quo*, in consequence of which Macedonia and Turkey have been left, more or less, to settle their disagreements between them. The Macedonian committee in Bulgaria has been none the less active, stirring up agitations and disturbances which, although frowned upon by the Bulgarian government, receive hearty sympathy from the people, which fact is not surprising since one half of the capital, Sofia, itself is Macedonian; in April, 1901, the president of the committee, M. Sarafof, was arrested together with the leading members. An insurrection broke out in 1902, which was promptly and severely put down by Turkish troops. Diplomatic efforts were made to prevent a repetition of the uprising; a Russian minister visited Vienna and the Balkan capitals, and the Bulgarian government again arrested the leaders of the revolutionary movement. In February, 1903, the Russian and Austrian ambassadors at Constantinople demanded reforms in Macedonia which were accepted by the sultan and approved by Europe, but as a writer in the *Review of Reviews* for

October, 1903, says, "There were only two obstacles in the way of complete success in pacifying Macedonia—the plan was a sham and the Bulgaro-Macedonian committee was not. It had those glad to die, and where men die a cause lives."

The insurrection broke out again in the spring, and from March to September the country was filled with horrors and outrages that defy description. Christians murdered Mohammedans and Mohammedans assassinated Christians; villages were burned and railways destroyed. By the time the insurrection was put down in September more than a hundred villages had been burned and whole districts devastated. Many fled to Bulgaria. In November, 1903, the Turkish government again promised to introduce reforms, but even with the best intentions, considering the jealousies of foreign powers and the rival factions in the country, the problem is too difficult for the Porte to deal with.

When war broke out between Russia and Japan, and Russia's hands were tied in the Balkans, war between Bulgaria and Turkey seemed imminent, and desultory fighting on the frontier has been reported from time to time. Peace will probably never be restored so long as Macedonia remains under Turkish subjection. In strong contrast to this general upheaval is the monastic community living on Mount Athos, on a promontory projecting from the southern part of Macedonia.

MOUNT ATHOS

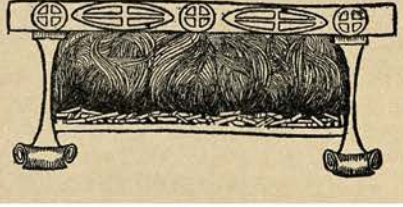
The triple peninsula of Chalcidice, which protrudes far into the sea like a gigantic hand stretched out over the waters, is completely separated from all the spurs of Despoto-Dagh, and is joined to the continent only by a thin stalk of lands slightly elevated; almost all the root of the peninsula is covered with lakes, swamps, and alluvial plains. It is a miniature Greece in the structure of its coasts, oddly cut up into bays and promontories, and in its distinct mountain ranges, which rise from the midst of the lowest lands like the islands of the Archipelago from the midst of the waters. Greek in aspect, this strange appendix of the continent is equally Greek in population; a rare thing in Turkey, the inhabitants belong to only one race, except in the little village of Nisvoro, where Turks live, and on Mount Athos, where a few monks are of Slavic origin.

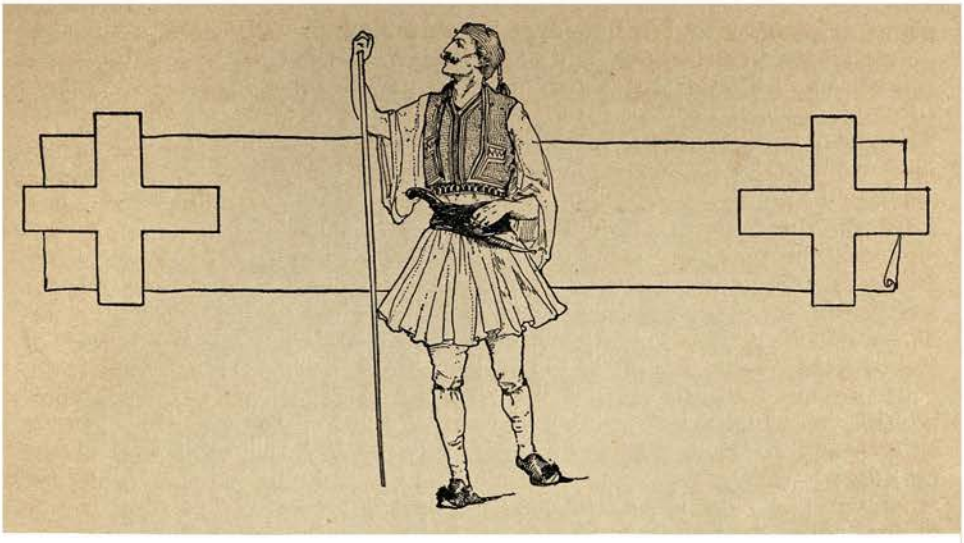
Of the three tongues of land which Chalcidice projects into the Ægean Sea, that on the east is almost completely isolated; once it was even separated from the mainland by a canal of 1,200 metres constructed by Xerxes across the connecting isthmus, either to save his fleet from the dangerous circumnavigation of the promontory of Athos or else to give to the astonished inhabitants a proof of his power. This peninsula is that of the Hagion Oros, the Monte Santo of the Italians. A superb mountain of chalky rocks, the most beautiful perhaps of the whole eastern Mediterranean system, raises its point at the extremity of the peninsula; it is the celebrated Mount Athos, in which an architect, Dinocrates, wished to carve a statue of Alexander holding a city in one hand and the source of a torrent in the other; it is also the summit to which, according to the local tradition, the devil took Christ to show him all the kingdoms of the earth stretched out at his feet. The panorama is not exceedingly vast, but the view, which embraces the whole coast of Chalcidice, of Macedonia, and of Thrace, the vague outlines of the Asiatic shores, the abrupt cone of Samothrace, and the blue waters of the sea, is very beautiful, one's glance travels an immense distance from Thessalian Olympus to Mount

Ida in Asia Minor. The vigorous lines of fortified buildings rising here and there on the slopes of the mountains from the midst of woods of chestnut, oak, or pine contrast in the most happy manner with the fleeting horizon of indistinct coast lines.

This peninsula, which one traveller compares to a "sphinx crouching upon the water," belongs to a republic of monks, naming their own council and administering their government in their own fashion. In return for paying a tribute, they have the right to live there in complete seclusion; no one can enter without their permission. A company of Christian soldiers keeps watch at the frontier of the isthmus to prevent any woman from desecrating the sanctified soil by her presence; the Turkish governor himself must leave his harem outside of the Hagion Oros; for fourteen centuries, says the history of Mount Athos, no person of the female sex has put foot on the holy mountain. Furthermore, the introduction of any female animal is very severely prohibited: even hens would profane the monasteries by their vicinity; hence it is necessary to bring all eggs from Lemnos. With the exception of the farmers who live in the village of Caryes, in the centre of the peninsula, the inhabitants to the number of about six thousand, monks and servants, reside in the monasteries or in the scattered hermitages, about the 935 churches of the district. Almost all the monks are Greek; however, among the twenty large monasteries, one is of Russian foundation, and two were erected at the expense of the old sovereigns of Servia.

These edifices, built on promontories in the form of citadels with high walls and towers of defence, present for the most part a very picturesque appearance; one of them, Simopetra, placed on a rock on the western side, looks absolutely inaccessible. It is in these retreats that the "good old men," or *caloyers*, pass their lives in contemplative inaction; according to their discipline they pray eight hours a day and two hours a night, without once sitting down during their orisons. Thus the monks have neither strength nor time for the least study or for the most simple manual labour. The books in their libraries, several times explored by erudite scholars, are to them incomprehensible, and in spite of their temperance they would be in danger of starvation if the lay brethren did not work for them, and if they did not possess numerous farms on the mainland. A few crops of nuts are the sole products of the fertile peninsula of Mount Athos.[d]





CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN GREECE

GREECE UNDER THE SLAVS; THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY

After the battles of Philippi and Actium, Greece, being incorporated into the Roman possessions, ceased to play an important rôle in Europe and in Asia. The loss of her independence was not slow to bring about such a change in her condition that the taste for art and philosophy became extinguished at almost the same time as the love of glory. The Peloponnesus (Morea) and Attica had promptly been swallowed up by a foreign population, a mixture of Romans and Asiatics. The Ionian Islands had met with the same fate, and the shadow of liberty which Greece owed to its philosopher-ministers (year 54), whose reign was so short under the execrable Nero, could not raise again the energy of the Athenians and Spartans who were still left in Attica and Laconia. In a short time the various districts of this famous land descended into a state of barbarity almost as great as had been their military and scientific glory. The language of Homer became corrupted in provinces where the cupidity of a Roman officer made out of a generous people a people of slaves.[b]

Phœnician merchants and Roman conquerors, however, hardly modified the elements of the Hellenic population, but at the time of the migrations of the barbarians the latter penetrated into Greece in multitudes. During more than two centuries the Avars maintained their power in the Peloponnesus; then came the Slavs, who were aided more than once by the pest in depopulating the country. Greece became a "*Slavia*," and the common idiom was a Slavic tongue, probably Servian, as is still shown by a large majority of local names.[c]

Still the coast towns, most of which were well fortified on the land side, remained in the possession of the old inhabitants; whereas the interior, the

plains and valleys and in time even the old inland towns, became occupied by Slavic tribes. During the fights and feuds with the Grecian inhabitants of the cities and the Byzantine governors, the power of the Slavs and their spirit of freedom and independence grew ever stronger, so that they threw off the supremacy of the East-Roman emperors and lived according to their own laws. Under Empress Theodora, however, they succumbed to the sword of her general Theoktistus, and again fell into a state of dependence wherein they were tributary to Byzantium. "With the loss of political independence there disappeared among the Slavs the old spirit of liberty; the habits and customs, the language and religion of their ancestors, were gradually transformed by the preponderating influence of Byzantine Hellenic individuality." Byzantine supremacy in the peninsula was further strengthened by the spread of Christianity, which through the propaganda of Byzantine priests and monks took place under Basil the Macedonian and his successors. The new religion overthrew not only the idolatry of the Slavs but also the Hellenic popular beliefs of the Mainotes in the mountain gorges and valleys of the Eurotas (Tri or Tris). This transformation appears to have initiated a new epoch in the development of the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus. At any rate we find in the course of the ninth century, in single districts of Slavonicised Greece, traces of prosperity, wealth, and even luxury, which we should probably seek in vain in every other part of the Byzantine Empire at that time. Even if we acknowledge some exaggeration in the description by Constantine Porphyrogenitus of the journey, the display, and the presents of the rich widow of Danilis of Patras, the patroness of the first Basil, we are justified in crediting its main features, and through them we receive a startling conception of the wealth of private families. Silk weaving, purple dyeing, and extended sea commerce flourished among both the Christians and the numerous Jews who, in the succeeding period of tranquillity, had settled in Hellas and the Morea. In the Greek histories the old name Peloponnesus was still employed, whereas in the Occident the name "Morea" became more usual. The mulberry trees planted there on account of the silk culture may have given rise to this name, or else the latter is of Slavic origin and means "coast land," "sea land," "littoral."[d]

In time the polished language of the Hellenes resumed the supremacy, and the race itself has regained such thorough preponderance that it is impossible now to find the Slav elements of the population. But, after having been almost completely Slavonicised, Hellas ran the risk of becoming Albanian, especially during the Venetian domination. Even at the beginning of the last century Albanian was the preponderating language of Elis, of Argos, of Bœotia, and of Attica; in our days more than a hundred thousand pretended Greeks still speak it. The actual population of Greece is thus very mixed, but it would be difficult to say in what proportions the different elements, Hellenic, Slavic, and Albanian, are united.

It is certain, however, that in spite of invasions and cross-mixtures, the Greek race, aided perhaps by the climate which is native to it, has preserved most of its distinctive traits. In the first place, it has succeeded in keeping its language, and it is truly a cause for wonder that the vulgar Greek, emanating from a rural idiom, does not differ more from the ancient literary Greek. Physically, also, the race has not changed; the ancient types may still be recognised in many a district of modern Greece. The Bœotian has that awkward gait which made him the laughing-stock of the other Greeks; the young Athenian has the suppleness, the grace, and intrepid bearing which we admire in horsemen sculptured on the friezes of the Parthenon; the woman of Sparta

has kept that severe and proud beauty which the poets used to praise in the Doric virgins.[c]

The first crusaders did not appear in Greece proper, but towards the middle of the twelfth century the Venetian, Sicilian, and other adventurers overran the Peloponnesus and Attica. Greece was then governed, or rather distracted, by different petty tyrants, and the people were plunged in the grossest ignorance and superstition. There were never wanting, however, pious and learned prelates, whose writings serve as stars to throw a feeble light upon these obscure ages—in fact, from the days of Cadmus to those of Coray the Greeks never have been wanting for any considerable length of time in industrious and faithful writers.

GREECE BECOMES A DISPUTED LAND

In the year 1204 the French, under the marquis of Montferrat, with the Venetians, and Baldwin of Flanders, took Constantinople from the Greek emperor. The French under the marquis of Montferrat pushed their conquests through Greece proper, took Athens and Thebes, and penetrated into the Peloponnesus. The marquis bestowed the government of Athens on de la Roche; hence the singular title Duke of Athens, which we hear mentioned in the thirteenth century. Some French crusaders returning from the Holy Land were driven upon the shores of the Peloponnesus; they there joined the marquis of Montferrat, who was besieging Nauplia, and this little army, to which were added some Venetians, subjugated all the Peloponnesus, except Lacedæmon, which was held by a petty native prince. The Peloponnesus, then called the Morea, was afterwards delivered by treaty to the Venetians, though the possession was disputed by the Genoese. In all these conquests the Greeks were regarded as scarcely different from cattle belonging to the soil, and, of course, were the property of its possessor.

But the Europeans did not long hold Constantinople; it was wrested from the family of Baldwin about the middle of the thirteenth century by the Greek emperors of Nice. From this time to the middle of the fifteenth century the possession of Greece was the subject of dispute between the emperors of Constantinople, the Venetians, Florentines, and other European powers, who in those fluctuating times were continually gaining and losing possessions in the eastern part of Europe. By all these different lords of the soil the Greeks were harshly treated, since they were too ignorant and too degenerate to defend their rights. The sufferings of the country had been such that the population had materially decreased and no spirit of improvement was visible. But still the Greeks preserved in a strange degree many of their national characteristics; they did not mingle with their masters, but kept distinct in manners, language, and feelings; cruel treatment they often suffered, but not direct persecution.[e]

THE MOHAMMEDAN GOVERNMENT.

The conquest of Greece by Muhammed II (1460) was felt to be a boon by the greater part of the population. The government of the Greek emperors of the family of Palæologos, of their relations the despots in the Morea, and of the Frank princes, dukes, and signors, had for two centuries rendered Greece the scene of incessant civil wars and odious oppression. The Mohammedan government put an end to the injustice of many petty tyrants, whose rapacity and

feuds had divided, impoverished, and depopulated the country. When Muhammed II annexed the Peloponnesus and Attica to the Ottoman Empire, he deliberately exterminated all remains of the existing aristocracy, both Frank nobles and Greek archonts, in these provinces, and introduced in their place the Turkish aristocracy, as far as such a class existed in his dominions. The ordinary system of the Ottoman administration was immediately applied to the greater part of Greece, and it was poverty, and not valour, which exempted a few mountainous districts from its application.

Saganos Pasha was left as governor of Morea and the duchy of Athens. Garrisons of the sultan's regular troops were stationed in a few of the strongest fortresses under their own officers; but the general defence of the country and the maintenance of order among the inhabitants was intrusted to Saganos, who was invested with the revenue necessary for the purpose. The arbitrary power of the pasha and the licence of the regular garrisons were restrained by the timariot system. The feudal usages, which the earliest Ottoman sultans had inherited with their first possessions in the Seljuk Empire, were introduced by Muhammed II into Greece, as the natural manner of retaining the rural population under his domination. Large tracts of land in the richest plains having reverted to the government as belonging to the confiscated estates of the princes and nobles, a certain proportion of this property was divided into life-rent fiefs, which were conferred on veteran warriors who had merited rewards by distinguished service. These fiefs were called timars, and consisted of a life-interest in lands, of which the Greek and Albanian cultivators sometimes remained in possession of the exclusive right of cultivation within determined limits, and under the obligation of paying a fixed revenue and performing certain services for the Mussulman landlord. The timariot was bound to serve the sultan on horseback with a number of well-appointed followers, varying according to the value of his fief.

These men had no occupation, and no thought but to perfect themselves in the use of their arms, and for a long period they formed the best light cavalry in Europe. The timars were granted as military rewards, and they never became hereditary while the system continued to exist in the Ottoman Empire. The veteran soldiers who held these fiefs in Greece were bound to the sultan by many ties. They looked forward to advancement to the larger estates called ziamets, or to gaining the rank of sandjak beg, or commander of a timariot troop of horse. This class, in Christian provinces, was consequently firmly attached to the central authority of the Ottoman sultan, and constituted a check both on the ambitious projects and local despotism of powerful pashas and on the rebellious disposition of the Christian population. The rich rewards granted by Muhammed II to his followers drew numerous bands of Turkoman and Seljuk volunteers to his armies from Asia Minor, who came to Europe, well mounted and armed, to seek their fortunes as warlike emigrants. The brilliant conquests of that sultan enabled him to bestow rich lands on many of these young volunteers, while their own valour gained for them abundant booty in female slaves and agricultural serfs. These emigrants formed a considerable portion of the population of Macedonia and Greece after its conquest, and they were always ready to take the field against the Christians, both as a religious duty and as a means of acquiring slaves, whom, according to their qualifications, they might send to their own harems, to their farms, or to the slave-market. The timariots of the Ottoman Empire, like the feudal nobility of Europe, required a servile race to cultivate the land.

Difference of religion in Turkey created the distinction of rank which pride of birth perpetuated in feudal Europe. But the system was in both cases

[*ca.* 1460 A.D.]

equally artificial, and the permanent laws of man's social existence operate unceasingly to destroy every distinctive privilege which separates one class of men as a caste from the rest of the community, in violation of the immutable principles of equity. Heaven tolerates temporary injustice committed by individual tyrants to the wildest excesses of iniquity; but history proves that divine providence has endowed society with an irrepressible power of expansion, which gradually effaces every permanent infraction of the principles of justice by human legislation. The laws of Lycurgus expired before the Spartan state, and the corps of janissaries possessed more vitality than the tribute of Christian children.

A JANISSARY IN HIS DRESS OF CEREMONY

The Turkish feudal system was first introduced into Thessaly by Bayazid I, about the year 1397, when he sent Evrenos to invade the Peloponnesus. He invested so large a number of Seljuk Turks with landed estates, both in Macedonia and Thessaly, that from this period a powerful body of timariots was ever ready to assemble, at the sultan's orders, to invade the southern part of Greece. Murad II extended the system to Epirus and Acarnania, when he subdued the possessions of Charles Tocco, the despot of Arta; and Muhammed II rendered all Greece subject to the burden of maintaining his feudal cavalry. The governmental division of Greece and the burdens to which it was subjected varied so much at different times that it is extremely difficult to ascertain the exact amount of the timariots settled in Greece at the time of Sultan Muhammed's death. The number of fiefs was not less than about three hundred ziamets and sixteen hundred timars.

Along with the timariot system, Muhammed II imposed the tribute of Christian children on Greece, as it then existed in the other Christian provinces of his empire. A fifth of their male children was exacted from the sultan's Christian subjects as a part of that tribute which the Koran declared was the lawful price of toleration to those who refused to embrace Islam.

By these measures Greece was entirely subjected to the Ottoman domination, and the last traces of its political institutions and legal administration, whether derived from the Roman cæsars, the Byzantine emperors, or the Frank princes, from the code of Justinian, the Basilica of Leon, or the assize of Jerusalem, were all swept away. Greece was partitioned among several pashas and governors, all of whom were under the orders of the beylerbey of Rumelia, the sultan's commander-in-chief in Europe. The islands and some maritime districts were at a later period placed under the control of the captain pasha. The Greeks, as a nation, disappear from history; no instances of patriotic despair ennobled the records of their subjection. A dull uniformity marks their conduct and their thoughts. Byzantine ceremony and orthodox formality had already effaced the stronger traits of individual character, and extinguished genius. Ottoman oppression now made an effort to extirpate

the innate feelings of humanity. Parents gave their sons to be janissaries, and their daughters to be odalisques.

The history of the Ottoman government during the period when its yoke bore heaviest on the Greeks nevertheless deserves to be carefully studied, if it were only to institute a comparison between the conduct of the Mussulmans and the manner in which the most powerful contemporary Christian states treated their subjects. Unless this comparison be made, and the condition of the rayah in the sultan's dominions be contrasted with that of the serf in the Holy Roman Empire of the Germans, and in the dominions of the kings of France and Spain, the absolute cruelty of the Ottoman domination would be greatly overrated. The mass of the Christian population engaged in agricultural operations was allowed to enjoy a far larger portion of the fruits of their labour under the sultan's government than under that of many Christian monarchs. This fact explains the facility with which the sultans of Constantinople held millions of Christian landed proprietors and small farmers in submissive bondage to a comparatively small number of Mohammedans in the European provinces of their empire.

Indeed, the conquest of the Greeks was completed before the Ottoman government had succeeded in subduing a considerable part of the Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor, and for several centuries the Mussulman population in Asia proved far more turbulent subjects to the sultans than the orthodox Christians in Europe. Muhammed II and many of his successors were not only abler men than the Greek emperors who preceded them on the throne of Byzantium; they were really better sovereigns than most of the contemporary princes in the west. The Transylvanians and Hungarians long preferred the government of the house of Othman to that of the house of Habsburg; the Greeks clung to their servitude under the infidel Turks rather than seek a deliverance which would entail submission to the Catholic Venetians. It was therefore in no small degree by the apathy, if not by the positive good-will, of the Christian population that the supremacy of the Sublime Porte was firmly established from the plains of Podolia to the banks of the Don. So stable were the foundations of the Ottoman power, even on its northern frontier, that for three centuries the Black Sea was literally a Turkish lake. The Russians first acquired a right to navigate freely over its waters in the year 1774.*f*

THE CONSPIRACY OF CATHERINE II

After the Turkish conquest, in the middle of the fifteenth century, Greece was considered of no consequence except as a field of battle in the wars between the Turks and Venetians who had alternate possession of the country and who were the tyrants and oppressors of the people, whom they treated like slaves. It was not until 1715 that the Turks got complete and undisturbed possession of the country; and from that time we lose sight of the Greeks, or hear them spoken of only as degenerate slaves by those travellers who were led by an admiration of the genius of the ancients to take a pilgrimage to Athens to contemplate the ruins of antiquity.

In 1770 Catherine II planned and effected a revolt in Greece, in order to win for Russia the sympathy of the Greeks in her war with Turkey. She sent emissaries into every part of the country, to prepare the population for an insurrection, and the people were excited by hopes of being freed by Russia. Emancipation seemed very possible, for the Greeks had become somewhat enlightened, and thousands were flattering themselves that any attempt at independence would be encouraged and supported by the European powers.

A Russian fleet was sent round to the Mediterranean; twelve hundred soldiers were landed in Morea and the Greeks were summoned to arms. They rose, but not to arms, for arms had not been allowed them by the Turks; nevertheless they rushed upon their oppressors with fury, killed great numbers, took the fortress of Navarino, and drove the Turks from every part of Morea, forcing them to shut themselves up in the fortresses.

But they were miserably seconded by the Russians; no means were given them to continue the war, and when the Turks called in the Albanians the Greeks were driven in their turn to take refuge in the mountains and under the walls of Navarino, where the Russian commander, Orlov, had shut himself up with his soldiers. He refused the Greeks admittance, and thousands were cut to pieces before his eyes. The enterprise was most shamefully abandoned by the Russians, who, after leading the Greeks into a rebellion, refused them support, evacuated the country, and left the victims of their guilty undertaking to suffer the terrible vengeance of the Turks.

THE TREATY OF KUTCHUK-KAINARDJI (1774 A.D.)

Meantime, in July 1770, the Russian fleet, under the bold Scot, Elphinstone, attacked and burned the Turkish fleet at Tchesme; and this success served in the eyes of the Russians to atone for the disgraceful termination of their attempt on the Peloponnesus. By the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, signed in 1774, Russia resigned all her pretensions in the Archipelago; she made, it is true, some vain stipulations in favour of the Greeks, but they were utterly disregarded by the Turks, who continued to deal vengeance upon them. So far was the divan exasperated, or alarmed, that the much agitated question of the extermination of the Greek people was resumed. The execution of this plot was prevented only by the exertions of Hassan Pasha. That truly great man, after urging other reasons in vain, brought the divan to its senses by asking, "If you exterminate the rayahs, who will pay you the great capitation tax which you now get from them?" [e]

FINLAY ON THE OTTOMAN DOMINION

For three centuries the position of the Greek race was one of hopeless degradation. Its connection with the old pagan Hellenes was repudiated by themselves and forgotten by other nations. The modern Greeks were prouder of having organised the ecclesiastical establishment of the orthodox hierarchy than of an imaginary connection with an extinct though cognate society which had once occupied the highest rank in the political and intellectual world and created the literature of Europe. The modern identification of the Christian Greeks with the pagan Hellenes is the growth of the new series of ideas disseminated by the French Revolution. At the time when ecclesiastical orthodoxy exerted its most powerful influence on the Greeks as a people they were content to perpetuate their national existence in the city of Constantinople, in a state of moral debasement not very dissimilar to the position in which Juvenal describes their ancestors at Rome. The primates and the clergy acted as agents of Turkish tyranny with as much zeal as the artists and rhetoricians of old had pandered to the passions of their Roman masters.

On the other hand, the slavery of the Greeks to the Ottomans was not the result of any inferiority in numerical force, material wealth, and scientific

knowledge. The truth is, that the successes of the Ottoman Turks, like those of the Romans, must be in great part attributed to their superiority in personal courage, individual morality, systematic organisation, and national dignity. The fact is dishonourable to Christian civilisation. After the conquest of Constantinople the Greeks sank, with wonderful rapidity and without an effort, into the most abject slavery. For three centuries their political history is merged in the history of the Ottoman Empire. During this long period the national position, for evil and for good, was determined by the aggregate of vice and virtue in the individuals who composed the nation. Historians rarely allow due weight to the direct influence of individual conduct in the mass of mankind on political history. At this period, however, the national history of the Greeks is comprised in their individual biography.

The power and resources of the Ottoman Empire, at the time when the sultans of Constantinople were most dreaded by the western Christians, were principally derived from the profound policy with which the Turkish government rendered its Christian subjects the instruments of its designs. It gave to its subjects a modicum of protection for life and property and an amount of religious toleration which induced the orthodox to perpetuate their numbers, to continue their labours for amassing wealth, and to prefer the domination of the sultan to that of any Christian potentate. In return, it exacted a tithe of the lives as well as of the fortunes of its subjects. Christian children were taken to fill up the chasms which polygamy and war were constantly producing in Mussulman society, and Christian industry filled the sultan's treasury with the wealth which long secured success to the boldest projects of Ottoman ambition. No accidental concourse of events could have given permanence to a dominion which maintained its authority with the same stern tyranny over the Seljuk Turk, the Turkoman, the Kurd, the Arab, and the Moorish Mussulman as it did over the Greek, the Albanian, the Servian, the Bulgarian, the Wallachian, and the Armenian Christian. An empire whose greatness has endured for several centuries must have been supported by some profound political combinations, if not by some wise and just institutions. Accumulations of accidental conquest, joined together by military force alone, like the empires of Attila, Genghiz Khan, and Timur, have never attained such stability. *f*

THE GREEK REVOLUTION

Dispossessed of political rights by their conquerors, the Greeks had not been dispossessed of that which constitutes the real existence of a people, religion, nationality, property; they were no longer sovereign, they were not Turkish citizens, but they were still men, Greek people and citizens. Dependent though they were in their public life upon Turkish proconsuls established in their cities and in their villages, in civil life they yet enjoyed all that constitutes the common rights of civilised peoples. They possessed their temples, their clergy, their patriarchs, their local magistrates, freely elected, their ships, their commerce, their privileges as Christians or Greeks guaranteed by the officious protection of foreign nations to which the Porte had conceded the patronage over this portion of its subjects. By reason of their genius, a genius which no other nation has equalled, by reason of their activity, their pliability, their subtleties, their power of intrigue, their astuteness (largely the outcome of slavery), their acquisitiveness, their complaisant servility towards vizirs and pashas whose favour they exploited and whose treasures they shared, and finally by force of their education, more advanced and

more European than that of the Turks, the Greeks formed the intellectual aristocracy of the empire. Almost as numerous as and much more wealthy than their masters, they covered western Asia, the Archipelago, the Peloponnesus and other Turkish provinces of Europe with a population of eleven million souls. The long oppression of the domination of their conquerors had weakened without exhausting the ever-existing vigour of their nationality. Belonging to one race, possessing one religion, one language, they were united by a spirit of consanguinity which might readily have found expression in national independence. Had they possessed arms and knowledge of their use they could have revindicated their name and their laws.

If the emperor Alexander, who after the invasion of France in 1814 had become the Agamemnon of the kings of Europe, had had the perfidy of Catherine II, Greece, provoked or even encouraged by him, would have long before arisen in rebellion against Sultan Mahmud. But the emperor Alexander refused obstinately to provoke or even to tolerate revolt among the Greeks. It was not only the incontestable probity of that prince, it was also his policy which was opposed to the solicitations of the Greeks. Without doubt the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire would enfeeble in Mahmud a frequently hostile neighbour, but the Greek revolution would enfeeble the theory of the sovereignty of a great empire, and that theory of the legitimacy of thrones which he was sincerely trying to make a political religion in Europe.

Accordingly he rejected all the covert propositions which the Greeks, hoping to incline him towards a Greek revolution, addressed to him. He knew how to await the future gifts which an unknown destiny might bestow on his empire; he did not wish to purchase them at the price of disloyalty towards the sultan. But if he was the czar of his armies, he was not of public opinion. Opinion resolved to do violence to his scruples, and entreaty was changed into conspiracy.

This Greek conspiracy in spite of the emperor had its cradle in Russia; it was hatched by European liberalism in the armies of Alexander, not on the mountains of Olympus. There was filial vengeance in its patriotism. Prince Ypsilanti, the first conspirator, was the son of one Ypsilanti beheaded by Selim III for having corresponded with the hospodar of Wallachia.[g] Ypsilanti entered the Rumanian principalities in 1820, and we have already seen the results of his intrigues in Moldavia and Wallachia, ending in his flight and death.[a]

The proclamation and the emissaries of Ypsilanti had given to the Peloponnesus the signal for independence. Kolokotronis, a leader in the first unsuccessful insurrection, who had retired some years before to the isle of Zante, and in whom years and exile had only ripened heroism, and whose father, brothers, and near relatives had all perished under the sword of the Turks, had again landed upon the continent and had reorganised his bands of exiles in the mountains. The archbishop of Patræ (or Patras), Germanos, orator, pontiff, and warrior, had convened all the chiefs of the clergy in the caverns of the Erymanthus mountains to arrange with them the insurrection of all their churches. He had summoned the Christians to separate themselves forever from the infidels, and to retire with their priests, their wives, and their children into the mountains, to organise there the holy war and thence to burst forth upon the Ottomans. At his voice the cities and the villages were deserted; the Turks, astonished at the solitude, attempted a few assaults upon these bands of men whom they thought could easily be brought back to servitude; they were everywhere driven from the mountains, and soon ejected from the cities in which they had reigned the day before.

Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, Acarnania, Ætolia, the Peloponnesus, Eubœa, and the Archipelago had become battle-fields on which perished alternately tyrants and slaves. Ali Pasha, the Albanian rebel, in order to gain allies against the Turks, addressed a proclamation to the Suliotes, whom he had formerly expelled, and gave back to them their lands and fortresses, together with cannon and ammunition. At the approach of the peasants, following their priests and leaders, and descending in thousands from the mountains, all the towns arose and massacred the Turks, and drove them back into the forts. The massacres and crimes of liberty equalled those of tyranny. The Peloponnesus was fire and blood, under the cross as under the crescent; three centuries of cumulative servitude were the revenge for three centuries of oppression. The two races and the two religions counted as many hangmen, as many victims, the one as the other. Europe shuddered with horror at the recital of atrocities. Two races, two nations, two religions grappled with each other, from the shores where the waves beat upon the islands to the summits of Pindarus and of Thessaly. Patræ, Missolonghi were entombed under their ruins. The popular hymn of insurrection and despair, the *Marseillaise* of the cross, written by the Thessalian Rigas, burst forth upon the mountains, and blended with the sacred songs of the Hellenic clergy.

GRECIAN NOBLEMAN
(Sixteenth Century)

"Until when," it cried, "shall we live in exile among the rocks of the mountains, wandering in the forests, hidden in the caverns of the earth? Let us arise, and if we must die, let our country die with us. Arise! the law of God, the sacred equality of his creatures, let these be our cause. Let us swear on the crucifix to break the yoke which bows down our heads! Suliotes! and you, Spartans! emerge from your retreats, leopards of the mountains, eagles of Olympus, vultures of Agrapha, Christians of the Save, and of the Danube, brave Macedonians, to arms! let your blood burn like fire! Dolphins of the seas! Alcyons of Hydra, of Ipsara, of the Cyclades, do you hear in your waves the voice of your country? Ride upon your ships, seize the thunderbolt, strike, burn to its roots the tree of tyranny; unfold your banners and let the cross triumphant become the flag of victory and of liberty!"

Fanaticism of religion, of race and of nationality did not burn with a less brilliant flame among the Ottomans. They felt themselves called to a second conquest of the land conquered by their ancestors, by the sovereignty of Islam. The sultan in repressing the rebellion would have liked to preserve the rebellious population from ruin and death, for the annihilation of six million Greeks with their wealth and strength was suicide for the Porte. But the people and the janissaries, irritated and afraid, saw safety only in the extermination of the Christians and urged the government to executions and barbarities proportionate to their terror. The panic of the Moslems animated their ferocity. In the capital, people talked only of a universal conspiracy among the Christians to destroy the Turks.

The Greek patriarch Gregory, a man eighty years of age, was seized on Easter Sunday, clothed in his pontifical robes as he descended from the altar, and was hanged from the door of his cathedral. All the chiefs of the Greek clergy were seized at their altars the same night and were sacrificed on the steps of their churches. Europe looked on and shuddered, but no power as yet openly took up the cause of Christendom. Mahmud armed his fleet and intrusted it to his grand admiral Kara Ali.

All the islands of the Archipelago had responded to the massacres at Constantinople, to the threats of disarmament, to the departure of the Turkish fleet, by a general armament of their merchant ships. Tombasis, a bold mariner, on board the *Themistocles*, was appointed grand admiral of the insurgents. The fleet of Ipsara joined that of Tombasis. They cleared the sea of isolated Turkish war-ships, and, imitating the atrocities of the Ottomans, killed, drowned, or sold at auction the prisoners or Turkish pilgrims found on these vessels.

During these combats and these reciprocal massacres on the waters and shores of the Ægean Sea, Kurshid Pasha, at the head of the Ottoman army of Epirus, with half of his troops blockaded Ali Pasha in his capital, while with the other half he fought the rebellion in the Peloponnesus. In a desperate assault the aged Ali, causing himself in the midst of the firing to be carried to the breach in a litter, had triumphed and had sent back the prisoners. "The bear of the Pindarus is still alive," said Ali Pasha to his enemy; "thou mayest send to fetch thy dead for burial; I shall always act justly as long as thou fightest like a brave man, but two men will lose Turkey; it is a question of us two!"

European Sentiment

There were many influences which popularised in Europe the cause of Greek independence. The name of Greece became a sort of religion of the imagination in the literary world; the exploits—enlarged in the telling—of Bozzaris, Canaris, Kolokotronis, Mauromichales, Tombasis, those worthy descendants of Miltiades, of Leonidas, and of Themistocles; the sonorous echoes of that land, full of memories, the almost fabulous reports of victories won by a population of shepherds from the armies of a powerful empire, the prodigies of cruelty on the one side and of bravery on the other, thrilled popular sentiment, which has no other policy than its emotions. The public responded to the suffering of Greece with a cry of indignation against the persecutors, and of enthusiasm for the martyrs. Even the cause of American independence in 1775 had aroused France to less enthusiasm than that now aroused on the Christian continent by the cause of the Hellenes. This sentiment was purely individual, and did not involve the governments, which were still neutral and undecided. It gave to the Greeks, however, encouragement,

ammunitions, arms, and auxiliaries. Greek committees formed in all the capitals voted subsidies, armed ships, recruited officers and men, published journals, held lectures, wrote poems, multiplied even among the people legends in favour of the popular cause. Literature as a whole, that spontaneous and irresistible expression of unreflected and disinterested generosity in the heart of the people, was on the side of the sons of Homer, of Demosthenes, and of Plato by a sort of filial tradition for those fathers of human thought. Courageous adventurers of France, Germany, and England, such as General Fabvier, disembarked from merchant ships upon the coast of Morea, and assumed the nomadic life of the Mainotes or of the Palicari in order to teach war and tactics to shepherds. Byron, having a heart as heroic as his imagination, threw name, fortune, life itself into the cause of Greece. He equipped a ship, paid troops, gave subsidies to the treasury of the insurrection, shut himself up in the most dangerous city, took part in battle, and was ready to die for the glorious past and the doubtful future of a people which had been unacquainted even with his name.

Fabvier had followed the peasants into the mountains, and had disciplined them and trained them for war. At that moment Sultan Mahmud called Mehemet Ali, the pasha of half-independent Egypt, to the aid of imperilled Islam, and in consequence Ibrahim Pasha disembarked in the Morea with an Egyptian army and attempted the conquest of the Morea for the sultan.

The Attitude of Foreign Governments

But although the people heard the voices of the Greeks, their sovereigns still refused to hear them. The emperor of Russia, fearing to encourage in Greece the spirit of revolution which he had sworn to extinguish in France, in Italy, in Spain, and in Germany, abandoned his ambition to follow his principle. Metternich feared for Austria the eruption of revolutionary thought such as disturbed Germany. Prussia hesitated, as always, between England, Austria, and Russia. England regarded with disapproval the resurrection of a nation whose power would be disastrous to her, would enfeeble Turkey, would open the Dardanelles, perhaps to the future fleets of Russia, and would place in the Mediterranean a merchant marine to rival her own commercial advantages. France, finally, who does not calculate but feels, vacillated, sympathetic but undecided, between her pity for a Christian race and her old alliance with the sultans.

In 1827, Russia, France, and England assumed the rôle of armed arbitrators between Greece and the Ottoman Empire. Greece at that moment, having successively devoured the Turkish armies sent by Mahmud to reduce her to obedience, had finally succumbed to the Egyptian armies called to the aid of Islam and commanded by Ibrahim Pasha. Ibrahim, master of the Morea by his troops, and master of the sea by the Egyptian and Turkish fleets united in the harbour of Navarino, was waiting inactive for the result of the negotiations between the powers and the sultan, ready to execute the conditions of the treaty which should ensue and to evacuate or to retain the Greek continent. A month's armistice, to give time for negotiations, had been concluded between the belligerent parties. This armistice would expire October 20th, 1827. No declaration of war had been addressed to the Porte; on the contrary, a tacit peace existed between the Christian powers and the generalissimo of the Ottoman forces. The three admirals, Von Heyden, Codrington and de Rigny, stationed their fleets off the coasts of Morea like pacificatory witnesses and not like enemies, and held daily communications with

Ibrahim. They imposed on him only a cessation of hostilities against the Greeks in the interests of humanity—an appeal which Ibrahim understood and respected while waiting the result of the negotiations begun at Constantinople.

After some time the three foreign fleets entered the harbour and anchored, as in times of peace, deck to deck, opposite the Ottoman vessels, whose chief officers were on shore in full security. The laws of peace, the laws of war, neutrality, loyalty, humanity, alike imposed on the commanders of these fleets a peaceful attitude conformable indeed to the intentions of their governments, but inoffensive towards a friendly fleet. Such was the course imposed by the written instructions given the three admirals. But, urged on by the popularity which was at that moment possessed by the Greek revolution, and impatient to distinguish themselves by brave deeds at any price, they allowed themselves to be governed by their own initiative.

The "Battle" of Navarino (1827 A.D.)

A chance or else a premeditated shot—it is not known from what ship, so great was the confusion of five fleets in one harbour—gave the pretext or the signal for the engagement. The English admiral commanded by right of age; sure of the support of his two colleagues, he was the first to fire upon the Ottoman fleet; Admiral de Rigny and Admiral von Heyden opened fire on the still mute vessels before them. A continuous fire from the volleys of the three squadrons demolished the Turkish ships one by one. At anchor, motionless, pressed one upon another, communicating from deck to deck the fire which was devouring them, the Egyptians and Turks responded to the fire of the Christians with the courage of fatalism. Their batteries being extinguished by the waves into which they sank, the men shot through the gun-holes, to the last cannon which remained above the level of the water; the vessels, bursting under the explosion of the magazines, covered the sky with their smoke and the harbour with their débris; the cordage cut by bullets or burned by flames let the smoking hulls of their ships drift upon the reefs. In two hours eight thousand of their mariners had filled up the decks with their dead bodies. A few hundred men, themselves wounded by the batteries of the forts, alone survived to testify on the European ships to the distress of the Ottoman fleet. The smoke as it cleared away discovered only the fiery remnants of ninety ships of war, of which the waves threw the débris, as if in expiation, at the foot of the cliffs of New Greece.

Such was not the victory but the crime of Navarino. A cry of horror was raised in Asia, a cry of deliverance saluted the event in Greece, a cry of enthusiasm applauded it in Europe. Europe hesitated as to what name should be given to this conflagration of two fleets. Heroic it seemed to some men, to others it was an act of dishonour. Silence at length swathed it, lest scrutiny should too clearly reveal its iniquity.[g]

Müller on the Battle of Navarino

Ibrahim's fleet consisted of 130 ships, among them eighty-seven war-ships with 2,438 cannon, to which the allies could oppose only twenty-seven ships with 1,276 cannon. Codrington was commander-in-chief of the fleet of the allies. His ship *Asia* was anchored at the distance of a pistol-shot from that of the Turkish admiral. The command was not to fire unless the Turks began first. The latter had already fired several shots, several people had

already been killed on the English ships, and yet Codrington held back. Thereupon the hostile admiral's ship fired on the *Asia* and the fight began. Vehemently did the Englishman deal destruction to his enemies; the French and Russian fleets were equally successful; courage and discipline were on their side, confusion, bewilderment, and cowardice on the other. The enemy's ships were in confusion; three thousand cannon volleyed forth in a narrow basin surrounded by mountains. Fearful was the sound of their thunder! The battle lasted from four to six in the afternoon; between five and six thousand of the enemy were killed, and almost their whole fleet was destroyed. Only twenty-nine war-vessels, which were hardly seaworthy, remained. The harbour was covered with débris, and through the whole night might be heard the explosions of useless ships blown up by the Turks. Ibrahim returned to Navarino in the evening and saw nothing before him but destruction. The admirals informed him that at the least sign of hostility the remainder of his ships and the forts would be completely destroyed by their batteries. Thereupon he hoisted the white flag, and sent to Alexandria as many of his boats as could be made fit for sea; the allies retreated and repaired their ships.

THE ORGANISATION OF GREECE

Even then the Porte would enter into no negotiations concerning the pacification of Greece, and the disagreement between it and the ambassadors of the three powers became so violent that the latter left the country. Thereupon a number of European inhabitants were turned out of Turkey. The Russo-Turkish war was beginning. In order to reap the last possible advantage from the occurrence at Navarino, the French general Maison, in accordance with a resolution of the congress of London, landed in the Morea with fourteen thousand men, forced Ibrahim to set sail for Egypt, and compelled the garrison to capitulate, so that in October, 1828, the Morea at least was free, and nothing stood in the way to prevent the Greeks from establishing an independent government.

President Capo d'Istria had entered upon Greek soil on January 18th, 1828, hailed as a saviour by all parties. He might have been one had he not, as Russian minister, become too accustomed to absolute rule, and if he had not wrongly judged conditions upon his return to Greece. His presidency was a sort of dictatorship; his board of councillors consisted of his own creatures. The independence of the provincial and commercial magistrates was abolished, and an administration by prefects introduced in which no free election of magistrates was possible. In order to make his will all-powerful, he had his spies, like Metternich; he limited the freedom of the press and violated the secrecy of correspondence. Schools were indeed established, but care was taken that no independent ideas might penetrate their precincts. In the home of Plato, Plato's *Gorgias* might not even be read because the author expressed himself too strongly against tyrants. Towards all who had acquired power during the Greek revolution he showed no less hatred than the Spanish Ferdinand showed against the victorious opponents of Napoleon. Towards the Hydriots, towards the independent Mainotes, towards those proud chiefs who for eight years had carried the fate of their land on the points of their daggers, he acted like a Russian pasha.

On March 22nd, 1829, it was decided by the three powers that Greece should form a hereditary monarchy; that it should reach to the bays of Ceuta and Vola on the north, but that it should be tributary to Turkey. On Feb-

ruary 3rd, 1830, these measures were altered in order to make Greece wholly independent and free from tribute; its boundaries on the north were considerably limited, and Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was named prince. But the prince, who saw that with such narrow boundaries he would have to begin his rule by recovering from the Porte by force of arms the remaining Greek provinces, declined the proffered crown. To whom was this more acceptable than to Capo d'Istria? But his days were numbered.[h]

On October 9th, 1831, he was murdered on his way to church by George Mauromichales, a member of the Mainote family of patriots towards whom Capo d'Istria had behaved in a high-handed manner. His brother was at once appointed ruler by the senate, but he was obliged to abdicate on April 9th, 1832. The conference of London then chose Prince Otto of Bavaria to be king of Greece.[a]

KING OTTO (1833 A.D.)

On January 30th, 1833, King Otto landed in Nauplia. Since he was not yet of age a regency of three persons was appointed; three thousand five hundred Bavarian soldiers were to keep order until a national army was created. On December 25th, 1833, the seat of government was transferred from Nauplia to Athens, which was now little more than a heap of ruins, but it soon received a university, and in a short time became one of the most important ports in the Orient. King Otto, who had assumed the reins of government upon July 1st, 1835, and in the following year had married Princess Amalie of Oldenburg, first had Armansperg, and then von Rudhardt, as his prime minister. After the latter had been dismissed in 1837 in consequence of a conflict with the English ambassador Lyons, who accused him of friendship for Russia, only Greeks were received into the ministry; but the harmony was no greater. On September 15th, 1843, a military revolt compelled the king, who made no objection, to give Greece a representative assembly. But even this could not remove the dissatisfaction of the people, who dreamed of a Byzantine Empire.

There was intense excitement in Greece over the Crimean war. Hatred against the old oppressors was aroused; the narrowness of the northern boundary was more keenly felt; the moment seemed to have come to expand; there was talk even of a renewal of the Byzantine Empire. To dampen these warlike desires the Western powers sent a few ships into the Piræus; French troops landed and compelled the government with their aid to keep revolutionary tendencies in check. Besides a few sorties of plundering Klephts in Thessaly and Epirus, nothing of importance transpired. The lack of energy, however, on the part of King Otto gave great offence to the Hellenic people, and there began to be talk regarding the appointment of a new monarch.

The Peace of Paris, which guaranteed its old boundaries to Turkey, gave great dissatisfaction to Greece. From that time on King Otto was in a difficult position. In February, 1862, a military revolt broke out in Nauplia, which was mildly suppressed by Otto. But while the king with his wife was visiting Morea in October, the cities of Vonitsa, Patræ, and Athens arose against him; a provisory government was established which demanded the abdication of Otto.

Upon hearing of this rebellion the royal pair returned to the Piræus on October 23rd, but were not allowed to land; they went back to Salamis and embarked there upon an English ship, which took them to Trieste, whence they went home. The Greeks then chose Prince Alfred, the second son of

the queen of England, to be their king, but the English cabinet declined this honour. On March 30th, 1863, they chose Prince George of Glücksburg, whose father had been destined by the London protocol to be king of Denmark.

KING GEORGE (1863 A.D.)

The young George landed at the Piræus on October 30th. He had made the union of the Ionian Islands with Greece a condition of his acceptance. England acquiesced in this, and the Greek nation regarded it as a favourable augury that the new king brought this inheritance as a dowry, and hoped that he would meet the national desires in regard to Turkey. This hope was confirmed in 1866 when King George openly took sides with the Cretans in their revolt against Turkey and did not hinder the departure of volunteers for Crete.

Crete Becomes the Property of the Porte (1868 A.D.)

The ambassadors of France, Russia, Prussia, and Italy, for fear that an oriental war might arise and all Europe be involved therein, advised the Porte in March, 1867, to cede Crete to Greece. But England, who feared that Russian influence in the Orient would be increased thereby, encouraged the Porte not to give way. The Cretans would have been forced even then to succumb if they had not been supported by volunteers, weapons, and money from Greece. If King George did not wish to be dethroned like his predecessor Otto, it was necessary for him to have more sympathy than the latter had shown for the Great Greek movement, which regarded Thessaly, Epirus, and the Archipelago as stations and Constantinople as the goal. The Turkish threats of war did not alarm the Greek government; but when in November, 1868, the Greek foreign minister declared openly in the chamber that the policy of the government with regard to Crete was one of annexation, and when bands of volunteers with colours flying passed the windows of the Turkish embassy in Athens, the patience of the Turk was finally exhausted. On December 10th he sent an ultimatum to Athens, and when this was rejected the Grecian ambassador in Constantinople received his passes. Both powers prepared for war. Diplomacy scarcely dared breathe. Count Bismarck suggested to the French foreign minister that he summon the signatories of the Peace of Paris to a special conference. This began its sittings at Paris on January 9th, 1869. The demands of Turkey—that Greece should stop the organisation of troops of volunteers, should disarm or exclude from its ports the corsair ships, and should permit the return to Crete of the Cretan families which had emigrated to Greece—were recognised as just, and, through a delegate from the conference, Greece was invited to accept them. A change of ministry made this possible, and diplomatic relations between the Porte and Greece were resumed. The island of Crete was obliged to become subject to the Porte.[h]

Greece is Again Brought to War with Turkey (1897 A.D.)

In 1875 Charilaos Trikoupis was made prime minister, and for twenty years he played a conspicuous part in Greek politics, occupying most of that time alternately with Delyannis, the office of chief of the cabinet. Delyannis, contrary to Charilaos Trikoupis, was an exponent of the martial desires of the nation. The policy of Trikoupis was wise and far-sighted and aimed at devel-

oping the country to the extent of its ability. But as it was so often interrupted by the rash measures of his opponent Delyannis, nothing great was accomplished.

The Russo-Turkish war of 1877 caused intense excitement in Greece, and a coalition ministry was formed under the old patriot Canaris, but Trikoupis was the controlling spirit and prevented Greece from taking an active part in the war. After the capture of Plevna, Delyannis came into power and at once organised an invasion of Thessaly, but the peace between the belligerent parties checked this warlike movement.

GEORGE I
(1845–)

The congress of Berlin left the question of the frontier between Greece and Turkey to be settled jointly by those two countries, but as they failed to come to an agreement, a convention at Constantinople in 1881 intrusted the definition of the boundary to a commission consisting of representatives of the six powers and of the two interested parties. The question was settled in the same year, and Greek troops occupied the territory ceded to them by the decision of the commission.

Another question between Turkey and Greece was still unsettled—that of Crete. The disagreement was increased by the organisation of the Greek nationalist movement and the formation of the patriotic society Ethniké Hetæria in 1894. This secret society aimed at arousing an insurrection in Macedonia, and in 1896 it sent its emissaries into Crete also. The evident determination of the Porte not to carry out the promised reforms in that island caused great indignation in Greece. The matter came to a head in 1897, when Turkish troops fired on the Christians in Canea. Two days later (February 6th) two war-ships were sent to Canea from Greece, and on the 10th Prince George left for the scene of action.

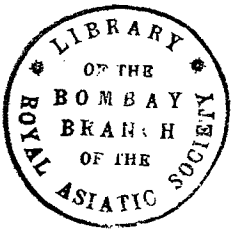
The powers, however, intervened as in every instance when trouble occurs between Turkey and her neighbours or dependents. It was declared that Crete could not be annexed to Greece, but that the island should receive an autonomous administration under the suzerainty of the sultan. This decision only increased the hostile attitude of the Greeks, who were now eager for war with Turkey and commenced to make active preparations.

Turkey declared war on April 17th, 1897, and in a little over a month the Greeks had been defeated and the campaign was over. The war had been provoked rashly and with undue cause; the Greek troops were unprepared, and were easily driven to retreat before the superior numbers and discipline

of their opponents. Their hasty abandonment of Larissa after the fighting at Mati on April 23rd was disorderly in the extreme. That event and the battles of Pharsalus, Velestino, and Domokos were the main incidents deciding the campaign in Thessaly. The campaign in Epirus, the other scene of operations, was no more successful than that of Thessaly. An armistice was signed on May 20th, and peace was definitely concluded on December 6th. Turkey received an indemnity of four million pounds Turkish, and the frontier was slightly modified. The only result to Greece of all the agitation—besides the impoverishment of many of its inhabitants—was that Crete was taken away from Turkish rule; in 1898 Prince George of Greece was made high commissioner of the island. Under him quiet was restored to Crete, and the Moslem population became gradually more reconciled to its Christian neighbours. In 1901, although the Cretan assembly voted for a union with Greece, the powers objected, and Prince George was appointed to hold the position of high commissioner for three years more.

Domestic Agitation

In Greece itself political agitation still continued. In 1901 the ministry was forced to resign in consequence of the excitement caused by the proposal to publish a translation of the Gospel into the modern Greek usually spoken in the kingdom. The translation had been made at the order of the queen, but the opposition was so violent, particularly on the part of the students, that the plan was abandoned. The next year, 1902, there was another change of ministry; Zaimis, a moderate conservative, went out of power and Delyannis came in. Owing to the opposition of the hostile party, which had hidden the keys to the house of parliament, the members of the government were forced to the undignified proceeding of entering the house by the fire-escape through the back windows. Early in 1903 Delyannis resigned, and M. Theotokis, M. Ralli, M. Theotokis again, and then M. Ralli again headed ministries. In 1904 Delyannis once more became premier, and in March of the following year his party secured a large majority at the general election; but in June he was assassinated by a young man who felt himself aggrieved because the government had taken repressive measures against gambling. M. Ralli then once more formed a cabinet.[a] In 1906 M. Theotokis formed a new cabinet and triumphed at the ensuing general election. In the same year Athens was visited by King Edward and Queen Alexandra, who witnessed the Olympic games, and in 1907 by the king of Italy.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BALKAN PENINSULA

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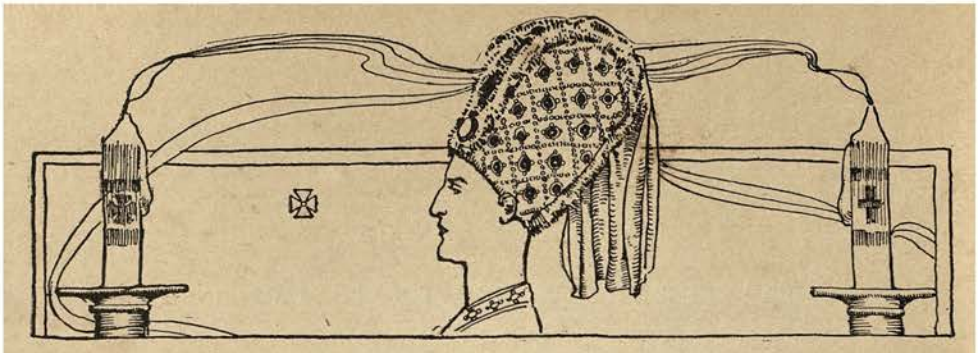


CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE BALKAN STATES AND MODERN GREECE

I. RUMANIA

Roman Era

Country now called Rumania is occupied in the fourth century by Getæ and Dacians. They are mentioned in connection with Philip of Macedon, Alexander the Great, and Lysimachus. First authentic date is from about a century before our era.

B.C.
111 First conflict between Romans and Dacians.

A.D.
86 Decebalus crosses into Mœsia and defeats Romans.
89 Decebalus conquered by Julianus.
90 Domitian makes peace with Decebalus.
101 Trajan makes expedition into Dacia.
102 Dacians defeated by Trajan.
105–106 Second expedition of Trajan ending in complete defeat of Dacians. Dacia becomes Roman province, colonised by Romans.
ca 270–275 Aurelian withdraws Roman legions and establishes province called *Dacia Aureliani* on south bank of Danube.

Barbarian Era

For about a century after departure of Romans the country is overrun by Goths.
327 Constantine incorporates land with the empire for a brief space.
361 Goths said to accept Christianity.
375 to about 453 country overrun by Huns.
453 to about 576 land is ruled by Gepidæ.
564 or 576 Gepidæ give way to Lombards and Avars. Avars rule intermittently until
610–614 when they are defeated by Heraclius.
678–680 Bulgars cross the Danube, and from 893–1018 Rumania is largely in Bulgarian hands.
839 Hungarians settle in eastern Wallachia.
894 Hungarians are driven into the Carpathians. They are succeeded in Rumania by Petchenegs and Kumani.
1227 Kumani converted to Christianity.
1240 Succumb to Tatars.

INDEPENDENT PRINCIPALITIES OF WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA.

Wallachia

1290 Principality of Wallachia is founded by **Radul Negru,** at head of emigrants from Transylvania, in revolt against Hungary.

1310 Radul dies and is succeeded by his sons **John Bessaraba** and
1325 **Alexander Bessaraba.**
1330 Alexander defeats Charles of Hungary.
1365 Alexander is succeeded by his son **Ladislaus.** He fights successfully against Louis of Hungary.
1372 Ladislaus dies, and is succeeded by his brother **Radul II.** Wallachia throws off Hungarian yoke almost completely.
1385 Radul is succeeded by his son **Dan.**
1386 He is dethroned and killed by his brother, **Mircea the Great.**
1387 Mircea makes alliance with Poland.
1389 Battle of Kosovo.
1391 Turks first cross Danube.
1393 Mircea makes treaty with Bayazid II.
1396 Mircea takes part in battle of Nikopoli and is punished by Turks for so doing. Wallachia becomes tributary to Turkey.
1418 Death of Mircea. Country is torn by civil war. **Michael,** son of Mircea, **Dan II,** his cousin, **Radul III, Vlad the Devil,** occupy the throne at different times and for short intervals.
1448 In second battle of Kosovo, between Hunyady and Turks, Wallachians go over to Turks.
1452 **Ladislaus III** begins to rule.
1456 Ladislaus is succeeded by **Vlad the Impaler,** who fights successfully against the Turks.
1460 Vlad capitulates to Muhammed II.
1462 Vlad is attacked and dethroned by Stephen of Moldavia. Wallachia is now completely under Moldavian control. Turks place **Radul the Handsome** on the throne, but in
1465 Stephen dethrones Radul and gives rule to **Laiote Bessaraba.**
1476 Stephen dethrones Laiote, who has been unfaithful to him, and places Vlad the Impaler again on the throne. He is soon overthrown and killed by Laiote.
1481 Laiote is killed in battle by Stephen, who places Vlad's son, **Vlad the Monk,** on the throne.
1494 Vlad is overthrown by his son **Radul,** called the **Great,** who goes over to Hungarians.
1507 Radul dies, and is succeeded by his brother **Mihnea the Bad.**
1511 Mihnea is succeeded by **Vlad,** a brother of Radul the Great.
1512 **Nagul Bessaraba** is placed on the throne by Turks.
1521 Nagul dies, and in disturbed period which follows eleven princes succeed one another in space of twenty-five years. 1521, **Theodosius**; 1521–22, **Radul the Monk**; 1522–24, **Radul of Afumatzi**; 1524–26, **Ladislaus**; 1526–29, second reign of Radul Afumatzi; 1529–30, **Moses**; 1530–32, **Vlad**; 1532–34, **Vintila**; 1534, **Radul Paisii**; 1534–36, **Peter Argesh**; 1536–46, second reign of Radul Paisii.
1526 Battle of Mohacs decides Turkish supremacy. Turks begin to settle in land and build mosques.
1591 **Alexander** becomes voyevod, and introduces janissary guard.
1593 **Michael the Brave** is chosen voyevod, and during his reign Turkish yoke is thrown off. Michael allies himself with Sigismund Báthori of Transylvania and with Aaron of Moldavia.
1594 "Wallachian Vespers." All Turks in two principalities are massacred. Michael invades Turkish territory.
1595 Turks are defeated at Mantin on the Danube. Sivan Pasha, the grand vizir, is likewise defeated by Michael.
1597 Michael makes peace with sultan.
1599 Michael defeats Andreas Báthori, who has succeeded Sigismund, and seizes Transylvania. He also expels voyevod of Moldavia, thus ruling over three principalities.
1601 Transylvania revolts. Michael is murdered and country falls under Turkish rule. After him rulers buy their appointments at Constantinople. Greek influence gradually gains ground. At first **Serban** of Bessaraba family rules.
1610 Serban is deposed. Turks continually change rulers.
1633 **Matthew Bessaraba** introduces short period of prosperity.
1640 First book printed in Rumanian is published at Bukharest.
1656 Matthew dies. Turks transfer Wallachian capital from Tirgovist to Bukharest.
1674 Wallachia and Moldavia ask aid of Russia against the Turks, but negotiations come to nothing.
1679 **Serban Cantacuzenus** mounts throne of Wallachia and country benefits by his reign.
1683 Wallachia and Moldavia are forced to take part in siege of Vienna, but secretly aid the besieged.
1688 Cantacuzenus dies, and is succeeded by his nephew, **Constantine Brancovano.**
1709 Constantine concludes secret treaty with Peter the Great.
1714 Brancovano is deposed and beheaded by Turks.
1716 His successor of the Cantacuzenus family is likewise deposed and killed. Wallachia falls under Fanariot régime. **Nicholas Maurocordatos** is first ruler.

Moldavia

Different dates ranging from 1288 to 1342 are given for the foundation of the principality. It is probably established soon after that of Wallachia, under **Dracosh,** who is succeeded by his sons, **Sas** and **Balk,** during which time Moldavia is dependent on Hungary.

1349 **Bogdan** makes Moldavia independent.
1370 Bogdan dies, and is succeeded by his son **Latzcu.**
1374 Latzcu dies, and the Bogdan dynasty comes to an end. He is succeeded by a Lithuanian prince, **Juga Koriatovich.**
1375 Juga is killed by boyars, and is succeeded by a Wallachian prince of the Bessaraba family called **Peter Muchat.** Poland begins to lay claim to sovereignty over Moldavia.
1390 Peter is succeeded by his brother **Roman.**
1395 **Stephen,** brother of Roman, rules for one year. After him there is a struggle for supremacy between his sons **Stephen II** and **Peter II.**
1399 **Roman II** rules for a year.
1400 **Juga II,** son of Roman, rules for a short period.
1401 **Alexander the Good** is placed on throne by Mircea of Wallachia. He devotes himself to organising the country.
1433 Alexander dies, and a period of civil war sets in, the throne being disputed by his legitimate and illegitimate sons, who divide the country, sometimes two or three ruling at one time. First, **Elie** rules. Then, 1433–35, **Stephen III;** 1435–44, **Elie** and **Stephen III** together; 1444–47, **Stephen III, Roman III,** and **Alexander II;** 1455–57, **Peter III.**
1457 **Stephen the Great** mounts throne of Moldavia.
1462 Deposes Vlad the Impaler.
1475 Stephen defeats Turks.
1479 Stephen is defeated by Turks at Valea Alba.
1504 Stephen dies, and is succeeded by his son, **Bogdan III.**
1510 Bogdan concludes treaty with Poland.
1517 Bogdan dies, and during minority of his son country is governed by the council.
1522 **Stephen the Young** declares himself of age. He proves himself an unwise ruler, and in
1526 is poisoned by his wife at the instigation of the Poles. He is succeeded by **Peter Raresh,** a natural son of Stephen the Great.
1529 Peter defeats army of Ferdinand in supporting John Zapolya's claims to Hungary.
1531 Peter is defeated by Poles.
1538 Peter, who has become obnoxious to Turks, is defeated by them, and **Stephen Locusta** is placed on the throne.
1541 Peter again rules in Moldavia, having bought favour of Turks.
1546 Peter dies, and country passes wholly under Turkish domination. **Elias,** who now succeeds, becomes Mohammedan.
1551 Elias' rule comes to an end. He is succeeded by **Alexander.**
1561 **Jacob Basilicus,** an impostor of Greek origin, dethrones Alexander and seizes reins of government. He founds schools and introduces reforms.
1563 People rise and murder Jacob. Alexander is reinstated by Porte.
1572 Alexander is succeeded by **John the Terrible,** who gains some victories over the Turks, but in
1574 he is defeated and slain by them. Voyevods are now quickly made and deposed by the Porte.
1594 Moldavia under **Aaron** unites with Wallachia in killing Turks.
1600 Moldavia is annexed to Wallachia. **Jeremiah** flees to Poland. Upon Michael's defeat in Transylvania, Moldavia revolts and Jeremiah is reinstated. For some years Moldavia is under Polish supremacy.
1618 Turks again assert their power, and set up two rulers in succession, **Gratiani,** an Italian, and **Alexander,** a Greek.
1634 **Basil the Wolf** succeeds to throne and for twenty years the country enjoys prosperity. Basil introduces reforms, founds schools, revises laws. He fights, however, with Bessaraba of Wallachia, and is deposed by his subjects.
1683 **Duka** is obliged to supply contingent for siege of Vienna.
1711 **Dmetri Cantemir** concludes treaty with Peter the Great, making Moldavia protected vassal of Russia.
1716 Russian campaign against Turkey is unsuccessful. Cantemir takes refuge in Russia. Fanariot régime is now firmly established in Moldavia.

Fanariot Régime in Wallachia and Moldavia

From 1716 until 1822 the principalities are governed by Greeks from the Fanar (lighthouse) quarter of Constantinople, who obtain their appointments for money. In this period there are thirty-five different governors in Wallachia and thirty-three in Moldavia. The period is also characterised by Russo-Turkish wars and treaties.

1736 Russo-Turkish war.
1739 Peace of Belgrade. Principalities restored to Turkey.
1747 **Constantine Maurocordatos** of Wallachia tries to abolish serfdom.
1769 Russo-Turkish war. Principalities occupied by Russian troops.
1774 Peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji. Principalities restored to Turkey, but Russian right of interference recognised. Bukowina occupied by Austrians. Gregoriu Ghika of Moldavia founds school at Jassy. Sultan, in spite of treaty, appoints **Alexander Ypsilanti** to rule in Wallachia.
1777 Bukowina is formally ceded to Austria. **Constantine Murusi** appointed governor of Moldavia.
1783 Russians force a hatti-sherif from the Porte defining status of principalities.
1787 Russo-Turkish war in which Austria joins against Turkey.
1792 Peace of Jassy. Dniester made boundary of Russia.
1801 Rebels ravage Wallachia and are then succeeded by Turkish troops.
1802 Russia obtains provision that rulers are to hold their positions for seven years.
1806 Russo-Turkish war. Russians again overrun principalities.
1812 Peace of Bukharest. Principalities handed over to Turkey. Bessarabia ceded to Russia.
1821 Greek war of independence breaks out. Moldavia, incited by Ypsilanti, takes part of Greeks. Wallachia under Vladimirescu opposes them. Turkish troops occupy countries and Fanariot rule is abolished.

Union of the Principalities

From this time national feeling continues to increase, which ends in uniting the two principalities.
1822 Native rulers are appointed, **Gregoriu Ghika** in Wallachia and **John Sturdza** in Moldavia. Russo-Turkish war again breaks out. Russians occupy principalities.
1826 Treaty of Akerman. Principalities placed under Russian protection while tributary to Porte.
1828 Russo-Turkish war. Principalities occupied by Russian troops.
1829 Treaty of Adrianople ratifies privileges granted to principalities in 1826; governors to be appointed for life. First Rumanian newspaper issued.
1834 *Règlement organique* regulating internal administration of country is ratified by Porte. Russian troops withdraw. **Alexander Ghika** rules in Wallachia; **Michael Sturdza** in Moldavia.
1842 **George Bibesco** succeeds in Wallachia. He, like his predecessor, is wholly under Russian influence.
1848 Revolution breaks out, but is suppressed by Turks and Russians.
1849 Treaty of Balta-Limani. Privileges of principalities are restricted. **Gregoriu Ghika** appointed ruler in Moldavia and **Barbu Stirbeiu** in Wallachia.
1853 Crimean War breaks out. Russians occupy country. They are succeeded by Austrians.
1856 Treaty of Paris. Russian protection over country abolished. European commission appointed to revise laws. Independent internal administration guaranteed by Porte.
1857 Representative councils of two countries vote to unite into one principality Rumania.
1858 Congress of Paris rejects this plan, but appoints one chief common council for two countries, under separate rulers.
1859 Two assemblies elect the same ruler, **Alexander Cuza,** whose election is finally ratified by powers and Porte.
1862 Two special assemblies are replaced by one assembly, and a single ministry is established.
1864 Cuza by a *coup d'état* abolishes national assembly.
1866 Cuza is forced to abdicate. Prince **Karl Ludwig** of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen chosen ruler. New constitution drawn up.
1869 Charles marries Princess Elizabeth of Wied, widely known by her name "Carmen Sylva."
1877 Rumania makes treaty with Russia, allowing latter a passage through her country. Porte objects, and Rumania declares her independence, joins Russia, and storms the Grivitza redoubt at Plevna. She is rewarded by being compelled to cede Bessarabia to Russia, in Treaty of San Stefano, getting Dobrudscha in return.
1878 Treaty of Berlin ratifies this decision.
1880 Independence of Rumania formally recognised by powers.
1881 Prince **Charles** crowned king of Rumania.
1885 Independence of Rumanian Orthodox Church recognised by patriarch at Constantinople.
1891 Bratiano, one of most prominent Rumanian statesmen, dies at age of seventy-six. Twenty-fifth anniversary of king's reign celebrated with great enthusiasm.
1893 Prince Ferdinand of Rumania, nephew of the king and heir-apparent to the throne, marries Princess Maria of Coburg, granddaughter of Queen Victoria and of Czar Alexander.

II. BULGARIA

Early History to End of First Empire

Between third and seventh centuries A.D. Balkan Peninsula becomes settled by Slavs. In the second half of the seventh century a tribe of Finnish Bulgars cross Danube and occupy country now called Bulgaria.

A.D.

164–679 Old Bulgarian chroniclers mention fifteen princes who ruled during this period.

634–641 **Kurt** or **Kurat**, a Bulgarian prince, makes treaty of peace with Emperor Heraclius.

679 **Asparuch** (640–700) subdues Slavs and founds a powerful monarchy in Mœsia. Although Slavs lose their names, Bulgarians lose their nationality. Amalgamation of two races takes two hundred and fifty years.

700 **Tervel** succeeds Asparuch; protects Justinian II in his exile.

705 Justinian confers title of czar upon Tervel.

707 Justinian violates treaty with Bulgarians and is defeated by them.

717 Bulgarians help Greeks against Arabs.

720 Tervel is succeeded by a king of the **Dulo** dynasty.

748 He is succeeded by **Sevar.** Nothing more is recorded of these two princes.

753 **Kormisos** usurps the throne. Constantine V undertakes a campaign against him.

755 Constantine forces Kormisos to make peace.

759 Kormisos defeats emperor at Varna.

760 Rebellions break out in Bulgarian empire. Kormisos disappears from the scene. Many Slavs migrate to Asia Minor. Bulgarians name **Telek** to be their prince. He falls upon the Byzantine provinces.

763 Telek is defeated by Constantine and killed by his own subjects. His successor, **Salim,** son-in-law of Kormisos, makes peace with Byzantines and is therefore deposed.

764 His successor, **Bajan,** makes peace with Constantine. Bajan's successor, **Toktu,** is killed in a battle with the emperor.

765 Byzantine troops ravage a large part of Bulgaria. A change in the inner confusion of the realm is brought about by the accession to the throne of **Cerig.**

774 Constantine makes peace with Cerig, but treacherously attacks him.

775 In another expedition the Byzantines are defeated. Cerig by a clever trick finds out from the emperor the names of all the traitors in his kingdom and kills them.

777 Cerig, for an unknown reason, flees to Constantinople to Leo IV, is baptised, and marries a royal princess. His successor, **Kardam,** renews war with the Byzantines, and compels the Romans to pay tribute (791–797).

802 **Crum,** the most powerful of Bulgarian princes, mounts the throne. He conquers a large part of eastern Hungary and the Byzantine provinces up to Constantinople.

809 Crum captures Sofia. Nicephorus undertakes to avenge himself.

811 Nicephorus is defeated and killed, with slaughter of the whole Byzantine army.

814 Crum appears before Constantinople, but is bought off.

815 Crum dies of apoplexy, and is succeeded by **Cok,** or, according to another account, by **Dukum** and the latter by **Diceng.**

820 **Omortag** succeeds to the throne. He concludes a treaty of peace with Leo for thirty years. Devotes his attention to the Franks, his neighbours on the west, but his conquests are not permanent. He persecutes the Christians. The name of Omortag's successor is not known with certainty. Both **Presjam** and **Malomir,** the youngest son of Omortag, are mentioned.

ca 852 **Boris I** mounts the throne. During his reign Christianity is introduced into the country through the preaching of Constantine and Methodius.

864 Boris is baptised and takes name of Michael.

869 Church Council decides that Bulgaria belongs to Eastern Church.

888 Boris abdicates and retires to a monastery, leaving his eldest son, **Vladimir,** to rule, but after four years, on account of Vladimir's misrule, he returns.

893 Boris places his youngest son, **Simeon,** on the throne. Boris dies in 907 and becomes first national saint of Bulgarians. Simeon is the most important ruler of the Bulgarian people. Begins war with Byzantines, which lasts with few interruptions for thirty years. Under him Bulgarian dominion extends from the Black Sea to Mount Rhodope and from Olympus to the Albanian coast. Servia also is subject to him. Simeon adopts title of czar and elevates archbishopric to patriarchate.

927 Simeon dies, and is succeeded by his son, **Peter,** a peace-loving man, under whom Simeon's empire begins to decline.

963 **Shishman** founds rival empire in western Bulgaria.

967 Russians appear for the first time in Bulgarian history, being summoned by Nicephorus. Peter's reign is further characterised by the rise of the Bogomile heresy.

969 Peter dies: **David,** son of Shishman I, tries to unite two halves of empire, but is defeated in this plan by **Boris II,** son of Peter. In the summer of this year Sviatoslav, king of Russia, again attacks Bulgarians, and takes Boris captive.

970 Sviatoslav crosses Balkans and takes Philippopolis.
971 Zimisces comes to aid of Bulgarians, defeats Sviatoslav at Preslav and liberates Boris II, but Danubian Bulgaria becomes Byzantine province. Boris II and the patriarch Damian are deposed. In the west Bulgarian empire Shishman's sons and successors, **David, Moses,** and **Aaron,** are killed in the never-ending battles. **Samuel** alone is left. He becomes czar and rules for forty years.
976 Death of Zimisces. Bulgarians in Mœsia rise and soon all lands on the Danube are in Samuel's possession.
981 Basil II marches against Sofia, but is defeated by Samuel. Fifteen years of peace follow. Samuel fortifies Durazzo and the Adriatic coast land; fights with Vladimir, Servian ruler, forces him to make peace, and gives him his daughter in marriage.
996 Second war with Byzantium. Samuel conquers at Thessalonica, but is defeated near Thermopylæ and escapes with difficulty to his island fortress of Presba. This marks decline of Samuel's fortunes.
1014 Third and last war breaks out. July 29th, Bulgarian army is destroyed at Belasica. Fifteen thousand captives are blinded by Basil II, who leaves every one-hundredth man one eye, so as to guide the others to their czar at Presba. Samuel is overcome with grief at the sight, and dies September 15th. He is succeeded by his son **Radomir,** also called **Gabriel Roman.** He is murdered by his cousin **John,** son of Aaron, who usurps the throne, but is opposed by nobles.
1018 Siege of Durazzo; John falls, and Bulgaria, left without a head, is torn between two parties, one wanting to surrender to Byzantium, the other wanting war. Basil II, at news of John's death, marches towards Bulgaria, overpowers the leaders of the war party by force and deceit, and Bulgaria becomes entirely dependent.

Byzantine Supremacy (1018–1186 A.D.)

This period of one hundred and seventy years has almost no national history.
1020 Basil II formally confirms rights of Bulgarian church. Thirty bishoprics, six hundred and eighty-five clergy, and six hundred and fifty-five colons. For governmental purposes Bulgaria is divided into districts called *themata*, each administered by a *strategus* or *dux*.
1025 Death of Basil II, followed by anarchy in the land. Bulgarian Czarina Maria mixes in intrigues and is placed in a cloister. In the first ten years after Basil's death the Danubian lands are visited three times by Petchenegs.
1040 **Peter Deljan,** son of Gabriel, escapes from confinement and is welcomed as czar by people. Slavs set up rival Czar **Tichomir.** Two armies meet, but people enthusiastically elect Deljan and stone Tichomir. Bulgarians fall upon Byzantine territory and make some progress, but Deljan is treacherously blinded by Alusian, younger brother of Czar Vladislav.
1041 Bulgarian leaders grace a triumph of Byzantine emperor.
1048–1054 The land is overrun by Petchenegs. They are followed by the Kumani.
1073 Bulgarian nobles ask Stephen of Servia to let his son Constantine Bodin rule over them. He is proclaimed czar under name of **Peter,** but is defeated by Greeks.
1081 Normans land in Albania, but their conquests are of short duration.
1087 **Tzelgu Khan** invades Thrace with Petchenegs and Kumani.
1094 Kumani cross Danube.
1122 Petchenegs cross Danube for last time and are defeated. Their place is taken by Kumani.
1186 Two brothers, **Peter** and **Ivan Asen,** rise and throw off Byzantine yoke. Bulgarians are aided by Servian prince Nemanya and engage with Byzantines in guerilla warfare, in which they are successful.
1188 Bulgarian czarina taken prisoner. Armistice ensues.
1190 Crusaders appear under Frederick Barbarossa. Peter tries in vain to persuade him to attack Constantinople. Bulgarians defeat Byzantines in pass of Berrhœa and conquer Varna and Sofia.
1196 Ivan Asen I is murdered by a noble named Ivanko. **Peter** rules with his young brother **Kaloyan.**
1197 Peter is killed and Kaloyan rules alone. In alliance with Kumani he extends Bulgarian dominion from Belgrade to the Black Sea and from the mouths of the Danube to the Struma. Kaloyan desires to establish friendly relations with Rome.
1199 Papal messenger appears in Tirnova. Kaloyan asks to be received into Roman Church in return for imperial crown.
1204 Latins capture Constantinople. In the same year Kaloyan is crowned by pope. Baldwin insults Kaloyan.
1205 Bulgarians, Greeks, and Kumani attack Latins. Baldwin is made prisoner by Bulgarians and his fate is never known.
1206 War between Bulgarians and Greeks. Kaloyan meets with military success.
1207 Kaloyan is murdered. The throne is usurped by his nephew, **Boril.**

1208 Boril is defeated by Franks at Philippopolis. About this time Bogomile heresy reaches its height.
1211 Boril persecutes Bogomiles.
1213 Frankish emperor Henry marries Boril's daughter.
1218 **Ivan Asen II,** son of Asen and rightful heir to throne, defeats and dethrones Boril. Asen extends his empire by his conquests and promotes its prosperity by his beneficent rule. Commerce is advanced and the national church established.
1230 Asen defeats Theodorus, ruler of Epirus. His empire touches three seas. He is allied with Servia by marriage. Asen attacks Constantinople also and forces young emperor Baldwin II to seek aid of France and England.
1236 Pope excommunicates Asen for his alliance with Votatzeg, emperor of Nicæa, against the Latins. Asen at different times makes and breaks treaties with Votatzeg, Béla of Hungary, and even with the pope.
1240 Asen marries Irene, daughter of captive Theodorus of Epirus.
1241 Death of Ivan Asen II. He is succeeded by his son, **Kaliman I**, a boy of nine years. In his reign the Tatars retreat to Russia from Croatia through Servia and Bulgaria. In three months all of Asen's conquests are lost.
1246 Kaliman dies, and is succeeded by his minor brother, **Michael Asen.** His mother, Irene, is regent. He, like his brother, is constantly at war.
1257 Michael Asen is defeated and killed by his cousin, who usurps the throne as **Kaliman II.** He is killed shortly after. Civil war sets in.
1258 The nobles elect **Constantine,** a grandson of Stephen Nemanya, to be their ruler, who marries a granddaughter of Asen II, and calls himself **Constantine Asen.** His reign of nineteen years is occupied with wars with Hungary and Byzantium, and the intrigues of his second wife, Maria, niece of Michael VIII of Nicæa.
1277 Constantine Asen becomes ill, and **Maria** seizes supreme power in the name of her son Michael. Meanwhile empire is invaded by Tatars. At this juncture **Ivailo** rises to power. He is a bold adventurer, originally a shepherd, but gathers together an army and defeats and kills the enfeebled czar Constantine. The people flock to his standard.
1278 Maria marries Ivailo. Emperor Michael brings forward another pretender to the throne, whom he marries to his daughter Irene.
1279 The report of Ivailo's death is spread and the people accept Michael's nominee, **Ivan Asen III,** as their czar, but he cannot maintain his place. Ivailo suddenly reappears.
1280 He defeats two armies which Michael sends against him. Ivan Asen III flees, and **George Terterij I** is crowned czar. Ivailo goes to Nogaj, khan of the Tatars, to ask for aid against the new czar and there loses his life.
1285 Tatars break into Bulgaria and Hungary. Terterij is obliged to give his daughter to Tchoki, Nogaj's son, to wife. In western Bulgaria **Shishman** reigns as independent prince. Terterij is obliged to flee before Tatars.
1288 Osman lays foundation of Ottoman Empire.
1292 Tatars establish Bulgarian noble **Smilek** as tributary czar.
1293 **Tchoki** drives Smilek from the throne.
1295 Tchoki is surprised and killed by **Svetslav,** son of Terterij I. He wins back territory from the Greeks, and under him the country enjoys a short season of peace. In the west Shishman's son **Michael** rules.
1320 **Stephen Uros III** succeeds to Servian throne and rules together with **Stephen Dushan.**
1322 Death of Svetslav. He is succeeded by his son **George Terterij II.**
1323 Death of Terterij II. Anarchy follows. Nobles elect **Michael,** the despot of Widdin. At first his reign is a success, and he seems to be on the point of adding Constantinople to his dominions, but the enmity with Servia has been growing, largely on account of Michael's having divorced his Servian wife to marry a Greek princess.
1330 Bulgarian forces are completely defeated by Servians at Küstendil, and their czar Michael is killed. Uros, however, does not annex the country, but reinstates Anna and makes her son, **Shishman II,** czar.
1331 Stephen Dushan is crowned king of Servia, and during the whole of his reign (twenty-four years) Bulgaria is wholly dependent on Servia. Anna and her son are forced to flee, and **Ivan Alexander,** a nephew of Czar Michael, is chosen czar. His sister Helena marries the Servian king and plays an important political rôle. Alexander's wife is a daughter of the Rumanian prince Ivanko Bessaraba, so that these three powers of the peninsula are united against Byzantium.
1340 Turks begin to appear in vicinity of Constantinople.
1346 Stephen Dushan has himself crowned as czar of Servians and Greeks. Bulgaria suffers from Turkish invasion.
1350 Council of Tirnova. Bogomiles denounced.
1353 Turks gain first stronghold in Europe (Dzemenlik).
1355 Death of Dushan, the last energetic opposer of the Turks.
1362 Capture of Eski-Sagra and Philippopolis by Turks. From now on Turks advance rapidly.

1365 Death of Czar Alexander. He is succeeded by **Shishman III,** who rules at Tirnova, while rival rulers establish themselves in other parts of the empire. He seizes Palæologus, who has come to implore aid against the Turks, and keeps him captive. Shishman becomes a Turkish vassal, and gives his sister to Murad in token of his good faith.
1378 Shishman retakes Sofia from his brother Sracinis, who does not cease his attacks on him.
1382 Sofia taken by Turks.
1388 Shishman, attacked by Turks, revolts almost immediately, but is forced to beg the sultan for his life, which is granted him.
1389 Battle of Kosovo, in which Turks completely defeat Christians.
1393 Fall of Tirnova after three months' siege. End of Shishman wrapped in mystery.
1396 Battle of Nikopoli. Supremacy of Turks finally decided. Strazhimir rules until 1398.

Bulgaria under the Turks

Bulgaria is now ruled like any other Turkish province, by governors appointed by the Porte. The national church loses its independence and falls under Fanariot rule.
1405 Constantine, son of Strazhimir, and Fruzin, son of Shishman, stir cities to rebel, but are soon quelled by Sultan Suleiman.
1595 A Ragusan agent induces Sigismund Báthori, prince of Transylvania, to summon Bulgarians to arms against the Turks, but the revolt is short-lived. Men and even women give vent to their warlike inclinations by engaging in a sort of chivalrous brigandage, directed only against Mohammedans. They are called *haiduti*, and play an important part in the history of the period.
1762 Paisii, at Athos, writes history of Bulgaria, which marks beginning of Bulgarian national movement.
1792 Another class of robbers called krjali appear. They devastate the country and are a terror to the inhabitants. They are patronised by Pasvan Oglu, a bold rebel who has established himself at Widdin in defiance of the Porte. Turks are powerless against them.
1804 Krjali are defeated in Rumelia, and survivors enter service of Pasvan Oglu.
1807 Pasvan Oglu dies, and krjali take service with government. Peace of Tilsit assigns Bulgaria to Russia.
1809 Russians occupy Dobrudscha.
1810 Russians overrun the country, and supported by Bulgarian volunteers occupy Plevna and other places.
1812 Napoleon's advance on Moscow forces them to retire. They conclude Treaty of Bukharest. Russians receive Bessarabia. Bulgaria profits nothing by Servian revolution and Russian war. Country is overrun with *delibashis* (government soldiers), who plunder everywhere.
1828 Bulgarian volunteers take part in Greek revolution. Russians capture Varna.
1829 Bulgarians help Russians in war with Turks. Mamarkov raises standard of Bulgarian freedom in Tirnova, but he is arrested by Russians, and Peace of Adrianople puts an end to movement.
1833 First move in church dispute. Bulgarians ask for native bishops instead of Fanariots.
1835 First public school is opened in Bulgaria. Within ten years there are fifty-three such schools.
1837 Sultan Mahmud II makes a tour of inspection through the Danubian and Balkan territories.
1839 The hatti-sherif of Gulhameh, a document in the nature of a constitution, is promulgated, in which nearly equal rights are granted to Christians and Mohammedans. But the reforms are mostly nominal.
1841 Bulgarian revolt in Nish and other places, due to exorbitant taxes.
1851 Another revolt breaks out in Widdin. Turks oblige patriarch to consecrate Bulgarian bishops.
1856 Hatti-Humayum announces new reforms. Civil and religious liberty for Christians.
1860 Congregation in Bulgarian church at Constantinople forces bishop to leave patriarch's name out of prayers. This example followed throughout Bulgaria.
1861 Ten thousand Tatars from Crimea colonised in Bulgaria.
1862 Commission of six Greeks and six Bulgarians meet to deliberate on church quarrel. The whole country demands expulsion of Fanariots. Bulgarian newspapers take part in demand.
1864 Trials of Bulgarians increased by settlement among them of the Circassians.
1870 Imperial Turkish firman establishes Bulgarian Exarchate.
1875 Revolt in Herzegovina and Bosnia.
1876 Rising in Bulgaria. Massacre of Batak. "Bulgarian atrocities" denounced by Mr. Gladstone.
1877 Czar declares war on Turkey. Bulgarians support Russians. Treaty of San Stefano stipulates for union of Bulgaria proper and Eastern Rumelia under one prince, but this treaty does not stand.

1878 Treaty of Berlin makes Bulgaria an autonomous and tributary principality under the suzerainty of the sultan. Boundaries exclude Eastern Rumelia. Ruling princes to be elected by people subject to approval of Porte and assent of powers. Russians practical rulers of country.
1879 Assembly of Notables passes constitution drawn up by Russian Prince Dondukov-Korsakov. Prince Alexander of Hesse chosen as ruler. Russian influence predominant. Bulgarian liberals make trouble.
1881 Prince Alexander suspends constitution and tries to rule alone supported by Russians, but is wholly under control of latter.
1883 Constitution is restored. Russian advisers resign. Liberals rule. Attempt to kidnap prince is frustrated. National movement towards union with Bulgaria in Eastern Rumelia.
1885 Gavril Krstovitch Pasha, governor of Eastern Rumelia, is deposed by liberals, and union with Bulgaria under Alexander is proclaimed. As a result a conference of the powers is held at Constantinople. Russian officers are withdrawn from Bulgarian army and Servia declares war on Bulgaria.
Servians are defeated, November 17th, 18th, at battle of Slivnitza.
1886 Treaty of Bukharest. Bulgaria is persuaded by Austria to make peace with Servia. Union of Bulgaria and Rumelia is recognised in a treaty with the sultan. **Alexander** made governor-general of country, August 22nd. Alexander is seized by his own officers under Russian influence and forced to abdicate. Although he is reinstated through the promptness of the loyalist Stambulov, a second abdication becomes necessary and he leaves the country on September 7th.
1887 **Prince Ferdinand** of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha elected ruler. Regents who have ruled country in interim retire. Stambulov becomes Prime Minister. Russia refuses to recognise Ferdinand.
1890 Conspiracy of Major Panitza against Ferdinand is crushed.
1893 Ferdinand marries Princess Marie-Louise of Parma. Prince Alexander dies.
1894 Birth of Boris, heir to the throne. There is some controversy as to whether he shall belong to the Greek or Roman church. The decision in favour of former. Stambulov dismissed from ministry and succeeded by Stoïlov.
1895 Stambulov is brutally murdered.

III. SERVIA

A.D.
638 Serbs and Croats migrate into Illyricum and part of Mœsia. For five centuries little is heard of them. They are ruled by shupans.
830 **Ladislaus** is grand shupan of Servia. Quarrels with Bulgaria begin.
917 The shupan **Peter** is taken prisoner and killed by Bulgarians. Conquerors place **Paul Brankovich** on the throne. He is deposed, and succeeded by **Zacharia.** Country is wholly under Bulgarian power.
950 **Ceslav,** son of Brankovich, drives out Bulgarians.
1015 **Vladimir** of Servia is killed by Ladislaus of Bulgaria. Servia falls under Greek dominion.
1040 **Stephen Voyislav** rebels against Greeks.
1043 Greeks are defeated.
1050 **Michael Voyislav** succeeds his father, Stephen, and enters into diplomatic relations with the pope.
1079 Michael conquers Durazzo.
1080 **Constantine Bodin** succeeds his father, and subjugates shupans of Bosnia and Rasa.
1122 **Urosh Béla,** shupan of Rasa, ascends throne. His wife is a German princess.
1159 **Stephen Nemanya** comes to throne.
1169 Stephen unites Bosnia to Servia, but Greek emperor is still suzerain.
1185 Stephen proclaims his independence, and Greeks are forced to make terms with him.
1195 Stephen abdicates in favour of his son, **Stephen Urosh,** who strengthens internal organisation of kingdom. Earliest Servian coins date from his reign. Emperor Baldwin of Constantinople recognises him as king of Servia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia.
1224 Stephen Urosh dies, and is followed by his sons **Stephen III** and **Ladislaus** in succession. Ladislaus marries daughter of the great Asen of Bulgaria and establishes mining industry.
1237 Ladislaus dies, and is succeeded by his brother **Stephen IV.**
1241 The country is devastated by Mongols.
1272 Stephen IV is deposed by his son Dragutin, who reigns as **Stephen V.**
1275 He abdicates, leaving his crown to his brother Milutin, who rules as **Stephen VI.**
1282 Greek emperor Michael Palæologus starts on campaign against Servia, but he dies, and his successor, Andronicus, accomplishes nothing.
1301 Andronicus asks aid of Stephen VI against Turks, and forms matrimonial alliance with him.
1303 Stephen defeats Ottomans.

1314 Stephen again defeats Turks.
1319 Hungarians take Bosnia.
1321 Stephen VI dies, and is succeeded by his son, **Stephen (VII) Urosh.** He defeats Hungarians who had attacked his allies, the Wallachians.
1330 Stephen defeats Bulgarians at Küstendil, where czar is killed. Bulgaria becomes a dependency of Servia. Stephen is also successful against Greeks, and annexes half of Macedonia.
1336 **Stephen Dushan** kills his father and ascends throne. He vastly extends the kingdom.
1340 A treaty with Byzantium gives Servia territory from Gulf of Corinth to the Danube, and from Adriatic to near Adrianople.
1346 Dushan adopts imperial title.
1349 Dushan publishes his *Book of Laws*.
1350 Bosnia becomes part of Servia, together with Herzegovina. Belgrade has also been incorporated into empire.
1356 Dushan starts on campaign to drive Turks out of Europe and establish himself on Greek throne, but he dies on the way. He is succeeded by his son, **Urosh V,** under whom empire at once begins to fall to pieces.
1367 Urosh is deposed by **Vukashin,** who proclaims himself king, but is not generally recognized, and is killed while fighting the Turks.
1371 Servians are defeated by Turks on the Maritza, and Servian possessions in Macedonia fall under Turkish control. **Lazarus** is chosen ruler of Servia.
1389 Battle of Kosovo; Servians are completely defeated by Turks. Country becomes tributary to Turkey. Sultan permits son of Lazarus, **Stephen Lazarevich,** to rule as his vassal.
1402 Battle of Angora, after which Stephen throws off Turkish suzerainty.
1427 Stephen dies childless, and appoints **George Brankovich** his successor.
1437 Brankovich is compelled to fly to Hungary to escape anger of Turks. Servia in power of Turkey.
1444 Peace of Szegedin, after campaign of Hunyady and Scanderbeg, restores Servia to **George Brankovich.**
1457 George falls in battle with Hungarians. He is succeeded by his son **Lazarus,** who survives his father only five weeks. Servia is formally annexed to Turkey and is governed by despots.
1689 Several thousand Servians under despot George Brankovich enter German army.
1691 About thirty-six thousand families emigrate into Hungary; others follow in 1738 and 1788.
1711 Last Servian despot George Brankovich dies in captivity.
1718 Treaty of Passarowitz; Austria acquires large part of Servia.
1739 Peace of Belgrade restores it to Turks.
1804 Servians under **George Petrovich,** "Kara George," rebel against Turks.
1809 Servia gains her independence for a short time.
1813 Turks reconquer country; George is forced to fly to Austria.
1817 George returns, but is killed by **Milosh Obrenovich,** who has become Servian leader. He succeeds in making Servia independent.
1839 Milosh is forced to abdicate in favour of his son **Milan.** He soon dies, and is succeeded by his brother **Michael.**
1842 Michael abdicates, and Servians elect **Alexander Karageorgevich.**
1859 Alexander is forced to abdicate, and Servians invite Milosh to return.
1860 Milosh dies, and is succeeded by his son **Michael.**
1862 Turkish garrisons are removed from Belgrade.
1868 Michael is assassinated; he is succeeded by his second cousin **Milan,** who becomes Prince of Servia.
1872 Milan comes of age.
1875 Milan marries Russian, Natalie of Keshko.
1878 Servians declare war upon Turkey, but are unsuccessful, and are saved by Russia from loss of territory. Treaty of Berlin increases Servian territory.
1882 Prince Milan proclaims himself king.
1885 Servians attack Bulgaria and are defeated.
1888 King obtains divorce from Natalie. King promulgates liberal constitution.
1889 Milan abdicates in favour of his son **Alexander.** Government is in hands of conservative regency.
1893 Alexander declares himself of age and arrests the regents.
1894 Alexander invites Milan to return. Constitution of 1869 re-established.
1900 Alexander marries Mme. Draga Maschin. Her conduct gives great dissatisfaction.
1901 Alexander promulgates new constitution.
1903 Alexander and Draga are murdered, together with the premier, the minister of war, and Draga's two brothers. **Peter Karageorgevich** made king. Government is in hands of military dictatorship. All powers except England and America recognise the new king.

IV. MONTENEGRO

Country originally is part of Illyria, annexed to Rome under Augustus. It is subject to barbarian invasions like the rest of the peninsula. In the seventh century, Montenegro, then called Duklea (or Dioclea), forms part of Serb confederation. About 900 Ragusa is seat of Servian government. Montenegrins distinguish themselves in
A.D. wars with Bulgaria in eleventh century.
1050 Prince of Duklea proclaims himself king of Servia and reigns for thirty years, being recognised by pope. His son Bodin adds Bosnia to his domain, but Montenegro again falls under rule of Servia.
1098 Servia falls under Bulgarian dominion, and Montenegrins refuse to recognise king of Bulgaria as their lord.
1115 Zhupan Tcheslas of Servia buys support of Byzantines against Bulgarians. Montenegrins are indignant at this act and continue to fight with Byzantium.
1171 Emperor obtains only nominal domination.
1180 Stephen Nemanya reunites Servian states, including Montenegro, under his rule. Montenegro with Herzegovina is formed into a special government and is an appanage of the princes of the Servian royal house.
1215 Vuk, prince of Montenegro and Herzegovina, who has rebelled against his brother Nemanya, dies, and until death of Dushan (1356) Montenegro has no history apart from Servia.

Balsha Dynasty

1356 At death of Dushan, Montenegro becomes practically independent under **Balsha I.**
1365 Balsha makes alliance with Venice. He takes certain districts in Albania and incurs displeasure of his nominal suzerain, Urosh V.
1367 Balsha proclaims himself independent prince of Zeta. Vukashin, usurper on Servian throne, allies himself with him by marriage.
1368 Balsha dies, and is succeeded by his son **Stratimir.** He shares government with his two brothers. They take possession of Scutari and make it their capital. Turks occupy attention of Servians.
1373 Stratimir dies, and his son and brothers dispute the throne. Country is divided between them and civil war ensues.
1379 **George I,** son of Balsha I, dies, and his brother **Balsha II,** and nephew **George II,** divide land amicably.
1380 and 1385 Treaties are made with Ragusa. Balsha II attacks Bosnia. He is killed in battle with Turks, and **George II** becomes sole ruler.
1387 Turks are defeated by Servians, Montenegrins, and Albanians.
1389 Servians are defeated in battle of Kosovo. George II is not present at this battle; a part of his troops take part in it and are killed with Servians; another part arrives too late. Many Servians seek refuge in Montenegro.
1394 George II buys aid of Venice against Ottomans by giving up Scutari. This has grave consequences for Montenegro.
1405 George II dies, and is succeeded by his youngest son, **Balsha III;** during his reign Stephen Czernovich, the "Black Prince," becomes prominent.
1406 After repeated battles peace is signed with Venice, Montenegro retains Scutari and Dulcigno, and Venice pays subsidy, first given in 1394.
1410 Turks conquer Servians and enter Montenegro, but are repulsed.
1419 Balsha defends Scutari against Venetians and Turks.
1420 Venice again tries unsuccessfully to take Scutari. Republic sues for peace.
1421 Balsha dies mysteriously in same year while on a visit to Servian czar. He is last of his line and his death is followed by an interregnum, during which Venice and Servia fight for possession of Montenegro. Servians are eventually successful.
1424 Stephen Czernovich returns from Italy and gains possession of Dulcigno.
1425 George Brankovich, who is ruling country for Servia, grants him domain of Dulcigno. Stephen continues to gain partisans among people.

Czernovich Dynasty

1427 Brankovich summoned to Servia by death of its ruler, and Montenegro is left free for **Stephen Czernovich.**
1439 Stephen makes offensive and defensive alliance with Venice.
1444 Montenegrins under Stephen Czernovich join Scanderbeg, prince of Albania. Ivan fights, in all, sixty-three battles with the Albanians against the Turks.
1450 Muhammed II besieges Kroia and is defeated by Montenegrins and Albanians.

1451 Mohammedans revenge themselves by defeating Montenegrins in a battle in which Stephen's son is killed.
1456 Stephen makes third treaty with Venice within five years.
1459 Servia is conquered by Turks.
1463 Bosnia succumbs to Turkish rule.
1465 or 1466 Stephen dies, and is succeeded by his son **Ivan the Black**. He begins heroic epoch of Montenegro.
1468 Death of Scanderbeg.
1474 Ivan raises siege of Scutari, which is besieged by Turks. Venetians inscribe his name on their golden book.
1476 Conquest of Herzegovina by Turks leaves Montenegro surrounded by enemy.
1478 Ivan makes brave but unsuccessful attempt to get provisions to the Venetians besieged by Turks at Scutari.
1482 Venice makes treaty with Turkey, leaving Montenegro to fight alone.
1484 Ivan burns his capital of Zabljah to prevent its falling into hands of Turks, and establishes himself at Cettinje, which has ever since been capital of country. Turks occupy low lands. Ivan builds a monastery called after him, and founds first Montenegrin printing-press.
1490 Ivan dies, and is succeeded by his son **George IV.**
1494 George meets and defeats his brother Stephen or Stanicha, who has turned traitor to his country in his father's lifetime and has taken sides with Turks, who have appointed him bey of Scutari, under name Scanderbeg.
1496 George is driven out by Scanderbeg and takes refuge in Venice. He is succeeded by his cousin **Stephen II**, who maintains himself in opposition to Scanderbeg, who rules at Scutari. The latter dies about 1528, and his descendants occupy the sandjak of Scutari for several centuries.
1515 Stephen dies, and is succeeded by his son **Ivan II**, who dies in less than a year, and is succeeded by his son **George V.**
1516 George abdicates, and retires with his Venetian wife to Venice, leaving government of the country to Bishop Babylas. With him ends Czernovich dynasty in Montenegro.

Montenegro under Prince-Bishops

Montenegro from 1516 to 1833 is governed by prince bishops called vladikas, aided by civil governors subordinate to them. Its history is a succession of attacks by the Ottomans, repulsed with greater or less success.

1516 **Babylas** becomes vladika.
1520 Babylas is succeeded by **Germain.**
1524 Montenegrins aid Hungarians at Jayce and repulse Turks.
1530 **Paul** succeeds Germain.
1540 Paul is succeeded by **Nicodin.**
1549 **Makarios** becomes vladika.
1570 Turks, who are summoned against Montenegro by Ali Bey of Scutari, are repulsed.
1585 Makarios dies, and is succeeded by **Pachomije.**
1600 **Rufin I** becomes vladika.
1604 Ali Bey of Scutari renews his attack upon Montenegro. He is aided by Bey of Rumelia, but is repulsed.
1612 Turks again attack Montenegrins and are defeated.
1613 Turks after a few successes are again defeated.
1620 **Rufin II** becomes vladika.
1623 Montenegro is again attacked by Turks and they are probably defeated, although another account says that Montenegrins are forced to pay tribute.
1650 **Basil I** succeeds to power.
1680 **Vissarion** becomes vladika.
1687 Montenegrins aid Venetians against Turks.
1688 Turks attack Montenegro, and capture capital. Monastery of Ivan the Black is blown up by monks. Turks soon depart from Montenegro.
1692 **Sava I,** the last of the Montenegrin elective vladikas, succeeds to power.

Hereditary Prince-Bishops

1696 **Daniel I** of the Petrovich dynasty, a family from Herzegovina, which came into Montenegro in 1476, is chosen vladika.
1703 "Montenegrin Vespers." All Turks in the country are massacred in revenge for Turkish ill-treatment of Daniel.
1707 Turks attack country and are repulsed.
1710 Peter the Great makes alliance with Montenegrins.

1712 Turks attack Montenegrins, Russians refuse to help, and alone they deliver a crushing defeat to Ottomans on plain of Podgoritza.
1714 Turks again occupy Cettinje and destroy monastery, but they soon abandon country.
1715 Montenegro ruler sets precedent of visiting czar of Russia. During the rest of Daniel's reign the Turks are repulsed four times. The monastery of Cettinje is rebuilt.
1735 or 1737 Daniel I dies, and is succeeded by his nephew **Sava II.**
1739 Sava goes to see Elizabeth of Russia, and on his return visits Frederick the Great of Prussia. He associates his nephew Basil with him in government.
1750 Sava retires to a monastery and **Basil II** becomes sole ruler. Inflicts defeat on Turks. Sultan tries to make peace on easy terms, but Montenegrins refuse to recognise him as suzerain.
1756 Montenegrins defeat Turks and Bosnians in a severe fight.
1766 Basil dies at St. Petersburg, whither he has gone to get money from Russia. **Sava** returns from his retirement to rule once more.
1767 "Stephen the Little" appears in Montenegro, claiming to be the murdered Peter III of Russia. Sava being a weak ruler, Stephen succeeds in establishing himself as regent. He makes a good ruler.
1768 Venice and Turkey join against Montenegro, and are repulsed. A peace of twenty years ensues.
1774 Stephen is killed in his sleep. Peter, grandnephew of Sava, is practically the ruler, although Sava has title.
1782 Sava dies, and **Peter** becomes vladika.
1789 Montenegro helps Austria against Turkey, but in Treaty of Jassy.
1792 Montenegro is mentioned only as one of Turkish provinces.
1796 Montenegrins defeat Kara Mustapha Pasha of Scutari.
1797 Treaty of Campo Formio has grave consequences for Montenegro. This places Dalmatia under Austrian dominion. Bocche di Cattaro asks help from Montenegro, which remains neutral.
1799 Sultan recognises independence of Montenegro.
1805 Treaty of Pressburg gives Bocche to France. Peter occupies fortress of Castelnuovo, and, aided by Russians and Bocchesi, defeats French. Czar orders Bocche to be given up to Austrians.
1807 Peace of Tilsit gives Cattaro to French. Napoleon makes overtures to Montenegrins, but without result.
1813 Montenegrins, aided by English, capture Cattaro. Bocchesi ally themselves with them, but Russia and Austria conclude an agreement giving Cattaro to latter, and Montenegrins are obliged to give it up.
1814 Russians stop subsidy to Montenegro begun in days of Elizabeth.
1817 On account of severe famine some Montenegrins emigrate to Odessa and Servia.
1819 Turkish invasion from Bosnia is repulsed.
1820 Treaty with Austria fixes boundary.
1829 Russia sends arrear subsidies, which greatly relieve needs of people.
1830 Peter dies, and four years later is canonised. He is succeeded by his nephew, **Peter II.** He organises internal administration.
1832 Turks are repulsed.
1833 Office of civil governor is abolished. Senate is established.
1835 A band of Montenegrins capture old capital of Zabljah. Peter restores it to Turks.
1847 Peter establishes four powder factories.
1851 Peter dies, and is succeeded by his nephew **Danilo II.** He changes the monarchy from an ecclesiastical to a secular power. Turks protest.
1853 Montenegrins defeat Turks. Powers intervene and stop hostilities.
1856 Congress of Paris disregards Montenegro's demands.
1857 Danilo consents to recognise suzerainty of sultan. This causes great indignation among his subjects.
1858 Turks are defeated with great loss by Montenegrins at Grahovo. Powers again intervene.
1860 Danilo is assassinated. He is succeeded by his nephew **Nicholas.**
1861 Insurrection in Herzegovina causes excitement in Montenegro.
1862 Turkey declares war against Montenegro. Montenegrins are forced to retire before superior numbers. Powers intervene; peace is concluded at Scutari, August 31st.
1876 Nicholas, in alliance with Milan of Servia, declares war on Turkey. Montenegrin arms are successful. Armistice is concluded in November.
1877 Montenegro recaptures her seaboard towns during Russo-Turkish war.
1878 Treaty of Berlin gives Montenegro additional territory.
1880 Conference of powers gives Dulcigno to Montenegro, instead of Plava and Gusinge as stipulated at Berlin.
1889 Two daughters of Prince Nicholas marry two grand dukes of Russia.
1893 Four-hundredth anniversary of foundation of printing-press at Ohod.
1896 Two-hundredth anniversary of Petrovich dynasty.
1905 A national assembly is established.

V. BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

At dawn of history Bosnia and Herzegovina form part of Illyria. In Roman times they are included in province of Dalmatia. After fall of empire country is overrun by Goths and Avars. After the year 600 A.D. Slavs began to settle here as over the whole peninsula. Christianisation of Bosnia takes place from Rome, and at the same time from the east also (Cyril and Methodius), and this religious division has great influence on political history of country. Most important districts of Herzegovina

A.D. are Chelm (Zachlumje) and Tribunja.

874 Budimir, first Christian king of Bosnia, Croatia, and Dalmatia, assembles a diet. It is about this time that the name Bosnia appears; said to come from a Slavic tribe of Thrace.

905 Brisimi, king of Servia, annexes Croatia and Bosnia. This union does not last.

1000 After this date Byzantine supremacy ceases in these countries. In twelfth century there first appear native rulers in Bosnia under the title of ban.

1103 Coloman of Hungary assumes title of king of Herzegovina and Bosnia. Bosnian bans are now dependent on Hungary.

1180 Ban **Kulin** is the first one known by name in Bosnia. According to some authorities, he is the tenth ban. He coins money in his name and gives a period of prosperity to his country. About this time the heretical sect of the Bogomiles appear in Bosnia.

1204 End of Kulin's reign.

1230 Franciscans appear in Bosnia.

1232 **Ninoslav** is the next ban whose name is known.

1238 Crusade under Béla IV of Hungary devastates country. Bogomiles are massacred.

1245 Hungarian Bishop Kalocsa undertakes crusade into Bosnia.

1250 Ninoslav dethroned.

1280 Third crusade by Hungarian king Ladislaus IV does not succeed in exterminating Bogomiles, although they are conquered.

1300 At about this date, **Paul,** ban of the Croatians and Bosnia, adds Herzegovina to Bosnia.

1322 **Stephen II** becomes ban.

1350 Dushan of Servia adds Bosnia and Herzegovina to his kingdom.

1353 Stephen is succeeded by his nephew **Stephen I.** Country enjoys its last period of peace and prosperity. Stephen extends his territory.

1377 Stephen takes title of king of Servia.

1391 Stephen's reign comes to an end and Bosnia declines under his successors. Powerful vassals found independent principality in Herzegovina, and kings or bans of Bosnia are helpless in their hands. Stephen is succeeded by **Stephen Dabisha.**

1395 He is succeeded by Queen **Helen.**

1398 **Stephen Ostoja** succeeds Helen.

1418 He is succeeded by his son **Stephen Ostojich.**

1421 **Twertko II** comes to throne. He is a Bogomile; under him Bosnia enjoys a few years of peace.

1443 Twertko is succeeded by **Stephen Thomas** and a period of civil war ensues. Bogomiles are persecuted. Forty thousand leave the country.

1448 Voyevod Stephen assumes German title of duke, in Slavic, *herceg.*

1461 Stephen and his wife are killed by their son **Stephen Tomashewich,** who succeeds to throne. He calls in Turks.

1463 Muhammed II breaks into country. King is beheaded. Two hundred thousand prisoners carried into slavery. Herzegovina and northwest Bosnia (Jaice) still resist.

1465 Turks conquer Herzegovina and make it into sandjak called *Hersek.* Sons of voyevod Stephen maintain Castelnuovo until 1482.

1526 Battle of Mohacs deliver last rampart of Bosnia to Turks.

1527 Country is finally conquered. It is now governed by Turkish governors, two hundred and twenty-seven in number. In the first half of sixteenth century Ghazi Bey rules for thirty-three years.

1689 and 1697 Croatian troops invade Bosnia. In seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Bosnia is frequently made theatre of war between Turkey and Austria, while Herzegovina is scene of Venetian campaigns. Prince Eugene marches on Bosna-Serai, or Serajevo.

1791 Peace of Sistova.

1833 Ali, pasha of Herzegovina, begins to acquire considerable power.

1851 Turkish Omar Pasha defeats Ali Pasha and puts down insurrection of Bosnian Moslems. Reforms are introduced and country has a chance to develop.

1858 Insurrection in Herzegovina under Luka Vukalovich, supported by Montenegro.

1862 Insurrection ends in Turkey's acquiescence in a local autonomy.

1875 A new insurrection in Herzegovina against Turkish rule is joined in by a large part of Bosnia. After the insurrection is put down, sultan proclaims an *irade* granting reforms.

1878 Treaty of Berlin stipulates that Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be occupied and administered by Austria. Turkish sandjak of Novibazar is occupied by Austria and administered by Turkey.
1879 Turkish supremacy over Bosnia nominally recognised.
1882 Insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina is suppressed. Since then these districts have been comparatively peaceful. Colonies of peasants from Austria and Würtemberg have been founded and are successful.

VI. MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN GREECE

Decline of Greece under Romans (146 B.C.–716 A.D.)

B.C.
146 Greece becomes Roman province.
86 Mithradatic war.
42 Battle of Philippi.
31 Battle of Actium.

A.D.
53 Paul visits Greece. Greece does not become Christianised until middle of second century.
54 Nero visits Greece.
67 Nero gives freedom to Greece.
73 Vespasian deprives her of freedom.
96 Period of prosperity begins for Greece under Nerva. Continued under Hadrian and Antoninus. Buildings are restored.
262 Athens stormed by Goths; whole country is overrun by them.
330 Capital of empire removed to Constantinople. Roman municipal system imposed on Greece.
361 Accession of Julian begins another prosperous era for Greece. He tries to restore paganism.
395 Alaric with his Western Goths invades and devastates Greece. He is succeeded by Attila and the Huns.
426 Last Athenian temples changed into Christian churches.
517 Invasion of Bulgarian hordes.
529 Justinian closes philosophical schools of Athens. This emperor introduces silk industry into Greece.
539 Greece is overrun by Huns.
In last half of sixth century begin Slavic invasions. Slavs settle in country in first half of seventh century. Cities remain in possession of Greeks.

Byzantine Period (716–1453 A.D.)

716 Accession to the throne of Leo III.
727 Greeks take part in iconoclast movement. Expedition against Leo is defeated.
746–747 Pest rages in Greece.
783 Army of the empress Irene defeats Slavs at Thessalonica and in Hellas. Slavs are again defeated during reign of Nicephorus (802–811).
941 Two Slavic tribes (Milingi and Ezeriti) become tributary. From now on Slavs seem to be fused with Greeks.
961 Arabs lose Crete, after having plundered Grecian isles for nearly sixty years.
983 Bulgarians take Larissa.
996 Bulgarians reach Bœotia and Attica, but are defeated on the Sperchius.
1081 Appearance of Normans under Robert Guiscard.
1083 Alexius forces Normans to retreat. Normans make further expeditions against Greece in 1084 and 1107.
1147 Coast towns plundered by Sicilians under Roger II.
1204 Latins conquer Constantinople, and Greece proper is divided into three principalities: principality of Thessalonica, of short duration; principality of the Morea (1205–1387); Dukedom of Athens (1205–1456). Islands are taken mostly by Venetians. Important names: Dandolo (Andros), Orsini (Cephalonia and Zante, succeeded by the Tocco, 1357–1479), Marco Sanudo (Naxos).
1300 Stephen Dushan of Servia conquers Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly; gives Thessaly to a general and the Epirus to his brother to rule.
1393 Turks take Thessaly.
1395 Theodore (I) Palæologus reconquers Corinth.
1397 Bayazia I establishes the timariot system in Thessaly.
1407 Theodore dies and is succeeded in Mistra by his nephew Theodore II.
1430 Turks conquer most of Epirus.

Greece Under the Turks

1453 Fall of Constantinople. Muhammed tolerates Christians.
1456 New Phocæa conquered.
1457 Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, and Thasos annexed to Ottoman Empire.
1460 Muhammed conquers the Morea. Athens comes under Ottoman dominion.
1462 Lesbos taken from the Venetians.
1463 War with Venice.
1470 Eubœa (Negropont) conquered by Turks.
1479 Peace between Porte and Venice. Muhammed takes Cephalonia and Zante from Leonardo di Tocco. Antonio di Tocco recovers them.
1480 Muhammed's army besieges Rhodes without success.
1482 Venice restores Cephalonia to sultan and pays tribute for Zante.
1489 Caterina Cornaro cedes island of Cyprus to Venetians.
1499 War breaks out again between sultan and Venice.
1500 Turks capture Lepanto, Modon, Coron, and Durazzo.
1502 Peace between Porte and Venice ; latter retains Cephalonia.
1522 Knights of Rhodes capitulate to sultan Suleiman I.
1532 Expedition under Andrea Doria disturbs country.
1537 War breaks out between sultan and Venice. Turks defeated at Corfu. Barbarossa plunders and captures islands of the Archipelago and of the Ægean.
1538 Barbarossa defeats combined fleet of Christian powers under Andrea Doria.
1540 Peace is concluded between sultan and Venice. Venetians cede fortresses in the Morea. Whole peninsula subject to Turkey.
1566 Chios and Naxos annexed by Turks.
1571 Turks complete conquest of Cyprus. Turks defeated at battle of Lepanto.
1573 Venice concludes humiliating treaty with sultan.
1574 Tunis conquered by the Ottoman fleet under Kilij Ali.
1614 Turkish garrison placed in forts of Maina.
1620 Knights of Malta plunder the Morea. During this whole period piracy is prevalent.
1645 Turks invade Crete. War with Venice.
1669 Crete finally surrendered to Turks. Peace concluded between Turkey and Venice.
1670 Maina, which has assumed independence during Cretan war, is again subjugated.
1676 Last recorded tribute of Christian children.
1684 War between Venice and Turkey. Morosini in command of Venetian troops. German mercenaries in Venetian army.
1685 Morosini takes Coron.
1687 Athens taken by Venetians. Parthenon destroyed.
1688 Morosini defeated at Negropont.
1699 Peace of Karlowitz between emperor of Germany, king of Poland, Venice, and the Porte. Morea given to Venice.
1715 Morea reconquered by the Turks.
1718 Peace of Passarowitz. Venice obliged to give up her Grecian possessions.
1764 Greeks in Cyprus revolt. Russia commences intrigues in Greece to stir up revolt against Turkey.
1770 Russians invade the Morea.
1774 Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji. Russia sacrifices Greeks.
1787 War between Russia and Turkey. Russians incite Suliotes to rebel. Russian privateering in Grecian waters.
1792 Peace of Jassy.
1797 Treaty of Campo-Formio. Ionian Isles placed under French dominion.
1800 Ionian Isles made into a republic under protection of Russia and Turkey. Venetian possessions on continent ceded to Porte.
1807 Treaty of Tilsit cedes Ionian republic to France.
1814 The revolutionary society, Hetæria Philike, founded at Odessa.
1815 Treaty of Vienna. Ionian republic placed under protection of England.
1821 Greek War of Independence breaks out.

Emancipated Greece

1821 Alexander Ypsilanti tries to stir up revolt in Moldavia and Wallachia, but is defeated. In the Morea insurrection breaks out in April. Thousands of Turks are massacred. In Athens Turks blockade themselves in Acropolis.
1822 Greece proclaimed independent. Disunion among Greeks. Turks defeat Ali Pasha of Janina and invade the Morea. They are successful on land. Greek fleet superior to Turkish. Chios ravaged by Turks.
1823 Civil war among Greeks, inspired by Kolokotronis, lasts until 1824.

1824 Another civil war breaks out, called War of the Primates. Foundation of Philhellenic societies throughout Europe. Mehemet Ali of Egypt comes to aid of sultan.
1825 Ibrahim, son of Mehemet Ali, invades Morea. Siege of Missolonghi.
1826 Fall of Missolonghi. Volunteers from England, France, Germany, and America join Grecian army.
1827 Athens captured by Turks. Treaty between Russia, England, and France for the pacification of Greece. Turkish fleet destroyed at Navarino.
1828 Capo d'Istria appointed president of Greece for seven years. He is too Russian in his sympathies to please people. War between Russia and Turkey.
1829 Protocol of London makes Greece hereditary monarchy tributary to Turkey. Peace of Adrianople ratifies this.
1830 Porte recognises independence of Greece.
1831 Capo d'Istria assassinated.
1832 Otto of Bavaria made King of Greece.
1833 Otto lands at Nauplia. Country first governed by a regency.
1834 Capital transferred from Nauplia to Athens.
1835 King Otto comes of age.
1837 King founds university at Athens.
1843 Revolution breaks out. Otto agrees to rule constitutionally. Bavarian ministers dismissed. King fails to keep his promise.
1853 Greeks side with Russians in Crimean war, but are forced to observe neutrality by England and France.
1862 Otto leaves Greece on account of revolution.
1863 Prince George of Denmark chosen king of Greece.
1864 Ionian Islands added to Greece.
1866 Insurrection in Crete supported by Greece.
1868 Turkey and Greece prepare for war.
1869 Conference of powers at Paris settles Cretan question. Candia forced to submit to Turkey.
1877 Russo-Turkish war causes great excitement in Greece.
1878 Treaty of Berlin leaves Grecian frontier question to be settled by Turkey and Greece.
1881 Demarcation of frontier intrusted to commission of the six powers and the two interested parties.
1885 Revolution of Philippopolis incites Greece to demand compensation for Bulgarian aggrandisement.
1886 Powers blockade Greek ports.
1887 New troubles concerning Crete.
1896 Nationalist agitation in Greece.
1897 Cretan war. Greeks attempt to occupy Crete. Powers intervene and give Crete an autonomous government under Turkish suzerainty. Greeks told to withdraw. Turkey declares war on Greece. After short campaign, in which Turkey is successful, peace is concluded in December.
1898 Prince George of Greece appointed high commissioner of Crete.
1905. Assassination of M. Delyannis, premier. A "most favoured nation" agreement with Great Britain.
1906. M. Theotokis forms a new cabinet and triumphs at the ensuing general election. King Edward and Queen Alexandra witness the Olympic games Electric tramways sanctioned at Athens.
1907. Proposed enlargement of the Corinth Canal. King of Italy visits Athens.

BOOK III

THE HISTORY OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

ANTECEDENTS OF THE TURKISH NATIONS

When, after having read in Strabo chapters which treat of Asia, we look on a modern map for the names of the people, the states, the mountains, the rivers, and the cities which the geography of the first century named and described, our surprise is great; it is with difficulty that we recognise some names of Iranian or Semitic origin; all the others are new and are spoken in barbaric tongues; Ionia is Turkey in Asia, the Taurus is called Giaour Dagh, Hyrcania has become Khwarezm (Kharezm), and one has to guess at the Oxus and Yaxartes under their names of Amu and Sir-Daria. Without doubt the names of people and places have changed in western and central Europe since the days of Strabo, but not in the same degree. From the first century of the Christian era down to our own days Asia has been more profoundly modified than Europe. It is the history of these modifications which we wish to relate here; the most important and the most decisive of them were produced between the fifth and eighth centuries; the others were the natural consequences of those changes of which the principal and most energetic factor was the ancient Turkish people.

It is by showing the origins of the Turkish nations and their movements until those events which preceded the Mongolian invasion of about 1148 that we can most clearly show the life of Asia. It should be well understood that the Turkish peoples are executive and imitative rather than creative. It

has been their rôle to apply and disseminate the inventions of other nations; it was Arabic thought, it was Chinese thought, it was Iranian thought which they adopted and propagated. Without them, in immense Asia, neither Iranian thought nor the Chinese nor the Arabic would have crossed the political frontiers; as it is, foreign philosophies have been extirpated or at least confused by the brutal genius of action and by the military temperament of the Turks.

The insufficient or false notions which people used to have concerning the past of the Turkish people have been completely changed during the last thirty years by a series of remarkable discoveries. Hence we shall refer the history of Asia in the Middle Ages to that of the Turks.

CLASSIFICATION OF LANGUAGES

The languages, other than the Aryan and Semitic, which have been spoken and written since the fifth century in a part of oriental Europe and continental Asia—China, India, and Indo-China (Farther India) excepted—belong to a family whose branches are very divergent; in the west we find the Finnish and the Magyar, in the east the Mongolian and the Manchu. Although up to the present time philologians have not discovered the proofs of a relationship as close and a filiation as regular as those which are used to demonstrate the unity of Indo-European idioms, their communalty of origin and their family likeness are visible. In all of them it is possible to recognise the remains and the imprint of an ancient monosyllabic state; all are agglutinative; some of them in our day and before our eyes are passing from agglutination to flexion.

This family of languages is divided into four distinct classes, which are, going from west to east, the Finno-Uigurian, the Turkish, the Mongolian, and the Manchu. The Finno-Uigurian includes Laplandish, Finnish, Magyar, the Uigurian dialects between the Ural and Volga such as the Tcheremiss, the Bashkir, and the Vogul; in the Caucasus it embraces the idioms derived from the ancient Abar (Avar), and in the frozen *tundras* of the extreme north we find it in the Samoyed dialects. The Turkish forms three groups: the first is western and includes the Osmanli, the Azeri, and the dialects of Persia; the second is much more important and had its most ancient type in the Uigur dialect, of which the modern offshoots are the Jagatai, the Usbeg, the Tatar dialects of Russia and Siberia, the Kashgar, the Turkoman, the Kirghiz, the Altai, the Tarantchi, the curiously preserved language spoken by the Karaimsor Karaites—Jews of Lithuania and of the Crimea—etc. The Yakut and its varieties form the third group. With Mongolian is connected the Kalmuck dialect of Astrakhan; with the Manchu the Tonguz and probably the Korean.

This long enumeration shows the enormous space which the Turkish people and their kinsmen occupy, either in a sporadic state or in the state of a national group. Remarkable also are the tenacity with which these peoples have clung to their language, and the truly extraordinary variety of the societies which they have established or to which they have adapted themselves. Nowhere, never, conquerors or conquered, masters or subjects, have the Turks, the Finns, the Mongols, or the Manchus renounced fidelity to the national language nor forgotten their racial heritage. In two centuries, from the year 800 to the year 1000, the Seljuks changed their religion three times, passing from Shamanism to Nestorian Christianity and from Nestorianism

to the faith of Islam; but they did not change their speech. The Karaim Jews write the Pentateuch in Hebrew characters but in the Turkish language. For centuries the vigorous Swedish population has moulded and transformed the Finns of the Baltic, through intermarriage, through education, and through religion, to such a degree that their very features have become Scandinavian; but it is in Finnish that the rhapsodists of Finland sang their sweet national epic, their tender *Kalevale;* it is in Finnish that Lönnrot affectionately compiled it. If we consider that the dialects of the Turkish group above enumerated employ no less than six different alphabets (without counting the transcriptions in the Russian character)—Arabic, Syriac as transformed by the Uigurs, Armenian, Greek, Hebrew, and Chinese, to which we must add the old writing called Tchudic, which is to-day recognised as Turkish—we shall be struck by the vitality of the language, by which its unity has been preserved.

On the other hand, the variety and the mutability of the social organisations among the Turks and their relatives are not less remarkable than the fixity of their languages. The difference which to-day separates a Hungarian from a Bashkir and from a Samoyed is so enormous that one hesitates to acknowledge the common origin of the Hungarian citizen, the Bashkir shepherd, and the Samoyed savage; yet in the fifth century the types were not to be distinguished.

THE FIVE PRIMITIVE TURKISH NATIONS

"The five primitive Turkish nations," says Abulghazi, "are the Kiptchaks, the Uigurs, the Kanklis, the Kalaches, and the Karluks." The names of the first two are wholly characteristic. Kiptchak is formed from a very old monosyllable which signifies "empty desert"; Uigur is an adjective form, derived from a verb which expresses the action of assembling, of gathering in groups, and that of following a rule, a discipline. The Kiptchaks are the men of the barren country, of the desert, "the people of the steppes"; the Uigurs are the united men gathered in groups and subjected to law, "the civilised people."

It is in the fifth century that their ethnical eponym first appears among the Chinese, in the sixth century it is familiar to the Greeks; the former write it Tu-kiue, the latter Tourkoi: it is not difficult to recognise the national name Turk under the two forms. In 569 the king of the Tu-kiue, according to Chinese annals, sent an embassy to the emperor of China, and, according to Greek annals, the Roman emperor of Byzantium sent an embassy to the king of the Tourkoi.

The Chinese, ever since the first century of our era, have called the countries which we to-day name Kashgar and Sungaria, "routes." They referred them to their relative position on the two sides of the Tian-Shan, and called our Sungaria, Pe-lu, "northern route," and our Kashgar, Nan-lu, "southern route." The Turks gave other names to these countries; they called the northern route *besh-balik*, "the five cities," Pentapolis; the southern route was *alti-shehr*, "the six cities," Hexapolis. Coming from China by the "northern route" one came to the "home of the Turks," in Turkestan. The Turks called this country by a name common both to their language and to that of Mongols, Tchete, "the frontier, the march."

Once master of the Pe-lu and of Pentapolis, one was also master of the marches of Turkestan. It was not the same with the Nan-lu. In order to go from the Nan-lu to the Iranian country of Ferghana, it was necessary to cross the Frozen Mountains—"Muztagh," the Pass of Pines, Terek-Davan.

On the other side, one at first met only the impenetrable forest, black woods and marshes with treacherous soil; men and horses were lost there and died of hunger; few attained the plains. Hence it was better to stay in the beautiful country of the Tarim, to sow seed, to dig irrigation canals, and to settle in villages. It was into the cities of this province, into Hami, Turfan, and Khotan, that Buddhism first penetrated, coming from the south and east; it was there that it had to contend with foreign religions, with Mazdaism, and later with Christianity and Islamism. It was there, in the city of Kashgar, that was written (1069) in Uigur dialect the oldest Turkish book which has come down to us, the *Kudatkubilik*, "the art of ruling."

In the sixth century the Chinese had long since become acquainted with the ancestors of the Turks and of the Uigur; they had opened up the two routes of the north and of the south and had crossed the borders of the marches. The ancient name which they gave to these people was Hiong-nu, "*rebel* slaves."[1] This word has no ethnical or national character; it is neither Turkish nor Mongolian, but Chinese and very old. The Chinese gave the name Hiong-nu *en bloc* to the peoples, almost all nomadic, who lived north of the river Hwangho. The Great Wall was built in 214 B.C. to protect China proper from the incursions of these barbarians. Outside the wall there were also marches.

NOMADIC LIFE

It must not be supposed that, as is often said, all the nomads inhabited "the desert." People do not live in the desert when they can live anywhere else. It was by constraint that the tribes of shepherds, dispossessed by a stronger neighbour, abandoned to the enemy their fat pasturages, shady valleys, their forests and fields abounding in game, their roads leading to cultivated lands and to cities full of marvels. Sadly they took the road of exile and misery, buried themselves in dismal solitudes of frozen and barren lands, where they nursed the hope of revenge and return. The primitive legends of the Turks, their old poems—ceaselessly transformed, rejuvenated, and marvellously preserved under new forms down to our day—are full of these stories of exodus. Thus the name Kirghiz-Kazak is formed from two Turkish words, the first of which signifies "wandering," and the second, "one separated from the nation, from the flock." The beast which has left the fold and the man who has fled from his tribe are kazaks (hence the word Cossack). Then, as to-day, the nomad did not live from his herds but from produce, which he exchanged for stuffs and for grain with those who had fixed abodes or which he sold to them for cash. When he could settle in a fertile country like Pentapolis or the land of the Tara he gladly became *tarantchi*, a husbandman. But when the villages or the men of the town closed the market, when terrible snow-storms caused the destruction of the herds (which bore the expressive name *mal*, "capital"), when a powerful neighbour fell upon the tribe, means of subsistence were few. The victims of these disasters had little choice but to emigrate into the steppes, where they sought adventure.

The real country of the Hiong-nu of China, of the Turanians of Persia, behind the marches of the Oxus, of the Ili, and of the Hwangho, was cut up by great "voids"—the western, Kiptchak, and the eastern, Gobi; these two words have the same meaning. The epithet Kiptchak was given later by

[1 Compare the name Sklav.*a*]

the Persians to southern Russia, when the "people of the empty land," the Kiptchaks, lived there. The "void" of the west opens between the Caspian and the Ili; it is the country of the sands, "black, red, white, and low sands," *Kara, Kisil, Ak* and *Batak Kum*. The Ili, the Tchu, the Sir, and the Amu make practicable paths through them. Between the "void" and the steppes of the north and of the west is hollowed out the "intermediary" sea, the Aral, for the word means that which is in the middle.

SOCIAL STATE OF THE TURKISH NATIONS

The Tu-kiu, according to a Chinese chronicle of the year 545, are a tribe of the Hiong-nu, originally from the country of the north Gobi. Nomads, raisers of flocks, hunters, their tents are of felt; they know how to tan leather and to weave wool, of which they make their clothing. They button their robes from right to left contrary to the Chinese, who cross them from left to right; they never cut their hair, which they wear loose. They are rough and brutal; they despise old men and esteem only those who are in the prime of strength. They proclaim their king by raising him nine times on a carpet of felt. They have no written law or regular procedure, but render justice arbitrarily according to the dictates of custom. Plot or rebellion is punished by death, as is also the violation of a married woman; amends and marriage are the penalties for the seduction of a girl; compensation is required for blows and wounds, and the restitution of stolen objects or cattle to tenfold the number or value is enforced.

From this Chinese description one gains the conception of a society conscious of its identity, organised and governed. The spirit of hierarchy and discipline is developed, for insubordination and plots are punished by death.

Mongolian and Turkish customs regulate the wholly unusual law of inheritance: the heir, who is in a way fixed to his native soil, is the youngest of the sons; it is he who is the *ot-jiguine*, as the Mongols says, the *tekine*, as the Turks say—the "guardian of the hearth." It is to him that the land reverts; the elders share the movable goods. The princely families own not only their herds but a band of warriors. The chief bequeaths this band to the son of his choice, or divides it; and it is not seldom that also a daughter receives a share. The son who is unprovided for goes far away to seek a father and a mother. In the legends this takes place most often as follows: The son rides a long, long way, until he arrives at a house where he finds an old woman; the husband is in the fields. The youth says to the old woman, "Be my mother"; she consents, and finally the old man returns. The son says to him, "Be my father"; and when he has consented, the boy cries, "My father and mother, give me a name."

It is a characteristic fact that the Turkish adventurer has not even a name. The legendary heroes are called *Ad-siz*, "without name." We find in history two kings and more than one warrior who have proudly kept the name of "without name," *Ad-siz*. These legends portray vividly the life of the Turkish people. Thousands of nameless Turkish adventurers have proposed adoption to the kings of the Parthians, to the potentates of Persia, to the caliphs of the Arabs, to the emperors of China, to the lords of Sogdiana, selling their swords for a family and a name. It was anonymous sons of Turks who founded the empire of the Seljuks and that of the Osmanlis. "I am a wandering knight emperor," said the grand mogul Baber, when he was dispossessed of the hereditary empire of Ferghana.

RELIGION OF THE TURKS

Neither the Turks nor the Mongols have ever been a religious people. The religious imagination, the zeal and enthusiasm which are so ardent among the Arabs, the Persians, and the Slavs, have never aroused the apathy of the Turks, the Mongols, and the Manchus. The religion which is most sympathetic to their phlegmatic character is certainly Buddhism. They are Buddhists temperamentally. Buddhism is the only religion natural to them. Islamism is foreign to their conceptions. Comparatively easily, without enthusiasm and without great repugnance, the Turks have accepted other religions than Buddhism; they have become Magi, worshipping fire, Manichæans, Nestorian Christians, Moslems; but their conversion has been due to chance, not to conviction. To controversy they are indifferent, for it is contrary to their mental placidity and to their military habits. The religions which they have definitely adopted they have practised loyally, without alteration or discussion, as is befitting a people who call civilisation obedience, and the law of the state, *yassak*, military command. They have defended them like honest soldiers, offering for argument the one Saint Louis recommends to the laymen against the Jews—a sword in the belly.

Like the ancient Chinese, the ancient Turks recognised and venerated five elements incarnated in five persons. The five elements were earth, wood, metal, fire, and water. The five persons were the yellow emperor in the centre, the blue emperor in the east, the red emperor in the south, the white emperor in the west, the black emperor in the north. The most venerated element in these old cults was iron, the metal from which the arms were forged. It is mentioned in all the Turkish legends. It was probably iron to which the Huns addressed their prayers, and symbolised by a naked blade which the Romans called the sword of Mars. Byzantine ambassadors in the sixth century were present at a religious ceremony held on the frontiers of the Turkish dominion, during which iron was offered them. The old national names Timur, "iron," and Timurtash, "companion of iron," certainly have a religious origin.

This ancient religion of the five elements, traces of which have remained to our day, was succeeded by that of the *tangri*, "heaven," in dualism with the earth. Even religions as vigorous as Islam and Buddhism have not succeeded in entirely exterminating traces of the old dualistic cult among the Mongols and Turks.

The Turks have preserved in their legends the memory of their ethnical origin. The following tradition is found at the base of all of them. Il-Khan, the "king of the peoples," is conquered in a great battle, and the Mongols are all exterminated except Il-Khan's youngest son, Kian (avalanche), his nephew Nokuz, and two girls. Kian, Nokuz, and their two companions flee and cross prodigious mountains; in the depths of the mountains is a beautiful country full of rivers, springs, prairies, fruit trees, and game. Their descendants multiply in this unknown land; at the end of four hundred years they wish to come out, but find no way. Then a blacksmith discovers a mountain of iron to which they put fire; the iron melts and a path is hollowed out, through which they emerge from the mysterious country where they have lived for seven generations. This country is called Erkene-Kum—the "old home land." It is Pe-lu.

The king who was ruling over the Mongols when they emerged from Erkene-Kum was called Burte-Tchene—"gray wolf." From him was de-

scended the virgin Alan Goa, who conceived a miraculous child without a father, whose descendant in the tenth generation was Jenghiz Khan. The Mongols, brothers of the Turks, are thus the descendants of Gray Wolf, and their royal family derives its origin from the virgin who conceived a son without sin. Such is the legend related by the Turks and Mongols, beginning with the thirteenth century; some, like the Moslems, make it go back to Japheth, whom they claim as their remote ancestor; others, like the Buddhists, insert in the series an aureoled virgin similar to the mother of Buddha.

The exodus from the Erkene-Kum took place towards the end of the fifth century. Less than a hundred years later we see the nation of Turks become very powerful; it is in correspondence with the emperor of China and with the Byzantine emperor, to whom in 568 the king of the Turks sent a letter in Scythian characters. A trilingual inscription, written in honour of a prince in Paleo-Turkish and Uigur characters, with a Chinese translation, has recently been found in the valley of the Orkhon. Its date in Chinese chronology corresponds with our year 732. At this period the oldest known Turkish writing was at least a hundred and sixty years old.

WARS OF THE CHINESE AGAINST THE TURKS

In the third century B.C. the great emperor Hoang-ti, founder of the dynasty of the Tsin, after having re-established the unity of the Chinese Empire, which, more than five hundred years before, had fallen apart into some twenty feudal principalities and then finally into seven kingdoms, had penetrated into the country of the barbarians of the northwest. He had chased the Hiong-nu from the countries which their descendants have conquered so many times since, those which form the actual province of Shansi within the great bend of the Yellow (Hwangho) River. He had driven them beyond the marches. He had, with immense labour, connected the local works of defence which the seven kingdoms had erected against the barbarians; this was the famous Great Wall (214–204 B.C.).

In Shensi, at the junction of the wall road with the military route behind the Great Wall, he had boldly established his capital; it was within reach of the barbarians of the north and those of the west. The retrograde spirit and the incorrigible particularism of the Chinese aristocracy defied the work of the great emperor. The people, whose country was again divided into eight kingdoms, torn by factions, and powerless externally, hid in the marches. Then a new emperor, Hoang-ti, originally of Shensi, re-established the national unity, aided by mountaineers of Honan, "south of the river."

The emperors Han (from 202 B.C.–220 A.D.) carried on the patriotic work of the Tsin; they attempted the conquest of the marches, the reduction of the barbarians, and their assimilation into Chinese civilisation. That which the Hans attempted was in fact to sinicise the Turks of the north. Since then China has never abandoned their policy; to conquer the marches, to assimilate the people who inhabit them has been the policy of China for the last eighteen hundred years. It will be seen that the Mongols, as Chinese emperors, have followed only the traditions of the emperors of Han and of their successors the Tangs (610–907 A.D.).

In the year 121 B.C. Chinese tactics and policy begin to assert themselves. The idea was to break, to disintegrate, the mass of barbarians united under the domination of a sort of emperor called the Tchen-yu (in Turkish, Tengri-Kut), "power of God." To do this it was necessary to sunder in two the

barbarian horde, in order to crowd far back towards the north and west the peoples of which they would rid themselves, and to retain on this side of the marches, between them and the Great Wall, those whom they hoped to assimilate. In the marches themselves they desired to plant an impassable barrier of Chinese colonies, of Chinese peoples, which would separate forever the two branches into which they had cut the compact mass of the Hiong-nu. In 112 B.C. the Chinese passed the northern marches; in 108 they were masters of the southern marches, of Hami and of Turfan. The nomads gathered around the Chinese military posts, and became Uigur, "subjects." This side of the marches the peoples, united by the Hiong-nu and without national cohesion, being simply subject to the Tchen-yu—as were later the Alani, the Goths, the Bulgars, etc., to Attila—disintegrated rapidly, became absorbed into the mass of the Chinese, and reinforced the barrier between the two branches of the Turkish language—the branch which was developed among the people arrested at the east of the marches, and the branch which grew up with the tribes crowded back to the west.

After the conquest of the marches it was towards the northwest that the Chinese directed their efforts, to open the outlets of Pe-lu and to finish the isolation of the eastern Hiong-nu. In 104 they ventured too far into the midst of the Kirghiz and lost an army in the steppes. But the barbarians of the east were so well shut up between the marches and the wall that in 51 the Tchen-yu came to tender his submission to the emperor of China. He acknowledged the "holy emperor" as his father, asked him for a name, and did not communicate with him officially except under this new name. It was decided from that moment that the sovereigns of the Hiong-nu and then of the Turks should have two names, the one national, the other Chinese; the latter should date from the moment the "holy emperor" adopted them. After that event they would as great imperial officers or as men endowed with an appanage make war under the Chinese flag, demand their share in the revenues of the empire, and support by arms the right of succession. It was now that they were really Hiong-nu, "rebel servitors."

One may observe at this time a curious parallelism between the great Roman Empire of the West and the great Chinese Empire of the extreme East. They received simultaneously the one the joyful tidings of Christ, the other the joyful tidings of Buddha. Spurred by a new enthusiasm, rough and determined emperors of the Occident conquered the barbarians from the Rhenish marches to the Danube; the rulers of the Orient carried their sword from the marches of the Ili to the Caspian Sea. The Hans of China correspond fairly well to the Antonines of Rome; the calendar of Buddhist confessors in the Chinese marches resembles that of the Christian martyrs in Gaul. Just as the Roman emperors opposed the old literary pagan tradition to Christianity, so the Chinese nationalists opposed to Buddhism the old books destroyed by the first Hans. It was the epoch of great compilers and of the apotheosis of Confucius.

In 46 Chinese policy obtained a decisive result. The eastern Hiong-nu, separated from the western by the conquest of the marches and by the support given to the Uigurs, were in their turn broken into two trunks; there Tchen-yu was in competition with his elder brother. The latter, conformably to Turkish right, demanded the mobile part of the heritage, that is to say, the army; he collected the bands, by suasion or by force, won over eight of the confederate clans, crossed the desert, and came to ask the "holy emperor" to adopt him. The Chinese, who had probably co-operated in the intrigue, hastened to accept him and recognised the pretender Hiong-nu as the legiti-

[46-92 A.D.]

mate ruler. They cantoned his subjects in the northern marches, along the Great Wall. "These Turks from father to son were the guardians of the Wall, whence their name of Ongut."

EXPLOITS OF PAN-TCHAO

Occasionally the Turks of the marches, when they were not paid by the Chinese, liked to pillage the flat lands along the Wall. In 72 the emperor Ming-ti decided to strike a decisive blow in order to put a stop to the depredations. The plan, perfectly adapted to the Turkish character, was to punish the most rebellious subjects and to suppress the others and get rid of them by using them in distant wars. The man capable of conducting the enterprise to a good end, of subduing the great Turkish companies and of reducing them, was already found; his name was Pan-Tchao. He had, in addition to the qualities which were necessary to make him the leader of nomads and highwaymen, a genius for military enterprises.

In 76 the Nan-lu was conquered and organised; the northern Hiong-nu were dislodged from the Pe-lu. In the same year Pan-Tchao, called back to China by a new emperor, disclosed in a memoir his military and political plan, by which the conquest of the great west would cost the "holy emperor" neither a man among his national subjects nor an ounce of silver from his treasury. Nan-lu wished to gather the warlike peoples of the marches and the petty kings of the west into one federation under imperial protection. They themselves would furnish the men, they would furnish the ready money; China would give the impulse, would direct it, would organise the barbaric masses, would lead them to the conquest of the Occident, ever farther away from the frontiers behind which the active Chinese anthill, labouring and working in peace, would be creating wealth. As for what was left of the Hiong-nu of the north, he would be responsible for them; a veritable plan of extermination had been formed against these incorrigible people. It was in 92 that a lieutenant of Pan-Tchao executed it, while the hero himself was leading his Turkish, Getic, and Afghan bands to the conquest of the west. A Chinese army closed the outlet of the Pe-lu at the sources of the Irtish, driving back the Hiong-nu towards the east and cornering them in the gorges of the Altai. A few tribes broke through the circle of besiegers, on the west, took to the steppes, and went to ask adoption from the Kiptchak, or else became fugitives and joined with the other Kazaks and Kirghizes. We shall find them between the Ural and the Volga, then on the Kuban, then on the Don, then on the Danube. They will dominate the Finns of the plateau between the Ural and the Volga, and will lead them out to great adventures under the names Huns of Yogur (Hunnigures), Abars (Avars), and Magyars, until the main body of the nation itself appears and we hear of the Petchenegs, of the Kubani or Kumani, who come from the Kuban, of Turkomans or Turks of the Terek. Of the rest some were exterminated, some dispersed by the Uigurs, the Chinese, the Tatars, the Tonguz; one fragment threw itself into the Altai, sought a shelter in its gorges, in its deep valleys, and there lived in obscurity. When, four centuries later, their descendants emerged from the Erkene-Kum under the leadership of Gray Wolf and of Blacksmith, the very name of their ancestors had disappeared; they were no longer the Hiong-nu but the Tu-kiu—the "Turks."

Pan-Tchao advanced as far as the Caspian; he was going to attack the Parthians and the Romans behind them, when the emperor called him back.

IRAN AND TURAN

In the country of Iran a national revolution had caused the Sassanids to succeed to the Parthians. Against the Sassanids the hatred of the Turks was bitter. An iron wall as at the time of Archimedes prevented their access to the marches of Sogdiana, of Hyrcania, and to the routes towards the south and west. These Iranians were autonomous; their heavily armed cavalry—the Mobed—was independent of the Turkish mercenary, and maintained against the Turk the civilisation of the great valleys to the north of the Amu-Daria and of the Sir-Daria. Their supremacy occurred at a moment when China, the terrible China of the Hans, was oppressing most tyrannically the Hiong-nu. Those who did not wish to become sub-vassals of the Chinese fought with rage against the Sassanids; disputed the marches with them furiously. The struggle of the Turk with the Sassanid is the subject of the Persian national epic, the *Shahnameh*, Book of Kings, which relates the fights of Iran against Turan. Finally the Turks established their rule in the marches of Persia, between the Oxus and the Yaxartes, attacking in the rear the Iranians, who were engaged in battles against the Roman Empire and against the Arabic power, then at its inception.

It is extraordinary that the Sassanid Empire, hard pressed by so many enemies on the west and north, did not fall to pieces in the fifth century; but assistance came to it from the east. The Turks of the Altai, those descendants of the Hiong-nu of the north, who had become half-sinicised barbarians and vassals of China, fell upon the west as formerly their ancestors had done under the great Pan-Tchao. In the name of their Chinese suzerain they re-established, by way of Pe-lu and Nan-lu, the communication between the country of the holy emperor and the Ta-Tsin, the "great China" of the west—the Roman Empire. In 552 the king of the Tu-kiu, called by the Chinese Tu-men—that is probably the Dutumene of the Turkish and Mongolian legends—led his bands across the Pe-lu, stopped to draw breath in Turkestan, then fell upon the White Huns[1]—Tie-le of the water bank, shore-Turks—and crushed them at a blow. After this exploit he took the title of Il-Khan. His second successor extended these conquests. He was called Mokan-Khan, and bore besides the title of Tekine—younger brother or, in European style, archduke. During his reign the unity of the Hiong-nu was re-established, but this time at the instigation of China; its sphere of influence was frankly directed towards the west. In fact, through its Turkish vassals China was bounded by Persia and the Roman Empire.

ANARCHY IN CHINA

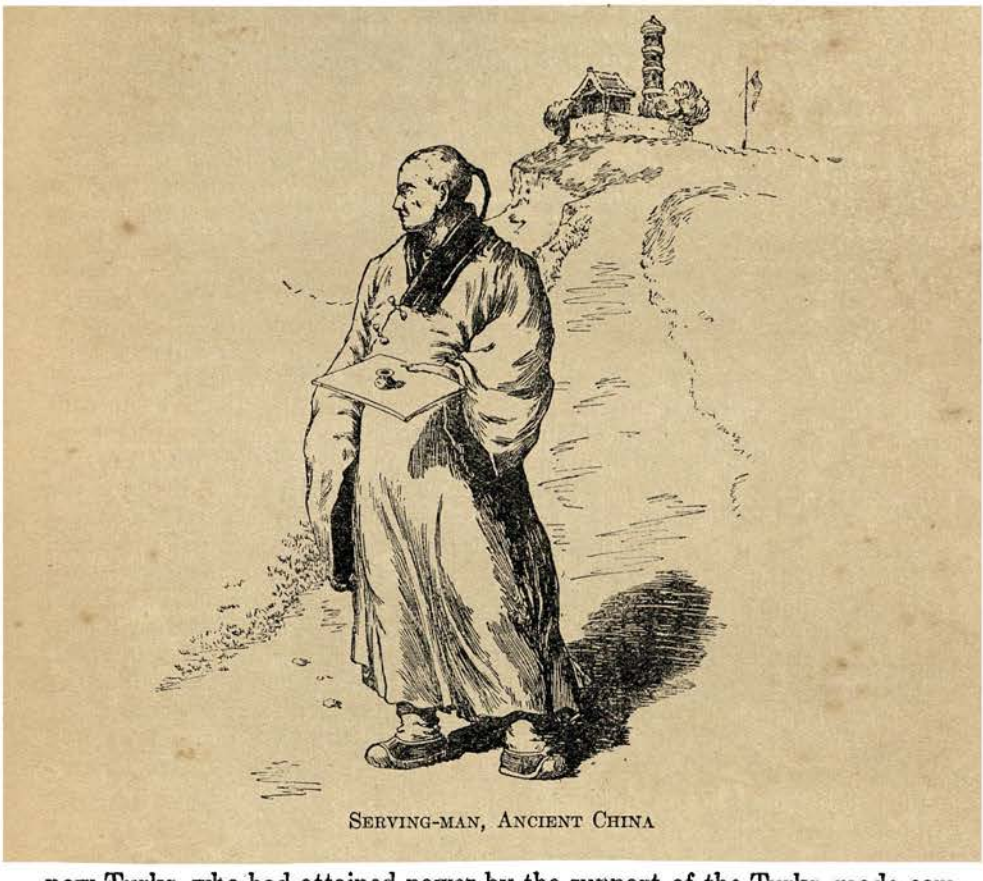
The old society was disorganised in China by the new religious sects, as it had been disorganised in Rome by Christianity. In 184 the sect of the Tao-Sse had aroused a formidable movement of the "yellow bonnets." In 194 a military adventurer, Thsao-Thsao, overcame the revolt, re-established order, and made himself dictator. His son was emperor of northern China, while southern China was divided into two kingdoms. Northern China, between the Great Wall and the Blue River, could not maintain its political integrity except by the arms of barbarians. It employed in its army those southern Hiong-nu, wild people half sinicised by the Hans, who lived between the Great

[1 Sometimes called Ephthalites, also Khazars; they lived along the shores of the Caspian.]

Wall and the Yellow River. After 308 these Turko-Chinese shared the northern empire, succeeding one another rapidly. As in Rome, so in the Orient did barbarian emperors defend the empire against other barbarians.

TURKISH AMBITIONS

It was only in 589 that the empire was re-established and that Buddhism, under a modified form, was adopted by the masses of the Chinese. It will be understood that during this period of unrest the emperors of northern China,



SERVING-MAN, ANCIENT CHINA

now Turks, who had attained power by the support of the Turks, made common cause with their barbarian vassals and subjects, and that the national life of the Hiong-nu of the south was confounded with that of northern China.

In 562 Mokan ruled over the Turkish nations from the Chinese marches, the Nan-lu and the Pe-lu, and from the banks of the Oxus, which he had conquered by subduing the shore-Turks or White Huns, to the extreme limits of the Turkish Kiptchaks, to the north of the Caucasus and along the Volga. On the east he had conquered the Tonguz, the Sian-Pi, as their principal nation was then called, and had driven them to the east of Lake Baikal. He held the routes between China, Persia, and the Roman Empire. But it was a precarious authority which an Il-Khan, a "king of tribes," could

hold over this incoherent multitude of peoples, differing in their manner of living, in their laws, religion, and language. To maintain his empire at the east and south, Mokan needed China; to maintain himself on the west he dreamed of establishing relations with Rome (Rum, the Byzantine Empire), which was at war with its rebellious vassals the Kiptchaks and Avars, and was engaged in a struggle against the hereditary enemies of the Turks—the Iranians. With an extraordinary breadth of vision, this barbarian of the Altai conceived the project of forming an alliance with the two great civilised states: with China on the east and with the Ta-Tsin, the great "China of the west"—the Roman Empire, with the Turks serving as intermediaries and men-at-arms, in the pay of the allies. To do a policeman's duty between the Yellow River and the Danube, to safeguard the communications between China and Rome, to pose as arbiter between the two nations, to divide up the world—such was the colossal plan of this Turk, a plan which his Mongolian successors have never forgotten. The revolutions which during the *sixth* century swiftly followed one another in China, and the fatuity of the Byzantines, caused it to come to nothing. In 569 an ambassador of Mokan (the Greeks call this king Dizabul, after his Chinese title Ti-then-pu-li) proposed a commercial and military treaty to Justin II. The measure had no results.

CONTACT WITH ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY

The seventh century was a critical epoch in the life of the Asiatic peoples. In disorganising the empire of the Sassanids and of the Iranian lands, the Arabic Mohammedan revolution turned into Persia, Asia Minor, and Syria a part of the current of Turkish immigration which up till then had been kept in the old Scythian channel, north of the Oxus and of the Caspian.

The introduction of the new doctrines of Islam into the very heart of the Chinese marches of Nan-lu and Pe-lu modified profoundly and altered forever the social and political relations between Christian Europe and the extreme Orient. It complicated these relations by adding religious disagreements and misunderstandings to the problems already existing. The Turk, the natural intermediary between China and Europe, became an armed champion of an Asiatic faith hostile to the faith of the Europeans; the greatest religious wars of the Middle Ages were fought against Europe by peoples who, temperamentally indifferent to religion, had no grievance against Christianity and who cared little for the faith which, in the eyes of the occidentals, they incarnated.

Christianity had begun during the fourth century to penetrate into the Turkish country through Khorasan and the marches of Transoxania. In 334 Barsaba was bishop of Merv in Khorasan. In 420 the bishopric of Merv was elevated to a metropolitan see. Towards 503 bishoprics were founded at Herat and Samarkand. The patriarch Timothy (718) converted the Turkish khagan of Karakorm. About the year 1000 the Kerait Turks up to the heart of the Gobi accepted the Nestorian faith, brought to them by the bishop of Merv, Ebed Jesu. It was in the year 635 that a Syrian monk brought the Gospel to China. In 638 the emperor Tai-tsung issued a decree in favour of the new religion and authorised the construction of a church in the capital. The famous bilingual inscription of Singan Fu (in Chinese and Syriac), under the date of 781, mentions the Nestorian metropolitan by his Chinese name of Ning-chu, as it does the patriarch Mar Hanan Ishua (Joshua) and Adam, bishop and pope of Tzinista—"China." In the same year (635) that the

Syrian monk received the hospitality of the holy emperor—the fourteenth of the Hejira—the Arabs dispersed the Persian cavalry at Kadeseeyah. Thirty years afterwards Persia invoked Allah, and Arabian adventurers crossed the Oxus.

ARABS IN TURKESTAN AND TIBET

The Arab bands organized in Khorasan to invade the Turkish marches of Sogdiana and Ferghana followed the old military route south of the Oxus *via* Merv and Balkh. On the other side of the Oxus the resistance was more vigorous than has been supposed. But religion had little to do with it. The extraordinary disorganisation of the country was the principal cause which facilitated the victory of Islam. Not till the year 94 of the Hejira (712) could the Arabs build their first mosque in Bokhara, and then they had to make the concession—unprecedented in Moslem experience—of performing the service

TURKISH FARMHOUSE

in Persian. For a long time afterwards, in this country conquered by Islam, the faithful went to the mosque only in groups and armed.

For the Christianised inhabitants of Sogdiana the Arabic invasion was not a surprise, as it was for the Turks. Indeed, the sectarian Zoroastrians saw in the doctrine of Islam deliverance from an odious state religion. Furthermore, the dignitaries of the Nestorian church were all of them Arabian Syrians, and therefore compatriots of the Arabs, whose faces, customs, language, costume, and way of thinking were familiar to them. Even the new religion seemed in many of its features familiar. Without ceding any of their Nestorian dogma, these Christians chose unhesitatingly Islamic enthusiasm in place of the official fanaticism of the magi. Heretics themselves, they preferred these new heretics, who spoke their tongue, to the fire worshippers. Semitic Christianity made no opposition to Semitic Islam.

In the first half of the seventh century peoples of different origin, living for the most part from cattle-raising in the country which we now call Tibet, became converted to Buddhism. In the high valleys and almost inaccessible plateaus between the Himalayas and the Kwanlun this religion was to find its asylum and its holy citadel. At the same period the Tibetans began to be redoubtable to China. Established at an invulnerable point at the southwest of the Great Wall, they cut off communications between China and Nan-lu. At the end of the seventh century they invaded Nan-lu, then turning

sharply against the Chinese defeated them on the shores of the Blue Lake, and, entering through the break in the Great Wall, overran the whole coast of the Yellow River. The Buddhists voluntarily let themselves be pillaged by these pious savages, who offered a tenth of their plunder to the monasteries of Maitreya Bodhisattoa and touched the ground with their foreheads before the altars in the abbeys of the land. For these hardy mountaineers of Tibet, accustomed to scale rocky peaks and traverse glaciers, the Tian-Shan was not an obstacle, nor did the Tsong-ling impede their march. In 715 they crossed these mole-hills, passed through the Terek-Davan, Pass of Pines, and descended into Ferghana, killing and plundering. When the Arabs saw them descend, the heavy national cutlass about their loins, an iron-pointed stick in their hands, the adroit imagination of the Moslems conceived the plan of employing these pagans against the magi, against the Turks who were so obstinate in their military loyalty, and against China—that great China which they, the Moslem preachers and talkers, despite all their bombast, feared exceedingly. Become suddenly the best of friends, Moslem adventurers and Buddhist highwaymen recrossed the Pass of Pines (716) and went together into Nan-lu to besiege the Turkish and Uigur cities.

TURKISH MERCENARIES IN SERVICE OF THE CALIPHS

At the south, in the marches of Persia, which had formerly been unapproachable, Moslem anarchy opened a new path for the Turks. The military emigration of the Turks, hitherto directed towards the northwest, towards the country of the Kiptchaks, was now diverted to the southwest—to Azerbaijan, Transcaucasia, Asia Minor, Syria, and the Moslem country of Rum. The revolution which brought the Abbassides into power hastened emigration and turned it into this new channel. By degrees, as they entered the service of the Moslems, these Turks, so refractory at home to Islam, submitted to the religious rule. They understood absolutely nothing of it; it was to them merely a part of their military discipline, and as such demanded obedience. The Turks entered the orthodox Sunnite Moslem church, not as catechumen neophytes, but as military recruits, without bowing their heads.

The policy of the caliphs towards these terrible Turkish adventurers, with whom they could not dispense, was to offer them all that they could gain by the sword in the western marches; they were given fiefs taken from the Romans. It was thus that in northern Syria and in Asia Minor castellanes and Turkish marquisates were founded, and new marches between Islam and the country of the Holy Land—the Christian country. The crusades of Turkish condottieri against Rum, the exodus of great companies in quest of lands and castles in Anatolia and titles and honours at the court of the caliphs were incessant after the end of the ninth century. But the place left vacant by these knights of adventure seeking their fortunes in Rum was at once taken by men equally unencumbered by possessions, equally rich in hope and bravery. It seemed as if Turkestan and the marches of China, whence emerged these needy heroes one after another, were inexhaustible. Since the triumph of the Abbassides, in Iran and in the marches disorganised by the Arabs, there had been a constant influx of Turks seeking places, pensions, and lands.

Once implanted in the country, become feudal landholders whether they would or not, endowed with all the military offices or with those reputed to be such—for they would have none others—they yet understood nothing of the offices they filled. At their first opportunity they overthrew the government

and installed the captain of their company in power. Thus came about the succession of the great Ghaznevid condottieri, who conquered India, and of the Seljuks, who were masters of the caliphate and of Asia Minor.

THE MANCHUS MASTERS OF NORTHERN CHINA

In 1004, the same year that Mahmud, the great Ghaznevid, started for India, the Turkish Kara-Khitai of the Liao became masters in China. This nation of the Khitai lived in the country known to-day as Manchuria; but many of its emigrants, instead of settling in China, had been obliged, for reasons of which we are ignorant, to retreat before the eleventh century to the country to the northwest and to become kazak. The leading clan among the Khitai in the tenth century was distinguished by the epithet *Kara*, "black," and the patronymic of these hereditary chiefs, according to Chinese orthography, was Ye-lu.

In the troubles which preceded the fall of the Tangs this family of the Ye-lu had rendered services to the Chinese factions, attaching itself principally to those of the north. Their poorly paid bands had been content with the mediocre fief surrounding the walled city of Yen. When the Ye-lu took the official protectorate over the Petchili, Yen became their capital; the Chinese called it Peking (Pekin), "capital of the north." The country had need of security; it accepted these protectors without much resistance. At the beginning of the eleventh century the family of the Ye-lu governed China up to the Blue River; these Ye-lu among all the Turks are the only ones who have deserved the honour of being regretted by the Chinese. South of the Blue River the national dynasty of the Sung had with as much good as harm re-established unity in one-half of the empire.

The Turks of the Liao had not had the audacity to substitute their hereditary princes for a Chinese family. At Peking, the capital of the north, they maintained a representative of the holy emperor, just as their Seljuk brothers at the same epoch maintained a ruler similar to the caliphs at Baghdad. From 1001–1125 the pretended emperor of China (of the north) was called Tien-tso; the real emperor, the Turkish Khitai, was called Ye-lu-ta-shi. This Turk, moreover, like the occidentals of his race, was a patron of letters and was himself literary; the Chinese annals relate that in 1115 he passed examinations for the doctorate. He was a member of the Hanlin Academy and founded that of Linya. This Chinese academician remained in his sympathies such a thorough Turk that, having already dethroned three emperors, he further asserted his predilections in the following manner: When the Tonguz Niutchi, the ancestors of our Manchus of to-day, forced the barriers of the empire, took possession of Peking, and founded the dynasty of Kin (the word signifies gold), he, placidly and without scruple, wrung the necks of the Chinese ministers who formed his civil cabinet. Mounting his horse in company with the people of his military household, he then took the road for the open country and went to become kazak in the great asylum of the northwest, on the steppes of the Kirghiz (1120). In Pe-lu the fugitive was hailed with enthusiasm. In a general assembly he gathered the chiefs of seven cities (sedentary Turks) and of eighteen tribes (nomadic Turks) and had himself proclaimed *kur-khan* (khan of the camp).

Ye-lu, academician and politician, was just as brave with a sword in his hand as he was fluent with a pencil between his fingers. This sinicised Turk was the first captain of his day. His firm policy was understood by the Turk-

ish masses. It was no longer individually that they had to establish themselves in the Iranian land, but as members of the body politic. On the west as on the east the country was destined for the Turks; they had defended it, they had laboured in it; the land belonged to them as far as they could find a person talking Turkish. The Kara-Khitai became masters of Pe-lu, of Nan-lu and of its Hexapolis, where the Buddhist Uigurs, the Christians, and the pagans welcomed them. The Moslems did not dare to look askance at these conquerors who spoke their language. Indeed, they preferred them to their Tajak (Iranian) co-religionists and to the iranised Turks of Transoxania, although, on account of the disparity of religions, they could not express the preference. This sudden ascendency of the Kara-Khitai rendered desperate the position of the last Seljuk of central Asia, the noble and unfortunate sultan Sanjar. Turkish in the eyes of the Iranians, and Persian in the eyes of all those Turks of the north and east who hated anyone who had a drop of Persian blood in his veins, what could Sanjar do? The crusaders had no conception of the fear inspired in the rulers of the house of Seljuk by the advancing mass of Turkish people. Atabegs in the south and sultans of Rum in the west trembled at every movement in central Asia. In 1141 the unfortunate sultan, the last of the Seljuks on Turkish soil, lost his final battle against the kur-khan. At the same time was founded another Turkish empire, that of Khwarezm (Khiva).

THE TWO CHINESE EMPIRES AND THE MONGOLS

While the sinicised Turks, the Kara-Khitai, and the Uigurs were sharing Asia with the iranised Turks, the Kankli and Kalatch, the Manchus were asserting themselves in China. The Chinese called them Niu-tchi; the Turks and Mongols called them Tchortcha. But these Niu-tchi called their nation according to their own dialect Aisin, Aijin, "gold" or "gilded," which the Chinese translated by Kin. They named their empire in China Aisin Gurun, the "gilded enclosure." In 1120 the king of the Niu-tchi forced the defiles which led to Petchili and seized Yen or Peking; in 1153 his successor established there his imperial golden court. He was lord of China as far as the Yangtse-Kiang. In the south ruled the dynasty of the Sung, with Hang-Chow for its capital. To secure themselves against the encroachments of the Niu-tchi, the Sungs sought soldiers in the far north, and found them among the famished princes, who depended for their precarious livelihood upon the chase and upon the booty of war. By treaties of protection with merchant guilds and with the "loyal" cities, and by the meagre revenue of their leased cattle, these had been able to drag on a miserable existence. The first to offer himself was a chief of the Kerait Turks. He had property in the neighbourhood of Almalik, "the pommery," a loyal Turkish commercial and Christian city in Pe-lu. He associated with himself a comrade, a brother by adoption, of Turkish lineage on the mother's side. This associate was called Yesuguei, and had the military surname of Bahatur, the "brave," the "valiant." A dozen years after this alliance, in 1162, Yesuguei had a son, whom he named Temujine.

The family of Yesuguei enjoyed great consideration among all the nations struggling to live, miserably enough, at the north of the Chinese marches, between the Sungari and the Irtish. His descendants were called the Borjiguene, "blue eyes." The Mongolian Buddhist legend gave them a miraculous origin. Dobo Merguene married the virgin Alang Goa, conceived in purity, or, as we should say, without sin; by her he had two sons and died. In her

widowed state Alang Goa, visited by a supernatural apparition, conceived and bore three sons. The Borjiguenes are descended from the third. The name of Nirun (pure origin) was given to all the descendants of these three brothers, because, according to the Mongolian belief, they were born of light. According to the Moslem legends the apparition was the angel Gabriel in the form of a ray of light. Certain genealogies make the Borjiguenes and the Seljuks descend from a common father whom they call Bugu, the Deer, and from a mother whom they call Goa, the Bitch. Turkish genealogies refer the origin of the Borjiguenes to the legendary ancestor of the Turks, who is Gray Wolf.

Four times did the Mongolian tribes and clans form an integral part of the Turkish empire: once at the time of the Hiong-nu of the south; again at the time of the Hiong-nu of the north; afterwards during the period of the Tu-kiu (545–745), and finally during that of the oriental Uigurs, down to the year 1000. In the eleventh century when the great Turkish nations of the western Uigurs, the Kankli, and the Kalatch were increasing their activity in the west, leaving the east free to the Kara-Khitai Turks, the Mongolian tribes and clans began to lead an autonomous life, grouping themselves about families called Nirun (pure, illustrious), in confederation with the Turks who had not prospered in the west. The revolution which in the eleventh century drove the Kara-Khitai Turks out of China, and caused the power to pass into the hands of the Niu-tchi, completed the liberation of the Mongols and of the Turkish tribes north of China. In the twelfth century the Mongols of the country between the Selenga and the Orkhon were independent, as were their neighbours the Kerait Turks, Naiman and Karluk.

In order to continue their existence these Turks and Mongols solicited aid and protection from China. They did not seek the ruler of northern China, whose throne was at Peking, the emperor of the Golden Enclosure, the Niu-tchi, for he was their hereditary enemy. They turned to the real Chinaman, to the legitimate emperor, who belonged to the dynasty of the Sungs, and who ruled south of the Blue River. What the holy emperor desired, they said, he had only to express; he was their father and mother; they and their children would maintain his cause against all enemies. In compensation they demanded titles, wages, grain, and silks.

The Chinese had long been acquainted with this people; they knew with whom they had to deal. These needy condottieri made great promises but rarely fulfilled them. To compel confidence, they should have arrived with formidable armies, instead of which they were seen to come with a thousand plunderers who levied contributions on the friendly country, but fought as little as possible. The Chinese demanded guarantees, drew their purse-strings, and demanded proofs of warlike ability. These adventurers, therefore, fought with each other to prove to the Chinese that they were the men to fight against others. At the first favourable response from the Sungs, these Mongols, Turks, Keraits, Naimans, and Karluks became reconciled to each other. At last they were to be recompensed. While the Manchu chronicles, collected in the seventeenth century under the title *History of the Three Realms*, do not mention the Manchus before the great war of 1209, the Chinese annals of the south, beginning with 1230, are full of Manchu exploits against the Niu-tchi. In 1147, according to the Chinese, the emperor of the Golden Enclosure, Hi-tzong, was defeated by the Mongols so severely that he accorded the title of king to their chief and ceded to him a part of the territory of Niu-tchi. According to the Manchu annals this Hi-tzong was a very bad emperor: "The fifth year Hoang-tong (1145), and in the fifth month, Hi-tzong began again to

drink with his officers without ceasing. The magistrates no longer dared to speak to him. He put the titular empress to death and abducted the wife of one of his generals. A short time afterwards he caused one of his wives to be killed. During an alcoholic debauch he put his son to death." One can easily imagine that this furious drunkard, execrated by his people, suffered the defeats of which the Chinese tell.

JENGHIZ KHAN AND THE MONGOLIAN EMPIRE

In 1162 the Mongols and the Keraits were in their turn conquered by the Manchus. This was the same year in which Temujine, the future Jenghiz Khan, came into the world. The Sungs were unwilling to incur the natural consequences of the defeat of 1162, and consequently Keraits and Mongols became at this time reconciled with the Manchus, so that thirty years later Temujine was a mercenary in their hire.

Life had been hard for him in his youth. He was the eldest of five brothers born of the same mother, and was only thirteen when his father died. This branch of the Borjiguenes was called Kiat (the avalanche). According to the Turkish and Mongolian custom the youngest brother, as we have seen, inherited the patrimonial domain. With a boy of thirteen to command the riders, to hold in check the landholders, to govern thirty thousand nomadic families following the profession of war, and with a child of five to guard the national sanctuary and the hearth, the state could not fail to fall apart. Scarcely was the mourning for Yesuguei finished, when the clan of the Taijiuts left the royal quarter where the nobles had without doubt been called together for the funeral ceremonies. Three-fourths of the other nobles followed the Taijiuts. One-fourth only remained loyal.

When the state fell the widow of Yesuguei summoned the few nobles who remained loyal and commanded them to mount. She put herself at their head, and carrying before them the standard of her dead husband gave chase to the deserters. Most of these galloped ahead and then dispersed in all directions in their haste to rejoin the *yurt* and to provide for their own safety. She caught up with the least expeditious, those who had no property to secure. When these men of war saw the widow, in her garments of mourning, holding in her hand the standard of battle about which they had so often ridden, their hearts reproached them; they turned about and followed the old banner. The widow led them back to a point near the sources of the Onon, where were planted "the standard with nine white tails," military symbol of the nation, and the "standard of the protecting genius of the Borjiguene with four black tails," religious symbol of the Nirun. With the firm determination which had led her so bravely to hold the flag, the great widow undertook the regency. To her people she was known as "lady of honour, of counsel, of reason, and of cold resolution." Her family was related to the emperors Niu-tchi, of the Golden Enclosure, or to one of their great lords, for to her name Olun was added the Chinese title of Fu-jin—the dowager-princess, as we should say.

Yesuguei, before his death, had done his best to provide for the future of the young Temujine, of his brothers, and of his people. In the first place he had affiliated a new family in case of misfortune; he had pledged the cup with the grandson of Marghuz, the king of the Christian Kerait Turks, so that they became "brothers." This chief was called by his war name Toghrul, (the killer). Having fortified him on the west, he had arranged an alliance

on the east with the powerful house of the Kungrads, which was allied with the Turks, the Tatars, and the trans-Sungarian Manchus; he had affianced him to Burte-Jujine, daughter of a Kungrad chief who was called Dai Setzene. She was only nine. The final marriage was concluded when Temujine was seventeen (1182–1183). He made the Kungrads enter the Mongolian confederation. When the great dowager had gathered around her son all the partisans she could find, and around the flag all the defenders she could muster, she took counsel. The alliance with the Kungrads would undoubtedly prove valuable when her son had grown up; but in the mean time they must live. The appeal to the Keraits was a last resort. Toghrul had a grown son, Sengun, whose rights as *auda*[1] over the people of Yesuguei he might be tempted to enforce. It was necessary that the lad should defend himself alone, at all risks and perils, and that his protector should never become a rival, a pretender. His mother found the man she needed. He was a person of high lineage called Minglig. The Mongols respectfully called him Etchigue, (father). This reverend father, St. Minglig, had a son who performed miracles; he was called Keuktche. It was related that he used to fly to heaven mounted on a horse the colour of the clouds, and that he conferred familiarly with Tangri (God). To hold the saint and his son, the doer of miracles, was to hold the sanctuary, to put Temujine under the protection of religion. The period of delay caused by widowhood was hardly finished when the great dowager married Minglig Etchigue. Now the young Temujine could wield his sword with a glad heart; she had kept the flag for him; she now gave him the sanctuary.

TEMUJINE'S FIRST BATTLES

Temujine proved himself a son worthy of his mother. In that terrible life of chance, which lasted until his thirty-second year, no trial was spared him; he emptied the cup of bitterness. Two heroic friendships sustained him, caused him, as we are told by Abulghazi, whom in his simplicity one likes to cite, "to taste the sweet and the bitter." These were the friendships of his rough brother Juji Khassar (Juji the Tiger) and of his faithful companion Bogorji. Relatives and neighbours from all sides had fallen upon the miserable remainder of Yesuguei's inheritance. The bitterest were the Taijiuts. The clan of the Niruns, the Juirats, also was inimical.

The Taijiuts and the Juirats tracked Temujine with fury. Their disagreements saved him. Ten times in the alternations of success and reverse, pressed by many enemies, the Borjiguene had had to take to the desert, scouring the country as a kazak among traps and ambuscades. He never ceased to act like a king. This son of the lady "of high respect" won the respect both of enemies and friends. He had the genius of authority; even when reduced to extremity he begged aid of no one, but commanded it imperiously as an obligatory tribute due to his house. In 1189, being then twenty-seven years old, he was acknowledged as *khakan* (emperor) by the Arlads, on the field of Kerulun, and took the title of Sutu-Bogdo (given by God).

Either a little after or a little before his recognition by the Arlads, about 1188, it is certain that Temujine was strong enough to fight a pitched battle with the Taijiuts and with their confederates. The battle was fought at the sources of the Baljuna, a little affluent of the Ingoda, west of the Onon. The combat was fierce; six thousand confederates remained on the field. It

[1 Toghrul's son became *auda* or son to Yesuguei when "brotherhood" was pledged between the fathers.]

was the first great Mongolian victory. In this combat Temujine had divided his knights into bodies of a thousand men each. This division by a thousand, in an army of upper Asia in 1188, was an innovation, a veritable tactical revolution.

From 1187 to 1193, slowly and patiently, sometimes by force of arms, sometimes by negotiations and marriages, Temujine established his authority over the tribes of Turkish origin—both Mongol and Tatar—situated at the mouth of the Gobi, between Kerulun and the Selenga, as far as the desert towards the south and as far as Ingoda towards the north. Further north, on the two sides of Lake Baikal, his old enemies the Tonguz Mergueds, who had collected those that remained of the Taijiuts and all the malcontents of the broken tribes which he was incorporating bit by bit into his future Mongolian Empire, still held out against him.

In 1193, after so many years of patience, he risked for the first time a political combination abroad. With the great good sense which characterised his genius, he chose a very modest undertaking, one proportionate to his forces and sure of success; one, moreover, which could serve as a point of departure for greater enterprises. Certainly when Temujine, in 1193, poorly established as he was in his dominion over a people made up of scattered tribes, and surrounded by suspected allies and threatening adversaries, conceived the idea of offering his services to the emperor of the Enclosure of Gold, to the hereditary enemy of his people and family, he had a far-seeing eye.

The affair was vigorously conducted, for the "emperor of Gold" paid well. Temujine received the Chinese brevet of "commander against the rebels," and perhaps his university degree of Dai Ming, which he bears in the Mongolian legend among his titles of Sutu-Bogdo (son of heaven) and Tchinghiz Khakan (inflexible emperor).

Temujine shortly afterwards attempted a rash venture. He attacked the Solongos, the real Manchus. If he could have succeeded, all the Turkish nations of the extreme east, the Kungrads, to which nation his wife belonged, and above all the Kara-Khitais of Liao, the ancient masters of Peking and of northern China, would have arisen and acclaimed him ruler; he would have been the master of the eastern Turks, their avenger against the Manchus. Already he saw northern China open, Peking in his possession. But he undertook the enterprise too soon. He had miscalculated his forces and was beaten severely (1197). His faithful followers carried him half-dead from the battle-field.

The state which had been founded so painfully fell to pieces at one blow. Once again the "mother of nations"—the "lady of high honour"—re-established everything. Although old and broken, she seized the flag, mounted her horse, reunited the remnants of the army, reassured, supplicated, reminded the people of her husband Minglig, of the great St. Keuktche. The valiant chief Mukhuli fought, overcame the enemy, and ended by repulsing him.[b]

Little by little Temujine extended his domains. His chief rivals at this time were the Keraits and the Naimans, with the former of whom his father had sworn friendship. Sengun, the son of Toghrul, was jealous of his father's "adopted" son Temujine and incited his father against him; when it came to the battle the Keraits were completely defeated; Toghrul, fleeing, was killed by vassals of the Naiman king; Sengun escaped to Tibet and died after miserable years of wandering. Soon after the defeat of the Keraits (1203) the Naimans were likewise overcome in a sanguinary battle.[a]

TEMUJINE TAKES THE IMPERIAL TITLE

The designs of Temujine regarding the Turks of Pentapolis, of Hexapolis, and of the marches of Transoxania were evidenced by the care which he gave to conciliating these people and by the precaution he took to teach their language and literature to his children. They finally decided him to move the seat of his government to the west. In 1206 he took up the standards of his family and of his tutelary saints to carry them to the old Turkish capital, to Karakorm. The act was decisive: to plant the standards at Karakorm was to raise again the ancient Hiong-nu Empire; it was to take the imperial title. Temujine took it. With the scrupulous legality which characterised his particular kind of despotism, he had first assembled the *kuriltai*, the general assembly of the Tarkhans. It was this general assembly which appointed the *khakans* and the *il-khans*, administered the oath, and assured to everyone his privileges.

But this worn-out title, this restricted power, was not what Temujine wanted. What was necessary to him was sovereign power, having no other limits than the law, and not open to dispute. The kuriltai granted it to him. He was Sutu-Bogdo, son of heaven; he became Tchinghiz, lord inflexible, immovable, absolute, autocratic. The law was introduced by him, and he swore to observe it. It consisted of the *yassak* and the *tura;* the name of the first signifies rule, the second usage, customary law, ordinance. The "inflexible" emperor was throughout his life the strict executor and punctilious slave of this body of laws, which codified the old Turkish and Mongol usages. No despot ever respected so faithfully a compact concluded between his peoples and himself. In the most terrible rigours of Jenghiz Khan his worst enemies have never been able to discover caprice. His worst tyrannies were the literal execution of the law and of the ordinance. No contemporary was deluded on the subject; Joinville and Marco Polo, the most directly informed, saw in him the firm legislator.

The unity of government and law established by the "inflexible" emperor had resulted in complete homogeneity of the nation. The kuriltai which hailed Temujine for its Jenghiz Khan, the assembly in which there figured nineteen Turkish and Tonguz peoples, with twenty-six Mongolian clans, properly so called, no longer represented a confederation of tribes but a homogeneous nation, in which the autonomy of the tribes was broken. Without doubt every tribe remembered its own genealogy, but only as a personal title. Taken as a whole, the people were now neither Nekrins, nor Urmanguts, nor Oirads, nor Taijiuts, nor Tatars, nor Mergueds, nor Naimans, nor Keraits, nor Barlass, nor Barins, nor Arlads, nor Jelairs. They were Mongols, the Blue Mongols, the first nation of the world. Proudly Jenghiz Khan spoke to them, when, before the kuriltai, surrounded by the sacred standards, and having beside him the great St. Keuktche, descended from heaven, he swore the national oath: "This people, which in the face of tribulation and when I have been sorest pressed by adversity has made itself inseparable from my person; this people, which has accepted joys and sorrows with an equal cheer and has realised my idea in the form of an active government; this people, pure as rock crystal, which amidst all dangers has made its loyalty shine to the end of my efforts—I wish to have bear the name Blue Mongols. May it excel in power and glory!" To re-elevate the banner of the Hiong-nu Empire and of its heir, the Turkish Empire, was equivalent to a declaration of war upon northern China, the Enclosure of Gold.[b]

Jenghiz Khan began the war against China in 1206 by attacking Hia, the present home of the Tanguts, a land occupied chiefly by brigands who were a terror to their neighbours, a land the occupation of which could be of great strategic advantage to him. In 1208 he drove the people of Hia out of Pentapolis, and by 1209 the north was conquered and Jenghiz Khan was free to march against the Chinese Empire. A change in ruler at this time relieved the scrupulous Temujine of his feudal obligations to the old emperor; he

JENGHIZ KHAN
(1162–1227)

insulted the ambassador of the new ruler, come to announce his succession to the throne, and the war began.[a]

Enthusiasm beat high in the young Turkish and Mongolian army, tried by so many petty wars, and sent out now for the first time on an expedition of real importance. Jenghiz Khan, true leader of men if ever there was one, had imbued his men with conscience, with passion; he had lighted like a torch the idea of country, of nation. It is Abulghazi with his simple Turkish who

gives the best impression of Jenghiz Khan's speech: "Then he gathered the assembly of the Mongol lords in a certain place and said to them: 'The emperors of China, that is those of Gold, have done much injury to my ancestors and to my relatives. Now, the very high God assures to me the victory. In this kingdom of China, upon the person of its emperor of Gold, he gives me the opportunity, the power, to revindicate the right of my ancestors.' " Jenghiz Khan's relatives formed the Turkish nation. All those of the east, Khitais, Uigurs, Karluks, Kungrads, Manguts and Onguts, Keraits and Naimans, Oirads and Torguts, the descendants of Oguz Khan, the children of Gray Wolf, hastened in the suite of Jenghiz Khan to avenge on the national army, on the Manchus, the ills which the Chinese had done to their ancestors, the Hiong-nu of old.

The Kins were totally unprepared. The poor emperor of the "superb beard," the noble and beautiful "imbecile," was taken unawares; his generals were without orders, his troops distributed in a cordon in the face of concentrated Mongols, and of a captain like Jebe. This prestidigitator commenced upon the brave Niu-tchi. He had before him two armies collected in haste, close to the defiles in the lower chain of the Khingan Mountains, by the Great Wall. One stronghold after another was taken.

The Niu-tchi nation had the power to recover itself after this terrible downfall. When the bewilderment of the first defeats had passed away its constancy and courage reasserted themselves. When, later, the Mongols, who were far from their country, attacked central Europe, two months (from the end of March to the middle of May, 1241) sufficed Sabutai, who was supported by the empire of Germany, for the defeat of the military forces of Poland, Siberia, Moravia, Bohemia, and Hungary; this same Sabutai, aided by Jebe and Mukhuli and many others, required twenty-four years, during which fighting was incessant (1210–1234), to get the better of the Niu-tchi, who were implanted in China, and were fighting against the people of Hia, against rebellion and the Chinese *jacquerie*, against the national dynasty of the Sung, against their implacable enemies of the Liao, and who were betrayed ten times during these tumultuous years by their own nobility. It was a great lord of royal blood, known as Hosao, an abominable traitor, who lured the faithful and loyal Turkan into ambush, assassinated him, and marched upon the capital. Five hundred men of the bourgeois militia —Chinamen—fought for the Manchurian emperor and were killed; it was a chamberlain, the eunuch Litze, who killed his sovereign. At the palace there was only one woman who showed any courage. She held the seal of the treasury and would not relinquish it. She fought, while insulting the officers of the palace, calling them cowards and ungrateful: "Steal the seal of state at the order of a rebel subject? I will die, but I will not give it up!"

One receives from this narrative an impression of loyalty, of popular honour, of high national dignity, which the Mongols did not fail to recognise. When, after the disaster of Tien-ling, the last surviving Manchu general—all the others had refused quarter—was led before the conqueror, he did not command the general to kneel, "for it was well known that he would refuse."

After the treason of Hosao, the new, legitimate sovereign Hwen-tzong continued the struggle; it was a fierce warfare without cessation. The Niu-tchi still directed successful campaigns against the people of Hia and against the Sungs. Against the cold tactics of the able and tenacious Manchus, however, they were constantly unsuccessful. In 1215 Hwen-tzong accepted a treaty by which he recognised the protectorate of the Mongols over Liao, governed by a Kara-Khitai prince, to whom Jenghiz Khan gave the investiture, with

direct authority over a part of the Petcheli, over the Shansi, and over the Shensi. As security he gave his sister in marriage to Temujine and moved his capital to the north of the Yellow River, to Pian-king, the Kai-fung Fu of Marco Polo.[b] Peace, however, was not accepted by the people. War began afresh. Jenghiz Khan sent forward one of his generals, while he remained at the centre ready to advance in either direction, "watching and governing."[a]

The fifth month the Mongol army captured the capital of the Centre; General Tzong, who defended it, took poison; the others were killed by rebel soldiers. The tenth month the Mongols took the pass of Tong-kwan. Buluko was vanquished and killed. The disaster was complete (1216). In this downfall of the enemy, Sabutai, having nothing to do at his post, and disliking idleness, amused himself by conquering Korea. In 1217 Jenghiz Khan saw that affairs were progressing as he desired and that his presence in the country was no longer necessary. He left in China as his lieutenant the trustworthy and methodical Mukhuli, and gave him civil and military authority and thirty-five thousand men.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE KHWAREZMIAN EMPIRE

The renown of Jenghiz Khan's victories had been prodigious among the Turks of Transoxania; the grandeur of Rome and that of the caliphate had not effaced in their minds the memory of an almost superstitious admiration for that China, model of all splendour, type of all empires, which had so often dazzled or conquered their fathers. At first they did not wholly believe in it. Muhammed the Fighter pressed with questions the ambassador whom Jenghiz Khan had sent him; this was a Moslem Turk, called Mahmud Yelvaj, who was fanatical in his nationalism and devoted body and soul to his master, the pagan emperor of the Mongols. "One day Muhammed took Mahmud to the chase and said to him: 'Thy khan, did he really conquer the land of China?'—and he detached from his arm a jewel of infinite value and made a present of it to Mahmud Yelvaj." The secrecy of the interview, the solemn oath which was taken, the attitude of those present, all betrayed anxiety. These Turks of the Occident felt that they could not successfully contest the game against a Turk who was master of China.

The sultan of Khwarezm, Persia, and Transoxania must indeed have been blind not to see the approaching storm. He was, moreover, a weak-headed individual, with all the faults of his race and none of its virtues. Ever since Jenghiz had won the name of "second Alexander," after his victory over the hunted and betrayed Kurkhan, Muhammed the Fighter was no longer sceptical. Southern Persia, Afghanistan, the marches of India were divided amongst a number of feudal lords, most of them of Turkish origin, calling themselves *atabegs*, "father governors," and using as their chief weapon the name of the spiritual sovereign of the caliph of Baghdad, who sold them the privilege of his suzerainty. The Fighter himself was only the delegate of the caliph through the heritage of the Seljuks. To attack the atabegs without asking permission of the pope of Baghdad was to revolt against him, to begin a "quarrel of investitures." The pope protested; the Fighter got angry, and, in an access of rage, marched upon Baghdad.

At the same time that he was quarrelling with the pope of Islam the Fighter was alienating his own subjects. In an access of fury after drinking, he killed the sheikh Madjd ad-din of Bokhara, the highest Moslem authority of his empire, the primate of Transoxania, accusing him of being the lover of his mother, the old Turkan Khatun. Become sober he perceived his mistake. The old

empress was a Kankli, adored by all those riders among whom the voice of blood and of feudal relationship was so powerful. The clergy of the bigoted capital became agitated and preached in the mosques of Bokhara. "The sultan sent a platter filled with gold and precious stones to the sheikh Nedjm ad-din Kubrah and said to him, 'For this my sin give me absolution.' The sheikh replied, 'It is not with a ransom of gold and of precious stones, but with your head, mine, and those of thousands of people that your act will be redeemed.'" Through his Moslem agents Jenghiz Khan had been informed of all that transpired. He even received an embassy from the caliph urging him to begin hostilities; but, always punctilious in points of honour, he wished not to open the breach until the sultan of Khwarezm had given him definite cause. In the mean while he put the sultan off his guard and flattered him through his ambassador. They ended by concluding a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance at the end of which was a little supplementary clause, seemingly insignificant, a commercial convention giving free passage to caravans coming from China across Turkestan and Transoxania. This relinquished to Jenghiz Khan the "silk route," the main road towards Irak and Rome. That which the Sassanids had refused to the Turkish il-khan of the sixth century at the risk of an alliance between him and Constantinople, the Fighter granted to his terrible friend Temujine, without weighing its consequences and as if it were a mere bagatelle. The treaty concluded, he set forth on his foolish expedition against the caliph. He bravely conquered the sultanates of Persia, became entangled in the snows of Armenia and Kurdistan, and came back excommunicated. The caliph forbade in the churches the *khotba*, or prayer for the sovereign. He put him under the ban of Islam, as a rebel, a schismatic, and a felon. That involved the release of all the Moslems, his subjects, from their oath of obedience. There had been a considerable number who had long been disposed to profit by the dispensation and to take sides openly with the great protector of all the Turks, the "inflexible" emperor. The governor of a frontier town precipitated matters in Turkish fashion; the great caravan had just come from China; he seized the merchandise and cut off the heads of the merchants. Denounced by Nedjm ad-din, excommunicated by the caliph, threatened by the Kanklis and by the nobility, upbraided by his mother and by his son Jelal ad-din, the unhappy Fighter did not dare to denounce the deed. Jenghiz Khan had sent him three ambassadors to demand reparation; he had one decapitated and drove off the two others. A month earlier Temujine had begun to mass troops on the Irtish; as soon as the good news reached him he sent out his scouts in order to conceal his movements from the enemy, and to complete the concentration of his main army (1219).

The Khwarezmians were unprepared. With feverish haste the ardent Jelal ad-din collected his contingents, compelled his father to accompany him, that the troops might see the sultan at their head, and went to meet the Mongols. At the end of the year 1219, after a battle between the Karadagh and the lower Sir-Daria, Muhammed could no longer deceive himself. He took the step of re-entering Transoxania, and of assembling his great army behind the Sir, in the shelter of the strongholds which protected the passes. It was a terrible blow for Muhammed when in the first days of March he learned that the great Mongolian army had just emerged from the "red sands," that the cities of Zernuk and Nurata had surrendered, and that Jenghiz Khan was marching upon Bokhara. He understood that all was lost, and he fled to Samarkand.

Jenghiz Khan, concealing his march, had boldly crossed the desert of the red sands and emerged in Transoxania, marching thence straight upon Bo-

khara in the rear of the sultan of Kwarezm. The garrison of the city—twenty thousand men, say the Moslem chronicles—tried to cut its way out, probably hoping to rejoin the sultan at Samarkand; it was defeated, and Bokhara "the holy" opened its gates to the pagan emperor. "All the sheikhs, the mollahs, the muftis, all the inhabitants, great and small, went out from the city to put themselves at the mercy of the khan" (April, 1220). From Bokhara Jenghiz Khan hastened to Samarkand, where the sultan Muhammed had abandoned his army. There were there about forty thousand men, disorganised and demolished by the flight of the sultan and by the departure of Jelal ad-din. They bravely accepted battle and fell upon the Mongols, while these were manœuvring to invest the place, they repulsed them and made some among them prisoners, but the next day they were driven back behind the walls. The clergy and the citizens then took flight; the sheikh ul-Islam and the cadi opened one of the gates while the garrison was being massacred in the defence of the other gate.

The city escaped plunder by paying a tax of 200,000 pieces of gold, but thirty thousand men of arts and crafts had to leave their hearths to go to Karakorm, to China, and to Siberia, to work for the "inflexible" emperor, his princes and his nobles. This was the commencement of the Mongolian system of recruiting by force, of compelling the service of artisans, of confiscating industries for the benefit of the nation. It was by their brutal requisitions of men that the Mongols renewed art and opened new paths for the imagination. "China owed to them the precious advantage of entering into communication with occidental civilisations and of participating for a century (1260–1368) in the vast movement of exchange which they promoted over the whole civilised world. In China, as everywhere else where they established themselves, the Mongols caused a moral revolution by bringing into relations with one another peoples which had till then been strangers."[1]

The first days of April, 1220, had arrived; during five months without one single pitched battle, two successful sieges, one of Bokhara, one of Samarkand —defended by a hundred thousand men who were poorly commanded and poorly organised, but who were brave—had enabled the Mongols to conquer Turkestan, Ferghana, and Transoxania. The four armies then joined forces before Samarkand. Jenghiz Khan could detach twenty-five thousand men for the conquest of the West. There is nothing in military history to be compared with that fantastic excursion of the twenty-five thousand from Samarkand to Feodosia and the Don. It was the most extraordinary folly which has ever been committed against war, a learned extravagance, a mathematically calculated romance, a reasonable absurdity. Precursors of the great conquest, they went at a gallop, marking out the stopping-places for the army which took fifteen years to follow them. The Persians, the Turks of Azerbaijan, the Armenians, the Georgians, the Circassians, the Alani, the Turks of the Kiptchak, the Venetians of the Crimea, the Russians, the Bulgarians, and the Hungarian Bashkirs saw pass in a whirlwind of dust the Mongolian standard, always victorious.[b]

Jebe, the son of Jenghiz Khan, and the generals with him, who conducted the expedition, had orders to track the sultan Muhammed. They came up with him on the Caspian, "the sea of ravens," but found that he had just been buried on an island near by. After a short halt to recuperate and obtain instructions from headquarters they continued their career of conquest, crossed the Caucasus, fell upon the Alans, the Circassians, and the Lesghians (old

[1] *Paléologue, l'Art Chinois.*

Avars). The Kiptchaks, who had been in doubt whether to receive these newcomers as brothers or foes, when they saw them taking possession of their property and were too weak to resist, fled towards the west, towards the Don.[a] This was desertion—an unpardonable crime in the eyes of the Mongols. It was necessary to bring the wandering Turkish lambs back to the fold and to chastise the leaders. Meanwhile, it was learned that a certain nation, called Russia, was taking the Kiptchaks under its protection. The Mongols determined to teach those Russians not to interfere in affairs which did not concern them, and to respect the orders of the "inflexible" emperor. After conquering Kalka (1223), Sabutai and Jebe hastened to the Dnieper. There they either received letters calling them back or else themselves decided to return. They must have been in correspondence with Jenghiz Khan. The two heroes led back those who were left of their twenty-five thousand men. Descending from the north they defeated the Bulgarians of Great Bulgaria, and on the Kama they gave themselves the pleasure of attacking the Turkish Kanklis settled in this region, and of killing their khan, who had the madness to obstruct their passage. Finally they re-entered the *ordu* (camp) of Jenghiz Khan. Jebe, being betrayed, died a short time afterwards. Sabutai survived him.[b]

While this conquest was taking place in the west, Jelal ad-din, son of Muhammed, raised a revolt in Khwarezm, rallying the atabegs and the districts of Ghazni and Kabul to his cause. The rising was put down with cruel severity on the part of Jenghiz Khan. One characteristic of this great monarch, however, was that he never made war on religion. Pagans, Christians, and Moslems were united around his council table and he was equally just towards all.[a]

At last Asia was in subjection; from Nan-lu and Pe-lu as far as the Caspian and Caucasus, the Turks dominated, the Iranian was subdued, the Mongolian recognised; Jenghiz Khan could return home (1225). Never before had there reigned so profound a peace. "During nineteen years, from the year of the Dragon to the year of the Dog, the sovereign employed himself by establishing law and order among his great people; he founded the empire and the government on a solid basis, procured peaceful labour for his people, and increased prosperity to such a degree that nothing can compare with the happiness of the khakan and of his subjects." His sons, with the exception of Juji (the eldest), who had remained in the west, in Khwarezm, had rejoined him since the beginning of 1223. When Juji died at Sarai on the lower Volga, his son Batu received from the emperor the investiture of his father's dignities and power in Kiptchak. In Pe-lu Jenghiz Khan installed his younger son Jagatai, who took up his residence in Almalik; thence he governed Turkestan, Transoxania, Khorasan, watched over Irak, the roads to Rum, and the feudal government of the atabegs in the Iranian land. The emperor took with him his two youngest, Ogdai and Tulé.

It was time that he returned. Mukhuli had just died in China; Jenghiz Khan's own brother, the legendary Juji the Tiger, having been detained at home in idleness, had become bored and had begun to intrigue and to create a party; finally the people of Hia, suspected allies, and the wild Tibetans, hearing in the depths of their mountains no talk of emperor or of army, knowing that Mukhuli was dead, and seeing affairs balanced between the Mongols, the Kins, and the Sungs, thought that their time had come.[b] Jenghiz Khan first won back his brother to his former loyalty, then sent Sabutai against China, whilst he himself dealt with the people of Hia.[a] From 1225 to the end of 1226 the land of Hia, the Ho-si, "at the mouth of the river" of the Chinese, between Hwangho and the Hexapolis, was fearfully devastated. The brigands

of Ala-shan and of Kan-su were exterminated with such terrible slaughter that even to-day, according to one traveller, the inhabitants of Ala-shan hear in the desert the wailing of the souls of the people massacred by the Mongols.

Order being established in the Ho-si, Jenghiz Khan started through China on a tour of inspection. He fell ill on the journey and died in some small town in Shan-si. One party wished to take the body on its funeral car, "decorated with five standards," to the Turkish capital of Karakorm; "the car refused to move." Then the old companion-at-arms of Jenghiz, the old Kilukene, spoke to the emperor: "Son of heaven, wilt thou remain here alone, and abandon thy great people? Deligun-buldak, on the border of the Onon, the place of thy birth—all is yonder. The field of Kerulun, where thou wast proclaimed emperor—all is yonder. Thy great people, very faithful—all are yonder." The car, which had been motionless, began to move and rolled towards Deligun-buldak. The Mongolian faction triumphed over the Turkish; from that time it could be foreseen that Karakorm, the Turkish, would be only the occasional capital, that the imperial throne would not stay there but would be moved into Chinese territory, to Peking, for there could be no question of establishing a capital at Deligun-buldak; it was necessary to choose between the West and the East, between Turkish Asia and China. The Mongols chose China; the day after the death of Jenghiz the dissolution of his empire was inevitable.

THE SUCCESSORS OF JENGHIZ KHAN

"Pay good heed to the words of the little Khubilai; they are full of wisdom," said the emperor at the end of his life. This little Khubilai was the son of Tulé. It was understood that the hereditary domain, Deligun-buldak, the holy places near Orkhon, and the city of Karakorm would fall to him. But the acquisitions, how would they be disposed of? And the empire—that empire "founded on horseback but which could not be governed on horseback"—who would have a hand strong enough to govern it? For the first time those indomitable conquerors hesitated. The "inflexible" emperor was no longer there; whom were they to choose as khan, "power of heaven," on the earth? After his death Jenghiz seemed so great that no one dared take his place. They were inspired with his spirit and administered affairs according to the *yassak*. Tulé, preserving the hearths on Orkhon and on Onon, governed the hereditary peoples—Mongols and Keraits—directly. Over the others he ruled at intervals like a regent established to guard the national compact. He had the seals, and his father's ministers, but he was never proclaimed ruler.

Juji's son Batu, who was afterwards called Sain Khan (the Debonnair), was away off in the west willingly leading a nomadic life between his headquarters at Sarai on the Volga and his fair fields of the Kuban, north of the Caucasus. He governed with comparative quiet over the Kiptchaks, Kirghizes, Bulgarians, Bashkirs, Russians, and others, fighting against those who were unsubmissive, without particular exertion; he had no orders from the khan; there even was no khan. Receiving no orders, the Debonnair managed his peoples and enjoyed life.

Jagatai had received the investiture of Transoxania and Khorasan while his father was still alive. The struggle was plainly beginning between the Mongolian conception of a lay state based on nationality and the Moslem idea of a state founded on religion without distinction of nationality. With the great Timur, however, who was thoroughly Turkish in heart and spirit,

the state founded on religion, that is to say, on the *sheriat*, the Moslem law, was to gain the victory. Under the vigorous administration of Jagatai the national idea became so prominent that it has been preserved in the most durable form—that of language. The Turkish dialect actually written and spoken in the countries governed by Jagatai in the thirteenth century is still called by his name, *Jagatai Turkisi*, or Turkish of Jagatai. If Jenghiz Khan was the father of a people, his son Jagatai was godfather to a language.

In 1229 the great empire became tired of waiting; an emperor was needed. The council of Tulé, directed by Ye-lu-tchutsai, formulated into a testament the verbal instructions which Jenghiz Khan had given his people and which designated the insignificant Ogdai as his successor. The action of Ye-lu-tchutsai and of the Chinese party is visible in the election of 1229. Ogdai was their man; it was to China that they first conducted the emperor; after Tulé was dead (October, 1232) they sequestered Ogdai Khan at Karakorm, made him assent to all they wished, and left him drunk. He died of alcoholic poisoning on March 11th, 1241.

Ye-lu-tchutsai had prepared the way for the removal of all obstacles from the inheritance of Tulé. In the kuriltai, the "general assembly" had decided that the imperial succession should remain in the house of Ogdai, the first khan elected after Jenghiz Khan. The Chinese party had pretended to accept him, but it surreptitiously kept in reserve that "little Khubilai" whose "wise words" had been vaunted by Jenghiz Khan. To avoid all rivalry of the elder branch, Batu was sent into the west to make conquests; on the same occasion the Chinese party got rid of the children of Ogdai, the legitimate heirs, and of those of Jagatai, the eventual heirs, to whom was due the honour and the accustomed right of going to fight as far away from home as possible.

When the Mongols completed the conquest of the whole of China, that of the Sungs after that of the Kins, they had already been conquered by her. After 1230 the Chinese spirit and that of the Uigurs, who had long since become Chinese, began to appear in the formidable fiscal system, in the Mongolian bureaucracy and red tape. The sovereignty of Ogdai (April, 1229–December 11th, 1241) was a government of compromise between the Chinese party who did not wish the "empire to be governed on horseback," and who dreamed of the ancient glory of the Hans and the Tangs under a Mongolian dynasty become sufficiently Chinese, and between the Turkish party who wished only the "empire on horseback," with its policy of enforced conquest —conquest pursued to the extreme limits of the territories within which those furious patriots, those chauvinistic fanatics imagined that they would find Turks.

BUDDHISM, CHRISTIANITY, AND ISLAM

When there were no longer any Turks, they would imagine Turks! For them there were Turks everywhere, for it was now the whole face of the earth which they desired to conquer. *Tarikh-i-jihan Kushai*, "chronicle of the conquest of the world," is the name Juveini gives to his annals. An imaginary testament of the "inflexible" emperor is invented; the conquest of the world is so much an article of faith that Plan-Carpin believes in the existence of the testament. From this time on the Buddhists rally to the side of the Chinese "government," the Moslems and Christians to the party "on horseback"—the party of enforced war and of conquest. Buddhism was passing through a crisis; it was emerging from its long evangelic and purely doctri-

nary period and was taking shape, was founding a church. The lamian reform, the establishment of a hierarchy, was accomplished at the same time as the great Mongolian centralisation; the khan and the dalai-lama, the emperor and the pope, were twins; it was inevitable that the emperor should adopt the religion of the pope. This Buddhist papacy is individualistic in so far as it was founded by anchorites "of the country of above," on the terrible plateaus of Tibet, in the desert, in the midst of acknowledged brigands and sanguinary savages, the highwaymen of Hia. At the time of Marco Polo it was still said that the Tibetans were anthropophagous. Among the glaciers and precipices the Buddhist anchorites established their enormous monasteries, watched the Mongolian catechumen, the conqueror of the world, made of him their armed knight in China, against the Taoist, against the Manichæan dualist, against the philosopher of the school of Confucius.

The Nestorian Christians had no church properly speaking. Their liturgy was Syriac, that is to say, almost Arabic; their bishoprics were Almalik, Mongolian country, and Merv, country conquered by the Mongols; their language, their nationality were Turkish and Mongolian. Were there a crusade against the adorers of the impostor Mohammed or a Mongolian war against the Seljuks of Rum, against the Tajaks, against the Iranians, against the caliph, they assembled as to a *fête*. The Turkish Moslems dreamed of the conversion of the khan, of an empire of Bokhara, of a Turkish pope in Transoxania, of the extermination of the Iranian heretics. Like their Christian compatriots, they asked nothing better than to attack the West and to put it to the sword.

ATTEMPTED REACTION OF KHWAREZMIANS

A singular thing was now seen—the defence of the caliphate, upheld against the orthodox Moslem Jelal ad-din, by pagans, Buddhists, Christians, and by Mongolian Moslems, who were to suppress the caliphate as soon as its orthodox enemy had disappeared; and this extravagance was perfectly logical. When Jelal ad-din, thirsting for revenge, returned suddenly from India after the death of the "inflexible" emperor and aroused Iran against the Mongols, his first thought of vengeance was against the caliph. His was a triumphal march (1225–1226). In the Iranian country, at Ispahan, this Turk was welcomed, and he attempted to resuscitate the old Iran of the *Shahnameh* and to oppose it to the Mongolian Turan. When the Persians saw Jelal ad-din arrive with four thousand faithful riders brought from the heart of India, with his wife, the daughter of the sultan of Delhi, with his exotic train as of a wandering knight, their southern imagination took fire; it was Rustam in person returning from the land of elephants, and with him Timur-melek, the "paladin," the hero of Khodjend. There was an explosion of knightly and literary enthusiasm. In Kirman, Jelal married the daughter of the sultan Berak; in Fars, the daughter of the atabeg Saad; never was such a maker of marriages seen before. In a few weeks the feudal marriages and popular enthusiasm created an empire for him and gave him an army. He held all of Persia and Khorasan. Princes and sultans rode among his companions of adventure, and a great lord, the chatelaine of Nish, was his secretary.

The year 1227 arrived. "The inflexible" emperor was dead; his successor had not been chosen; the best troops and the best generals were engaged in China in a fierce warfare; the Iranian people hailed a Turkish prince; the Shiites were taking fire for his cause, seeing in him an enemy to the orthodox

caliph; the Turkish military nobility of the south and west, proprietors of estates since the time of the Seljuks, furious at the parvenus from the north and east, hastened to his standard. The proof that the Mongolian invasion between 1220 and 1225 was not an irruption but an organised conquest lies in the fact that in Khorasan proper, in Transoxania, in Khwarezm, where Jelal ad-din's father and ancestors had reigned, not without honour, there was no uprisal. In cities like Bokhara, where the influence of the students—an always turbulent element in Moslem society—was so great that after 1230 the good dowager-empress Serkuteni, a Christian and the widow of Tulé, built a college for them, everything was quiet. The Mongols had succeeded in imposing themselves on the nation; they had done it through the Turkish nationality, through the skill of administrators such as Mahmud Yelvaj and Masud, through the strong discipline of a king like Jagatai, and through the prudent goodness of their empresses and queens.

TURKISH USHER

That the bold and adventurous Jelal ad-din dreamed of recommencing the Seljuk romance is possible, but that he saw from the beginning why it was too late is probable. He lacked the material for the romance; the Turkish riders, those atabegs who welcomed him, had become Iranian and were knights of the *Shahnameh*; the real Turk—the soldier—had rallied to the great family; body and soul he had given himself to the khan. With a remarkable surety of vision the counsellors of Jagatai saw at once that the knights of Jelal ad-din could do nothing against Mongolian corporalism and Turkish chauvinism. They gave free rein to the hero of romance. He fought desperately, now as king, now as captain of unorganised soldiers, prolonging the adventure during six heroic years (1226–1231), but without once being able to encroach upon Mongolian territory. Finally this son of an emperor perished in a miserable ambuscade of a Kurdish landowner in Asia Minor. His highwaymen enlisted in Rum and continued their life of adventure. They were found wherever there was fighting. Most of them went into Syria, braving Moslems and Christians together, fighting furiously against everyone they met.

CONQUESTS IN EUROPE

The command in the west belonged legally to Batu. In order to prevail upon the Débonnair to march, Sabutai was sent to him as adviser and his staff as a council. Never was a conqueror so rudely led about as poor Batu. Sabutai reprimanded him on every occasion; his cousins of the younger branches mocked him, two especially, Guyuk, a drunkard, and Buri, a brutal swordsman. Batu was a conqueror in spite of himself. At the height of his glory he complained in writing to the khan Ogdai: "O emperor, my uncle,

the eleven nations have been subdued. On the return of the army a banquet was held; all the princes were present. Being the eldest, I emptied one or two goblets of wine before the others. Buri and Guyuk became furious, left the banquet, mounted their horses and vilified me. Buri said: 'Batu is not my superior; why did he drink before me? He is a bearded old woman; I could knock him down at a blow.' Guyuk said: 'He is an armed old woman; I shall have him beaten.' Another proposed to fasten a wooden tail to me. Such is the language held by the princes when we meet to deliberate on serious questions after a war with so many nations." It was Sabutai the soldier who conducted to its ultimate success this invasion of eastern and central Europe—an invasion which founded the Mongolian dominion in Russia, and which humiliated the knighthood of Poland, of Bohemia, of Germany, and of Hungary.

What was the fighting number of the Mongolian armies which marched victoriously from the Ural and the Volga to the Danube and the Adriatic? The Mongolian, Turkish, and Chinese chroniclers give in all 150,000 men. The number is large enough if we take into account the mass of horses, the state of the roads, and the extreme poverty of the countries traversed. The miracle is not that Sabutai defeated the Hungarians and Germans, but that he succeeded in conducting one hundred and fifty thousand men of regular troops across Russia, Poland, the Carpathians, to the Danube and the Adriatic, and was able to bring them together at the appointed time and place. The great mass of the troops came from China, as is seen by the names of the army corps and by those of their chiefs.

When Kiev was taken and its defender Dmitri made prisoner, the Mongolian princes tried to get away; Meungke and Guyuk were devoured with anxiety. It was known that the khan was ill. Suppose, thought they, that he should die and the kuriltai get the election in their absence. Batu, for his part, had seen enough conquests; the Debonnair tried to escape on the sly. Meungke was the first who succeeded in escaping; Guyuk did not desert until after the victory. Batu remained under the hand of iron, and had to march whether he would or no, and to follow the orders given him respectfully by his terrible servitor—Sabutai the Soldier. That which the Soldier wished was the absolute submission of the Kiptchaks, of the Bulgars, and of the Magyars; it would have been a national disgrace not to pursue their policy to its end, not to subdue the hosts which had emigrated from great Hungary, from great Bulgaria to the distant lands of the *Tuna*. The Debonnair well knew that he could not withdraw; the troops would not have obeyed him. Then he invaded Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, Illyria, clear to the Adriatic. The Mongolians went as far as Udine.

The Venetians, who were so near to Udine by land, experienced no alarm; they knew with what they had to deal. But that the pope and the German emperor should have rested so tranquil, that the Mongolians should not have marched upon Vienna, and that encounters between them and the imperial troops should have been limited to a few skirmishes (which have the appearance of being arranged beforehand) is a mystery which may be left to investigators.

THE ELECTION OF GUYUK

On December 11th, 1241, Ogdai died. When the news became officially known in Hungary, in 1242, it was no longer possible to retain Batu. Sabutai recognised that fact and took steps to evacuate the country from the Adriatic

and the marches of Treviso to the Dniester. Europe being conquered, the khan being dead, the honour of the flag safe, he had now only to obey his lord the Sain khan. While the main bulk of the army was evacuating the country by short stages, following Batu, who had gone ahead with his guard, Kadan and Kaidu made an offensive movement towards the west and put everything to sack to prove that the Mongols were going only because they wished to. They proclaimed with bugle and cry their clemency to Germany. No one was deceived about it; everyone understood the insult to the Teutonic empire which they disdained to conquer. The emperor did not bestir himself. The pope made his decision and sent an embassy to the khan.

The legate, who did not arrive in time to make his remonstrances to the "barbarians" while they were devastating Europe, was present at the moment of the triumphal coronation of their emperor, and by his presence added to the pomp of that extraordinary ceremony. There were present at the kuriltai, at the "field of the cloth of gold," *Sira ordu*, a world of kings, princes, ambassadors—some come as solicitors, some as negotiators, and all full of anxiety. There were present, side by side, the legate of the caliph of Baghdad, who was the pope of Islam, and the legate of the "Apostoille" of Rome, who was the pope of Christendom. The glorious old man, whose sword had placed the assembly of kings at the feet of the Mongolian emperor, was not there for long. Before the *fêtes* were over Sabutai mounted his horse to take command of the army in the south of China; he gained his last victories on the banks of the Blue River (1247-1248); then feeling tired he asked for leave, and returned to die peacefully in his *yurte*, on his corner of land off yonder in the north, on the banks of the Tula. From Korea to Friuli, he had conquered thirty-two nations and had gained sixty-five pitched battles.

Among the high authorities present at the ceremony of coronation we must mention also the Christian emperor Kerkuteni, the empress Turakina, and the princess Ogul-Gaimish, wife of Guyuk; these last two alone conducted the election; Turakina died two months afterwards, triumphant.

SUCCESSORS OF GUYUK

After the death of Guyuk, when the Chinese party triumphed (1252), and elected Meungke, its first act was to bring an accusation against Ogul-Gaimish; she was condemned to death together with the princes of the house of Ogdai. Ogdai's grandson Kaidu, a pupil of the great Sabutai, did not accept the proscription and protested; they succeeded in appeasing him by giving him Almalik and Pentopolis, but in 1264, when Meungke died, civil war broke out. It ended in the triumph of Khubilai and in the installation of the capital at Peking, *Khan-balik*, "imperial capital." In 1271, after a long struggle for reform and after an attempt to introduce into the country a new orthography recommended by the Tibetan lama, P'hags-pa, Khubilai adopted the Chinese writing in his chancellery, the Buddhist religion in his ceremonies, the Chinese rites in his court, the Chinese name Shi-tsu for his person, and the Chinese title Yuan for his dynasty. The old prophecy had been accomplished; the Kut-dagh, the mountain of Power, had been transported from the old Uigur country to China, from Karakorm to Peking.

The Chinese relate a melancholy anecdote of Khubilai. When his splendid palace at Khan-balik was finished, he had some seeds from the steppes planted in a court, and, showing this diminutive field to his children, said to

them: "Remember your ancestors; preserve this field; it is the grass of modest simplicity."

The election of Khubilai frustrated not only the plans of Arik-buga, Khubilai's younger brother, but also those of Hulagu, another younger brother. He was disposed of by receiving a magnificent compensation—the Moslem Occident to conquer. The Moslem national party with much political good sense accepted this Chinese and Christian project, and furthered it with all its might. Rashid assures us that a plan of conquest was proposed by Meungke in person. The orders which Meungke gave to his brother are very characteristic: "Thou shalt go to the country of Turan in the province of Iran; the customs and the *yassak* of Jenghiz Khan in their totality and in their most minute details thou shalt impose from the banks of the Jihun (Amu-Daria) to the farthest part of the country of Egypt. Do not fail under all circumstances to consult Dokuz-khatun, and to take her advice." To explain the importance of this last counsel, the submission to Dokuz-khatun, we give fragments of a sketch which the Moslem Rashid, in a book written for Moslems, makes of this princess: "She belonged to the great nation of the Keraits, was daughter of Iku, the son of Ong Khan. As the Keraits had long since embraced Christianity, Dokuz-khatun constantly protected the Christians, who during her whole life were in a prosperous condition. Hulagu, for the sake of pleasing this princess, heaped the Christians with favours and with tokens of his consideration; this was carried so far that new churches were raised daily; and at the gate of the *ordu* of Dokuz-khatun a chapel was established permanently and bells were rung there." The general commanding the Mongolian army, the Namian Kitboga, was a Christian. At the same time that the vanguard of Kitboga was marching against the caliph the envoys of the khan were sent to St. Louis in Cyprus. The good king, to whom the emperor of China, the first military power in the world, offered a firm alliance against the Moslems with the promise of ceding Syria to France, replied to this embassy by sending a beautiful little *chapelle* with two monks. St. Louis received in reply a most cavalierlike letter, in which the khan treated him like a vassal. The candour of St. Louis, the unintelligent bigotism of the monk Rubruquis, sent by him to Meungke, the narrowness of judgment and the lack of information manifested in every line of his correspondence, which is full of eloquence but lacking in seriousness, saved Islam, which was hard pressed between the French crusade and the Mongolian. Profiting by the great mistake of the crusaders, all those who hated the Mongols—namely, the people of Kiptchak who had been deported by Sabutai, the last opponents of Jelal ad-din—poured into Egypt and flocked to the Moslem standard which was raised against the French. These old highwaymen of Kiptchak, who had conquered at Mansurah (1250), could not believe that the French were not allies of the khan. Joinville well remembers them with their vermilion flags notched in Chinese fashion.

While the crusade of St. Louis was ending in failure in Egypt, that of Dokuz-khatun was carrying everything before it in Persia, in Rum, in Mesopotamia, and in central Syria. The Ismailians were crushed, their eyrie at Alamut captured, Persia conquered, Baghdad held at bay. "Sunday, the fourth day of the month Safar of the year 656 (1258), the caliph went out of Baghdad; he had with him his three sons and three thousand persons, *saids*, *imams*, *cadis*; he presented himself before Hulagu, who displayed no anger against him and questioned him with gentleness and kindness, after which he said to him: 'Command the inhabitants of Baghdad to lay down their arms so that we may take the census.' The caliph despatched a deputy who proclaimed in the

streets of the city that the population should put down its arms and go outside the walls. The disarmed inhabitants came in troops to surrender to the Mongols, who massacred them immediately."

Syria was not slow in being conquered, with Aleppo and Damascus (1260). But the Kiptchaks, the Khwarezmians of the sultan of Egypt, Saif ad-din Kotuz, defeated Kitboga near Ain-jalut in Palestine. He who commanded the Moslems under the orders of Kotuz was an adventurer of the Kiptchak tribe, called Bibars, the Panther, surnamed Bondokar, the Crossbow-man, whom the Venetians had bought from the Mongolians and sold to the Mamelukes. Victor for the faith, the Panther stabbed his master, took into his pay the last assassins who had been hunted down by the Mongols, pulled down the churches which the devoted Dokuz-khatun had built in Syria, drove out the Franks from Cæsarea, Arsuf, Jaffa, and Antioch, created one after another two pseudo-caliphates, of which he got rid as soon as they troubled him. Against the Mongols he incited the most dangerous enemy they could positively have—that is to say, themselves. His agents converted to Islam the khan of Kiptchak, Bereke, the brother of Batu (1262). War broke out between the Mongolian empire of Persia and the Mongolian empire of Russia; it was put down by the khan of Peking; then, as Peking was far away, it broke out again. The struggle was beginning between the *yassak*, the Mongolian national law, and the *sheriat*, the Moslem religious law. The national empire founded by Jenghiz Khan was to break up into territorial divisions and into confessional groups.

THE LAST JENGHIZ KHANIDS

After the triumph of the Chinese party in the election of Meungke and then of Khubilai, the immense Mongolian Empire tended to become broken up into independent states. The emperor of Peking was led by force of circumstances to allow the autonomy of his representatives to develop in Transoxania, Persia, and Kiptchak.

For his distant wars the emperor of Peking could not get along without the Chinese; the Mongolian generals of the old stock, those great manœuvrers, brought up in the school of Sabutai, like Baian, who was the military glory of the end of the century, understood nothing of marine warfare. The expeditions to Japan were disasters. The armada of 1274 numbered no less than nine hundred vessels, carrying seventy thousand Chinese and Koreans and thirty thousand Mongols; the generals did not agree, and a tempest dispersed the fleet; of the vessels which were thrown on the island of Ping-hu, "no one ever heard again," say the Japanese. The Japanese gave no quarter to the Chinese; but the Turks, the Mongols, and, without doubt, the western mercenaries, had their lives spared and were sold as slaves. A second expedition failed even before the start. It became necessary to give up Japan.

In Yuman, at Tongking, in Burma, in every place to which the Mongols had access by land, victory remained with them; but even then in spite of success the Chinese contingent, without which they could accomplish nothing endurable, slipped away. The Mongolian generals gained battles and took cities, but fever and sunstroke, more dangerous than the arrows of the Annamites and the elements of the Burmese, decimated their Siberian, Transoxanian, Alan, and Russian soldiers. After every conquest they demanded recall. If they remained, these men of the north melted away in the sun. Finally they paid no more attention to Indo-China; but the seizure by the Mongols of the great

peninsula was not forgotten by the Chinese dynasty which succeeded them; the route was marked out; the Chinese, again become masters at home, took it for themselves.

THE GREAT COMMERCIAL ROUTES

In spite of the check they had met with in Japan and of their disasters in Indo-China and at Java, the Mongols had reached the sea. By the end of the thirteenth century they thus had three ways of communicating with the West: the two land routes, that of Pe-lu, continually interrupted by revolt in the marches, and that of Nan-lu, now at the discretion of the sultans of Transoxania, who were aiming more and more at autonomy; and the old maritime route. This last had been the route of the Chinese and of the Arabs. It lay between Canton and the mouth of the Euphrates, near the peninsula of Malacca, Ceylon, and the ports of India, and led from the land of the khan to that of his cousin and vassal, the pagan successor of the caliph, who was the il-khan of Persia and of Irak. It became simpler to go from upper Asia to Asia Minor and to the Mediterranean by crossing well-policed China and by taking the sea at Canton than to risk being plundered in the warlike marches or to endure the custom-houses and the exactions between Transoxania and Persia. Thus the union of Asia under one continental domination had the singular result of reopening the maritime to the detriment of the continental routes, for the possession of which Chinese, and after them Turks and Mongols, had fought for centuries. The Mongolian Empire bulged out towards China and the sea, losing contact with its veritable point of support, the country between the Blue Altai, the Celestial mountains, and the Black Mountain (Karadagh), the old country of the real Kankli Turks.

As long as the sultans of Persia and Transoxania remained pagan, that is to say, neutral in religious matters, one could be certain that the relations between the Mongolian emperor of China, hereafter Buddhist, and his occidental vassals would be loyal, and that communications would remain open and regular between their states as long as might be permitted by the perils of the sea in the south and by the hazards of politics in the north. On the Nan-lu and Pe-lu routes the old antagonism between Iran and Turan was reawakening, between the people of the north in the marches and the people of the south in Transoxania and Persia, between rural people whom the transfer of the capital to Peking abandoned to a nomadic life, and citizens whom the attraction of the great cities like Bokhara and Samarkand reduced to inertia. The sultans of Transoxania did not see without jealousy the greatness of their cousins, sovereigns in Persia, heirs of the caliphate all-powerful in the country of Rum, masters of the best roads which led to the Occident, while they themselves were only guardians of a disputed passage, under the vigilant control of the khan. The situation of their states made them arbiters between the marches, Kiptchak, and Persia. If they became Moslem, if the religious ferment were added to the political, the Mongolian Empire would assuredly be cut in two.

RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION

For two centuries and more Islam had been seducing all the old Iranian families and with them the Turkish families who were in possession in the country. Christianity was declining together with the prosperity of Almalik and Pentapolis, where it had its spiritual capitals and its fortified strongholds;

it was becoming an urban religion, and was losing ground in the devastated country. Christian men-at-arms were no longer seen in the Mongolian armies.

The Latin church by its zeal contributed to the decay of Christianity among the Turks. Nestorianism, planted centuries before, had had time to take root; it held to the soil like a national, indigenous plant; Roman Catholicism was only a religion of strangers. A Turkish Christian, converted by a Latin missionary, entered the bosom of the universal church, but he emerged from the national union; he was a deserter. It was towards 1292, during the lifetime of Khubilai, that the Franciscan, Jean de Montcorvin, sent by Pope Nicholas IV, arrived in China. The success of his mission had been so great that in 1307 Pope Clement V sent him seven minor brothers, with the rank of bishops, who were to consecrate Montcorvin as archbishop of Khan-balik (Peking) and primate of all the extreme Orient. They were to be his suffragans. In 1312 Clement V sent three more suffragans to the archbishop of Peking; brothers of Thomas, Jerome, and Peter of Florence. In 1320 this Jerome was appointed bishop in the Crimea. It is seen from this transference of the bishop Jerome, suffragan at Peking, that the government of the Latin church in the Mongolian Empire was partially adapted to the relations existing between the suzerain state of the khan and the khan's vassals, such as those of Kiptchak Crimea. In 1333 Montcorvin died at Ili-balik; a Frenchman, Nicholas, former professor of theology in the faculty of Paris, succeeded him. In 1338 a Franciscan mission, with Richard de Bourgogne as its chief, was founded in Pe-lu in the territory of Ili, in the domain of Nestorianism; this compromised the native Christian population and brought the two forms of Christianity into conflict. The result was inevitable. Christianity was destroyed in 1342. The Chinese reaction against the Mongols and against all that recalled their domination completed the ruin of Christianity in China. Francis of Podio, sent as legate to China with twelve companions (1371), disappeared without leaving any trace. James of Florence, fifth bishop of Zeitun, was massacred in 1362. Nestorianism left to itself might have survived; the intermixture of foreigners was disastrous to it.

COSTUME WORN ON THE COAST OF SYRIA

While Christianity was declining, Islam was gaining ground. With a marvellous insight it adapted the form of its doctrine to the people whom it wished to reach, becoming apostolic in Kiptchak, mystic in Transoxania, political and literary in Persia and in the marches. In China it gave way to Buddhism, bent its neck, and resigned itself, interfering only in finance and business; it was only by such means that it could hope to live; Islam, which is supposed to be so rigid, showed the most extraordinary pliability in Mongolian Asia; it knew how to lend itself to every need, to profit by every occasion, to cede its dogma

without a scruple. The redoubtable soudan of Egypt, Bibars, had understood marvellously well the use to be derived from Islam; in his struggle against the Mongols, which was supported by all the fierceness of a vindictive Kiptchak, his extraordinary policy surpassed the common skill of a brave and crafty soldier of fortune. He had flashes of genius. The sudden conversion of Bereke, the khan of Kiptchak (1262), and of the princes of the house of Juji, who were more than half Christian, would be inexplicable were it not for the alliance of Kiptchak and Egypt against the Mongolian sultans of Persia. Undoubtedly many of the Kiptchak men-at-arms in southern Russia were Moslems, but the reigning family was not; at the same time that the Mongols and the Turks of Russia were adopting Islam, the Kumani, or Kiptchaks of Hungary, were being converted to Latin Christianity. If the missionaries who converted the Jenghiz Khanids and their Kiptchak subjects in Russia to Islam were not the agents of Bibars, they at least served him faithfully. They were not slow in informing him of their success, for the alliance of Russian Mongolia and Egypt and the conversion of the prince of the house of Juji are simultaneous. Master in Cairo and master in Syria, the Kiptchak adventurer who had conquered the Christian crusaders with St. Louis, and the Mongolian crusaders with Kitboga, held in reserve the caliphs of his creation, giving them up to the Mongols of Persia when they became troublesome; he tamed the fanatical Assassins, and made them hired murderers in his service; he humbly associated the name of the sultan of Kiptchak with his own in the public prayer, and conspired against him, protesting his devotion to the pagan khan of Peking. He had a perfect understanding with the Venetians and knew them well—he, the old crossbow-man, sold by their slave dealers as a recruit beyond the sea into Egypt. He counselled the people of Kiptchak to make an alliance with Byzantium, which should control land and sea, through his possessions in Egypt and Syria. His alliance with the Crimea and with southern Russia had enabled him, by means of the Red Sea and the Black Sea, to block the Mongolian Empire against Persia and Transoxania, and to separate it from the Occident. He monopolised the communication with China, establishing it on land by the route to Aleppo in central Syria, and on sea by the route through Egypt *via* Cairo and Suez. After the beginning of the fourteenth century the empire of Kiptchak forms an isolated strip and has no other routes of communication with the extreme East than those leading through the savage north, or down through the south—through Moslem Egypt, jealous guardian of the commercial routes which are also the routes of the pilgrimage to Mecca. The soudans of Egypt became the protectors of the holy cities and at the same time the gatekeepers of the two seas.

MONGOLIAN EMPIRE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

One of the most curious of contemporary maps gives an idea of the extent of the Mongolian Empire and of the territorial divisions of Asia at the beginning of the fourteenth century. This map, made in 1331, was part of a work on the institutions of the Mongolian dynasty, published at the same date, and it may be regarded as official. On this document, which is registered in the archives of Peking, the western dependencies of the empire form three kingdoms, which are designated by the names of their sovereigns Du-lai Tie-mur (Dure Timur, son of Dua Timur, 1321–1331), Bu-sa-yin (Abu Said, 1317–1335), and Yue-dzu-bie (Ulzbeg, 1312–1342). That is to say: (1) Jagatai (Siberia, Turkestan, Transoxania), with eastern Khorasan and Afghanistan,

minus the country of Herat; (2) Persia, with Seistan and Baluchistan, Merv, Balkh, Bost, and the access to the Indian Ocean, Hormuz, and Bahrein; (3) Kiptchak, which includes Bu-li-ar (Bulgar, the great Bulgaria of the Volga), A-lo-sze (Rossia, Russia), Sa-gi-la (Solgat, the great port Sudak in the Crimea), and farther south Kin-sha (Kiptchak, the steppes of Kuban), A-lan-a-sze (the country of the Alani or A-su), and Sar-ko-sze (Circassia, the Caucasus). The map does not mark any boundaries west of Sudak, but it notes Damascus, Constantinople, Damietta, and Cairo.

At this epoch the feudal unity of the empire, so visible on the map, is proved also by the appanages of its vassals in the Occident having fiefs in China. In 1336 Usbeg, the khan of Kiptchak, sent to the khan an embassy charged with collecting the arrears of his fiefs in China. In 1312–1313 Euljaitu, sultan of Persia, had sent ambassadors to China to verify the accounts of the lands which he possessed and to collect the arrear rents. In 1315, on the occasion of a famine in Transoxania, Dure Timur of Jagatai received subsidies from the khan of Peking. The Chinese annals, dating from 1330, register the concession of twenty *king* of land, north of Peking, granted to the "constantly faithful Russian guard." As compensation, the possessors were to furnish the imperial table with all the game, fish, etc., taken in the forests, rivers, and lakes of the said domain. In 1334 the Russians recruited by the sultans of Kiptchak are mentioned for the last time in Chinese annals; a general Baian is appointed to command the guards of the Mongolian, Kiptchak, and Russian corps.

It can be seen, therefore, that however relaxed may have become the federal bond uniting the Jenghiz Khanids of Russia, Persia, and Transoxania to their suzerain, the holy emperor who reigned at Peking, that bond was by no means broken even at the beginning of the second half of the fourteenth century. From the Black Sea to the Persian Gulf, on the Indian Ocean and on the sea of Japan, the Chinese khan, "power of heaven," was indeed emperor. Only he was a Buddhist, and his vassals, mediatised kings, had become Moslem. There was no pope. Were a religious force to arise in Transoxania, the country where Mongols of the East and Turks of the West come into relationship, the bond would be broken; the dissolution of the Mongolian Empire would be complete. This religious force was not created by the great Timur; he found it already organised, and himself merely set it in motion.

STATE OF TRANSOXANIA

In the hundred years between 1260 and 1360 the kingdom of Jagatai, including nominally Turkestan and the marches, besides Siberia, had no less than twenty-five sovereigns, phantom sultans. The actual rulers were the heads of the four houses of Arlad, of Barlass, of Jelair, and of Aiberdi, and the vizirs whom they imposed on the feeble descendants of Jagatai. So long as the emperor of Peking bore a Mongolian name besides his Chinese one, appearances were saved and the Jenghiz Khanids, princes of the house of Jagatai, were supposed to reign at once over Moslem Transoxania, over Turkestan and half of the pagan marches. With the fall of the Mongolian dynasty in China everything collapsed. From the Oxus to the marches there remained only two powers: Islam, represented by the religious orders; and the military aristocracy, represented by the great Turkish houses and those of Mongolian origin holding fiefs in Transoxania.

This feudal nobility, attached above all to its traditions and privileges, observed the rites of its religion less closely than it pretended to do. At heart great lords and country gentlemen alike remained Turkish; they were Turks before everything else. Always ready to fight among themselves, they were not at all willing that the Iranian *canaille*, the Tajaks, or *Sarts* as they called them, should mix in their quarrels. They came to an agreement quickly against these rustics. But in 1330 one of these peasants had the audacity to arouse the old Iran out of its sleep and to make himself king of Khorasan. He was called Husein Kert and posed as protector of the endangered faith. Steering between the religious orders and the heretical populace, natural defender of his relatives by blood and language, the bourgeois and the Sart peasants, he had quickly gained popularity in Khorasan, which was trodden down by Turkish exactions, in Seistan, and in western Afghanistan, in the land of the great adventurers where the Iranian heart still beat sturdily.

Immediately all the Turkish nobility made common cause against the Tajak. The sultan of the house of Jagatai, Kazan, was too far away to mix in these quarrels between people of the south; he was hunting in the neighbourhood of Almalik, leaving the affairs of Transoxania in the hands of his constable and vizir, the emir Kazgan, a man of low lineage but of great renown, who by his audacity and his profitable alliances had succeeded in establishing himself. Jelair, Barlass, Arlad, all the party of the country squires, being infatuated, threw themselves into the arms of Kazgan, who put himself at their head, extinguished the budding democratic revolution, defeated Husein Kert, and threw himself into Khorasan (1333).

On a Tuesday evening, the 13th of the month Shaban of this same year, Timur came into the world. His birthplace was the aristocratic suburb of Kesh called Shehr-i-sebz (city of verdure). Timur's father had the title of emir; he belonged to the great house of Barlass, but was a comparatively insignificant gentleman himself. His fortune was slender, so that he supported only three or four horsemen. From the vizir Kazgan he had received as a fief the province of Kesh and of Nakhsheb in Transoxania, south of the Oxus, in the marches of Khorasan. The name of his clan or family was Keurekene, which signifies "the beautiful"; he himself had the old Turkish name of Taragai, or swallow. Although the houses of Arlad, of Jelair, and of Solduz are surely of Mongolian origin, although the custom has been introduced of calling Mongolian the empires founded by Timur and, afterwards, by Baber, the house of Barlass seems to be rather of Turkish origin. Moreover, in the fourteenth century the clans issuing from these four houses and established in Transoxania and in Turkestan were wholly Turkish in language, in spirit, and in their confession of the orthodox Moslem faith, just as the Normans established in England at the same epoch had become English. It would be just as much of a mistake to take Timur for a Mongolian as to take the Black Prince for a Frenchman.

In 1343 Kazgan revolted openly against Kazan and defeated him. The sovereign being dead, Kazgan remained master. However, Turkish loyalty still tied his hands; he himself set up another king of the Jagatai tribe, but at the first sign of independence he had him assassinated and replaced him by another. He pursued this course as many as five times. While Kazgan was making and unmaking kings, Husein Kert, who was watching for his revenge, took up arms again. In 1358 Kazgan united all his Transoxanian contingents and conducted them against the Iranian and his heretics, into the very heart of Khorasan.

[1355-1356 A.D.]

Among the feudal lords who rode with the army was the lord Timur, son of the emir Taragai. Although he was only twenty-two years of age, Kazgan, the maker of kings, held him in great esteem, as much on account of his personal merit as for his birth and his powerful connections; for the lord Timur was the model of an accomplished gentleman according to the ideal of the Turks of his time and country, being perfect in all chivalry and courtesy. During two years in the service of the all-powerful vizir to whom his father had attached him, this haughty young man had seen one sultan after another deposed and new ones enthroned. He had understood what supremacy an audacious person could gain over the great vassals of Transoxania, between their suzerain of Turkestan and their enemies of Khorasan and Persia.

TIMUR THE LAME
(1333–1405)

He was lord of the Barlass clan by right of birth. Kazgan himself had allied him to the Jelairs by marrying him to his granddaughter, Princess Oljai Turkane, a Jelair through her mother. He had associated him with the military administration by making him *bing bashi* (captain of a company of a thousand). When, after the victory over Husein Kert, the maker of kings was assassinated by one of his vassals, all his people —the Jelairs with the rest —turned their eyes to the young prince, who was brilliant in chivalry and who already possessed authority.

When Tukluk Timur, the legitimate sultan and the only one of the last Jagatais who had shown energy and political sense, wished, being at last rid of his terrible vizir, to profit by the occasion and to re-establish his authority, Transoxania in terror trusted its fate to the wisdom of Timur, that knight of twenty-three. Political genius at once revealed itself in the young man. Instead of fighting, Timur took counsel, combined forces, and negotiated.[b]

Having won the church, or Islam, to his cause, by posing as its defender, Timur by an adroit policy prevailed on the sultan to create him governor of Transoxania. For a time he concealed his ambition to be absolute ruler, and followed the advice given him by his spiritual adviser:[a] "The science of governing is made up of one part patient constancy and of one part feigned negligence; it consists in the art of appearing not to know what one in reality knows." We are nearing the century of Macchiavelli; Asia was then in advance of Europe. When Tukluk saw his young lieutenant-general behaving as master,

he, fearing a second Kazgan, conceived the idea of giving the country as an appanage to his son Iliaz Khoja, hoping thereby to guarantee his own position in Transoxania.[b] Timur, although he had the support of the church, realised that the time had not yet come for the fulfilment of his ambitions; he still had too many enemies. Consequently, taking his wife behind him in the saddle, he fled to the prairies, to follow the existence of a kazak. There he led a life full of romance and adventure in which his wife, the fair princess Oljai Turkane, played a conspicuous part. Gradually his power increased until he was strong enough to return and attack Iliaz Khoja, whom he drove across the Oxus.[a]

TIMUR, KING OF TRANSOXANIA

The 10th of Ramazan, 771 (April 8th, 1369), at Balkh, Timur was elevated on the white felt and proclaimed king of Transoxania, according to the old Turkish form and ceremonial. With the subtilty of a casuist he chose Balkh as the place of his coronation, for this city did not belong to the sultan of Jagatai, and Timur thereby avoided offending Turkish formalism. After the death of Iliaz Khoja, in 1362, this sultan had officially recognised the sovereignty of another Jagataiid—a straw king called Kabul Shah. Timur was only his executive agent in Transoxania. The situation was ambiguous; the reverend father Ali Shah had already declared that one could not serve two masters at the same time, that there could be only one legitimate vicar of the Most High.

The church took upon itself to decide the question. First Timur presented the warrant of his authority. "When I had promulgated my laws," he said, "concerning religion, when I had re-established the law (the *sheriat*) in the cities of Islam, the doctors of Islam returned this brief in my favour: 'In every century the Most High has raised up a defender and propagator of the religion of the prophet Mohammed; in this eighth century of the Hejira, Timur, possessor of the Holy Scriptures (*sahib Koran*), chevalier of the temporal power, shall be regarded as the restorer of the faith.' "

In an instant this modest Timur, who usurped no titles nor prerogatives, who coined money in the name of a sovereign whom he had put aside and caused prayers to be said for him in the churches, changed the entire government of the state. He replaced the Turkish and Mongolian tradition by Islamic tradition refashioned to his taste; for the old sovereign law (*yassak*) and customary law (*edeb*) he substituted a new sovereign law (*teuzuk*) and a religious law (*sheriat*).

TIMUR'S THEOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

According to the ancient Mongolian and Turkish law, as the *yassak* of the "inflexible" emperor had formulated it, the sovereign was responsible, bound by the civil law. According to the new code, in conformity with the sheriat, the sovereign was released from the civil law and was responsible only to God and to the church.

The provision which Timur put at the head of his ordinances was the division of his subjects into twelve classes. In this division the descendants of the prophet passed to the first rank. The class of the king's household, or *tarkhans*, which was the first in the old Turkish and Mongolian society, disappears. That is where the real revolution took place. Retaining the

guise of Turkish forms, Timur destroyed the old Turkish society and replaced it by a caliphate. The first concession which Timur made to the church was to grant to it the administration of all the old *tarkhanliks*, feudal estates, and unclaimed estates, which became all at once inalienable. The inquisition was established: "in every province there was a doctor to turn the faithful from forbidden things"; missions were founded by the state; "in every city religious persons were appointed to explain the principal articles of faith." Finally civil justice was completely confounded with religious: "I ordained that the *sadr* and the civil judge (*cadi*) should report to me all matters pertaining to religion."

How could the Turks accept such a *régime*? Timur made it endurable to them by a personal statute creating exceptional laws in their favour. "I appointed a *cadi* for the army and another for the people. I established also a minister of justice to inform me of the differences which arise between my soldiers or my other subjects." Dispossessed of his large territorial property by the church and by the sovereign, who divided it up and sold or rented it to common peasants or *sarts*, Turkish gentlemen of mediocre position who were not employed in the army or at court became nomads again. At the time of Timur, the unity of the tribe which had been so rudely broken by the "inflexible" emperor was reconstructed; one will find even in our days, among the Kirghizes and Kiptchaks in the different confederations, clans which bear the old names of Kankli, Jelair, Kiptchak, Arlad, Mangut, Kerail, Naiman, etc. In administrative and constitutional language Timur called these clans *Uluss* (in Turkish, people, line, tribe).

EMPIRE FOUNDED BY TIMUR

The following portraits of Timur have been preserved: "He was," says his detractor Ibn Arabshah, "of medium height, slender, with a high forehead and a big head; his complexion was fair and he had much colour in his face; he was built with broad shoulders, round fingers, rather longish thighs, and strong limbs. He liked brave men-at-arms, being a valiant man himself and knowing how to make himself honoured and obeyed." Paolo Giovio, who is well informed, praises him expressly for his chivalry: "Strong and straight, he drew a great bow of Tatary, pulling the cord to his ear—which few people can do."

The first use which Timur made of his power was to free Transoxania, to drive back the princes and the families which might impose their claims as descendants of the Mongols or else pose as champions of the *yassak*. Under the banner of this Turk people from the south were for the first time seen to cross the Yaxartes, a barrier which had been impassable to the Achemenids, the Macedonians, and the Sassanids. That which Cyrus, Alexander, and Khusrau had not dared to undertake, the son of a Transoxanian hidalgo undertook and realised. He, a descendant of an obscure family of Turan, took revenge on Iranian Rustam, and turned aside forever the torrent which during centuries had precipitated itself from the north and east, from highland and mountain, upon the valleys of the south and the plains of the west. Five times in six years (1370–1376) the Transoxanians advanced into Turkestan and into the march of Pentapolis, treading on the dust of heroes.

The heart of Oljai, the companion of his adventures, his dearly loved wife, must have swelled with all its feudal pride when the old captain of écorcheurs, now become king, led into his harem a Jagatai princess, daughter

of the sultan Kaur ad-din, the beautiful Dilshad Aga, the first princess of the north that a sultan of the south had conquered by force of arms. Certainly Oljai was not jealous.

During the struggle against the Tchetes the last Christian Turkish institutions disappeared. Henceforth the old nation of the Kerait, that of Priest John, remained an obscure clan, lost among the Kirghizes, who were Moslems, like the rest; the same destiny overtook that of the Naiman; but these clans down to our days have preserved their *tamga* (seal).

But while Timur was suppressing the Mongols in the name of the apostle Mohammed, the Chinese were driving them out in the name of Confucius. The revolution which in 1370 carried off the Mongolian dynasty of China, to replace it by that of the Ming, swept away all that recalled the remembrance of the detested Turks, and Nestorian Christianity with the rest. Between Moslem Transoxania and old reborn China the Turk of Pentapolis and Hexapolis was smothered; he had no longer space in which to breathe; he perished for lack of air, or else he was driven back into the steppes of the north, reduced to the condition of kazak, and forced to wander about the country, separated from the rest of humanity, his horizon limited to that of a shepherd who in the winter pastures his flock in the *kishlak*, and in summer leads it to the *yailak*. At the same time that he was ruining the Turks in the marches of the north-west, Timur was falling pitilessly upon those of the northern and south-western marches, and was reducing the Turkomans to a state of brigandage by robbing them of land wherein they could have led a simple pastoral life.

CONQUEST OF KHORASAN

As long as the national life endured in Iran, Khorasan, protected from Transoxania by marches and by the channel of the Oxus, had nothing to fear from the people of the north. It was by way of Hyrcania, by the lower Oxus, that their warlike bands, summoned and favoured by the Parthians, had formerly poured into the country, following the shore of the river. Later, when the Turkish infiltration grew torrential, when the marches of Transoxania became Turkish, Khorasan itself was only a frontier, spreading out through the pure Iranian countries, Fars (Persia proper, Faristan), Khuzistan, etc.

Now that the capital of central Asia had advanced from Almalik to Samarkand, now that the learned talked Jagataiish at Bokhara and the literateurs of Transoxania rhymed in the barbarian language of Pe-lu, the new sultan of Samarkand could not stop on the right bank of the Oxus, and leave on the left bank that splendid frontier, Khorasan, to the mercy of Iranian heretics. Moreover, he had claims upon it by right of conquest. On the north he already held the two banks of the lower Oxus; Khorasan was almost enclosed. The prize was too rich not to be seized and exploited for the benefit of proud Transoxania; there was an extensive culture of cereals kept up by a marvellous system of irrigation; arms and superb carpets were manufactured; the noble cities, Meshhed the Holy, Nishapur the Ancient, Merv, Queen of the World, Herat the Brilliant, were situated there. Many estates, many governmental districts, many offices invited distribution among the ever-needy Turkish nobility; there was revenue for the treasury, there were gifts for the church! Timur wished indeed to defend the south against the barbarians of the north, but on condition that it belong to him—wholly to him. Moreover the church had spoken and advocated his cause. "Gaias ad-din, lord of Khorasan, raised an army and remained on the defensive. I was warned by a note from the

From a Carbon Print by Braun, Clement & Co.

DOOR OF THE PALACE OF TAMERLANE

(From the painting by Vasili Verestchagin)

director of my conscience that Gaias ad-din was abandoning himself to tyranny, and was giving himself up to all sorts of excess." Timur, redresser of wrongs, defender of religion, could not doubt that he was called to redress these evils. The orthodox of Khorasan thought as he thought. Promptly they accepted the decision of the church and undertook the cause of the good prince Timur against the tyrant. "I made the greatest diligence," says Timur, "to arrive at Herat, where I surprised Gaias ad-din buried in the sleep of negligence. Abandoned by all, he came out of the city, surrendered to me treasure, domain, and kingdom. Khorasan was subdued and its emirs rendered obedience to me." (April, 1381.)[b]

The conquests of Timur in the more distant west are too well known to need narration here. After conquering Persia, Timur entered Russia; in 1394 he penetrated as far as Moscow, and having reduced all of central Asia to submission, he invaded India in 1398. He was at that time more than sixty years of age. There he conquered the whole of Hindustan from the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges, and returned to his capital at Samarkand in the spring of 1399, carrying an immense amount of booty with him. The next year he broke into Turkish territory, captured Baghdad, Aleppo, and Damascus, and in 1402 gained a decisive victory over the Ottoman sultan Bayazid on the plain of Angora.[a]

TIMUR'S RELATIONS WITH EUROPE

It was at Samarkand, in Transoxania, that the ambassador of Henry III of Castile, Don Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, saw Timur, who was then surrounded by splendour (1404): "And the seigneur was seated on something like little mattresses of silk and was leaning his elbow on round cushions, and he was clothed in a robe of pink silk without embroidery, and on his head he wore a high white cap, with a balas ruby on the crest; and the seigneur told the ambassadors to come forward, and I think that he did so to see them better, for he could not see well, being so old that his eyelids were very drooping." This old man then roused himself and spoke in an animated manner: "I give my benediction," he said, "to my son, your king; he had no need to send me presents; you and this letter are sufficient."

The relations between the French and the Mongols did not cease with the crusades. The chief successors of Hulagu in Persia, Abaga, Argun, Gazan, Khodabendeh, constantly sought alliance with the French princes and the popes against the Saracens of Egypt. Argun wrote to Pope Honorius IV and to Philip III of France. Under Nicholas IV the Genoan Buscarelli was charged to follow up this negotiation at the court of the khan. He came back in 1289 with a letter from that prince to Philip the Fair, looking to closer relations between the two countries.

When Timur had conquered the possessions of the Jenghiz Khanids in Asia, he adopted their traditions of friendship with the French, who were no longer allied against the Saracens of Egypt but against the Moslems. Charles VI congratulated Timur on the victory over Bayazid, which the Most High had accorded him; he thanked Timur for his offers to protect French merchants and promised him reciprocal consideration towards Turkish merchants in France. The death of Timur, the distance separating the two peoples, the civil wars in France, and, finally, the decline of the spirit of the crusades throughout the countries of Europe reduced this hopeful correspondence between the house of Timur and that of Valois to an episode without consequence.

THE DEATH OF TIMUR

Timur left Samarkand on December 8th, 1404, to protect Turkestan against an invasion of the Chinese. At Otrar on the Sir, overcome by fatigue and seized with a cold, he took to his bed, never to rise again. When his physician, Master Fazl Ullah, told him frankly that all hope was gone, Timur, like a good Mohammedan and a good king, thought only of the fate of his empire and of the safety of his soul. As successor he appointed his grandson Pir Muhammed, who was both pious and brave. Several times he asked for his favourite son, Shah Rukh, who had stayed in his appanage of Khorasan; but it was too late for him to come. The dying man gave orders to have his body taken to Samarkand, where was the tomb he had caused to be made for his *pir*, the great monk Said Berke. Here in that tomb beside that holy man he commanded his own body laid. Being no longer able to speak he made a gesture with his hand signifying that the mollah Heibet Ullah should recite the last prayers; he gave up his soul at the vesper hour, the 7th of Shaban, 807 (February 7th, 1405), at peace with his people of Transoxania and with the church of God.

Scarcely were the funeral ceremonies ended when Khalil Mirza, son of the despicable Miran Shah, violated the last wishes of his grandfather, pillaged the treasury of Samarkand and revolted against the appointed successor, Pir Muhammed. His mistress, the famous Shad-i-mulk, urged on to adventures this boy of twenty-one years. When he was vanquished (1409) he was ready to accept any conditions in order to keep her; and he resigned in favour of Shah Rukh. It was the son of Shah Rukh, the brave and excellent Muhammed Turgai, better known in Europe by his surname of Ulug Bey, "the great prince," who built at Samarkand (1428) the observatory in which the astronomical tables named after Ulug were calculated. When Shah Rukh died, in 1446, Ulug succeeded him; but that learned prince did not have the vigour necessary to manage the rough Transoxanian aristocracy and to impose his authority on the all-powerful clergy. His own son, Abdul Latif, revolted against him and had him assassinated (1449). The history of the bigoted kingdoms of Transoxania, Khwarezm, Turkestan, and Khorasan began with a parricide.

CIVILISATION OF TRANSOXANIA

In breaking with the Chinese tradition, as the Turks, and after them the Mongols, had interpreted it, in giving themselves up without restriction to the orthodox Transoxanian church, the Turks of central Asia were beginning a new life. During nearly a century the philosophy, literature, and art of Islam penetrated them so profoundly that they became strangers to their native soil and ceased to understand one another. The Transoxanian Turks of the thirteenth century, and even the Kiptchaks of the Caucasus and of Russia, although Moslem, had recognised their relatives among the braves who came from distant Cathay under the Mongolian banner; but at the end of the sixteenth century, although they still understood the language, although they could not repudiate the blood relationship, they yet repelled with horror the idea of moral contact with these infidels. Those of the east are now only Chinese to them, those of the northwest and west only Kalmaks (that is the word of which we have made Kalmuk) and Nogair. In spite of their aversion to the Tajaks and of their hatred for the heretical Iranians, they feel nearer

to them than to these foreigners. We have already noticed that the Turkish mind, naturally submissive to discipline, is refractory to controversy and theology. In accepting Islam as the state religion, the Turks of Turkestan, of Transoxania, and of Khwarezm adopted it *en bloc*, without reflection, without discussion, as if it had been a military command. The monks and theologians of Bokhara were able for a hundred years to mould their minds at leisure without being embarrassed by a contradiction, a subtle question, or a simple comment.

Thus the Renaissance in central Asia was nothing other than a recommencement of the Middle Ages; while the Europeans, in bewilderment over an antiquity re-found, were starting out boldly towards the unknown, towards free investigation, towards revolt, the Asiatics who had been their equals up to the fifteenth century meekly allowed themselves to be led back into the dogmas conceived by the doctors and savants of the orthodox caliphate. They discovered as a novelty Aristotelianism as deformed by the Arabs, came back to Almagest, plunged into Avicenna, who was their compatriot, and began again in Turkish the epoch of the Samanids; in short, their thought travelled about in a circle. All their intellectual activity—and they had as much as other peoples—expended itself on scholasticism, on jurisprudence, on rhetoric; with great effort they reconstructed Euclid, Ptolemy, Galen, Hippocrates; Plato they hardly dared touch. To go deeper would have been to confound themselves. Little by little, the monks abetting them, they came to think only of their salvation and were satisfied with the *Koran* and with the mental torpor it inspired. In the fifteenth century the sacrifice was consummated; the Turk had abdicated the spiritual sphere, leaving it to his *pîr*, and had abdicated the temporal power in favour of his sultan. The independent and the headstrong went to India to seek their fortunes with Baber, and were there exterminated: "One day a voice from heaven was heard, saying: 'The khan Baber, let them kill him—kill!' Whereupon the people fell upon Baber and killed him on the spot."

This fifteenth century, which was so disastrous to the Turks of Asia, was not without its glory. The transformation of life and thought took place to the accompaniment of all the brilliancy which is given to letters and arts by scholasticism and rhetoric, taught by a state church and watched over by the Inquisition. The church, inflexible in its fundamentals, was pliant as to form. It did not directly oppose the taste for the plastic arts and for a life of ease with which a long Chinese education had imbued the Turks; but it gently insinuated that this gross materialism was debasing, and it offered to noble souls a higher ideal.

"Of building castles and palaces in this world there is no need; in the end they fall into ruin; of building cities there is no need." In the fifteenth century the Transoxanian church let the Turks build, paint, sculpture, and drink to excess, until the people believed in the futility of these things, and ceased to drink and let all its architecture fall into decay. The rich donation of the Timurids, the splendid mosques, the superb abbeys, the chapels, the pious monuments, had excused the artistic debauches of the fifteenth century. Timur loved luxury, the arts, the large life. Clavijo relates that Timur had brought back from his wars so many artisans to Samarkand that for lack of lodging-room they had to be camped in the gardens and in the grottoes around the city. At Kesh this Spaniard was taken to visit the chapel, which the seigneur (it is thus that Clavijo always speaks of Timur) built over the tomb of his father. "There the said seigneur distributed a hundred cooked sheep every day among the poor, for the soul of his father"; Clavijo visited also the palaces,

and the gardens, and the women's apartments, and the edifices which had been building for twenty years. Those porticoes, cloisters, mosaic pavements, those marbles, and potteries of gold and azure filled the hidalgo with astonishment, and he exclaimed, "Even the citizens at Paris, where are the most skilful artists, would be dumb with admiration." At Samarkand there is still greater magnificence. There stood a mosque praised by Baber, who was a connoisseur, and there were gardens, and menageries, in which were seen deer, pheasants, and elephants; and an arsenal where a thousand workmen laboured daily at making ornamented cuirasses and basinets; and halls painted in fresco, and baths, and hospitals, and a broad commercial street which the "seigneur" had laid out, tearing down houses in order to do so.

It is true that the corporations complained and the monks remonstrated, to which the seigneur answered that that quarter belonged to him, that he had bought it with his money; however, though he possessed maps which would prove his claim, he would out of love for them and for his people buy the land again and for good money. Nor did Timur neglect works of general utility. During his reign the culture of silk was greatly promoted. In Transoxania irrigation canals covered the fields with a carefully guarded network. The culture of cotton was developed, flax and hemp were introduced into the country, paper factories were founded near Samarkand, and a bridge of boats was established over the Oxus. Strenuous attempts were made to become independent of China and to get rid of her industrial hegemony.

The taste for architecture and painting continued under the successors of Timur. Baber gives a list and description of the principal monuments erected by those princes. He mentions, at Samarkand, the gate of turquoises, the kiosk in which the battles of Timur in India were painted in fresco, the baths of Mirza, built by Ulug Bey, the carved chapel ornamented with paintings in Chinese style, the observatory of Ulug Bey, the Bag-i Meidan (esplanade garden), with the building of forty columns, the cabinet of Chinese porcelain, the Echo chapel, etc.; at Herat, the garden of Ali Shir, the paper manufactory, the palace of the throne, Belle Vue, the fish pond, the palace of crystal, the garden of Zobeid, the twelve towers, the royal market, the big market, the house of Ali Shir, known by the name of Intimacy, Ali Shir's mausoleum and the great mosque adjoining, called the Holiness, his college, called Purity, his convent, called Purification, his baths and his hospital, named Cleanliness and Health. When we remember that Ali Shir was simply a man of letters, we get an idea of the respect which the Timurids accorded to writers and artists.

Herat was, moreover, the artistic city *par excellence*. Baber relates that at a supper in the palace of Joy, in the apartment where the sultan Abu-Said had caused his combats and his feats of arms to be depicted, a concert was given before him: "Among the musicians were Hafiz-Haji, Jelal ad-din Mahmud, the flute-player, and Shad-i-Betchek, the harpist. The musicians of Herat sang without forcing the voice, with grace and in measure. Prince Jihanguir had summoned a Samarkand musician, who sang with full voice, harshly and unequally. The Khorasan people stopped their ears and made faces; if they did not hiss, it was out of respect to the prince." Of all the arts, music, which is least persecuted by the church, is the best supported in Transoxania and Khorasan; the modern Turkish airs of central Asia are agreeable to a European ear.

Miniature, and in particular portrait miniature, held its ground in spite of Islam during the whole of the fifteenth century; the beautiful manuscripts of Ali Shir are adorned with miniatures which are in no way inferior to occidental works of the same epoch. Baber mentions among the painters Beh-Zad, "an

artist of a very fine talent, but who gave a bad treatment to beardless faces," and Shah Muzaffir, who also wrote "a literary work relative to the mystic life"; among the musicians he mentions Mervarid and Kul-Muhammed, "who held the first rank for the art with which he composed preludes and for his incomparable skill in the development of the theme."

In the reign of Timur the Turkish language had triumphed over the Iranian; men of the Transoxanian renaissance wrote in Jagataiish, no longer in Persian. Before them Khoja Ahmed Yesevi of Turkestan, the first and in the opinion of some the greatest of the central Asian poets, had already written in the vulgar tongue; but the language of scholars and of the court was Persian, as may be seen from the historical works written, at the command of Mongolian princes, by Juveini, Rashid ad-din, Vassaf, etc. Turkish imposed itself to such a degree, especially after the time of Ahmed Yesevi, that the works of the religious propaganda, such as the *Mihraj Nameh*, "book of ascension" (1442), the *Bakhtiar Nameh*, "book of fortune" (1437), the *Tezkeret ul-Evlia*, "attestation of the saints," are in dialect and in Uigur characters.

It was only after 1450 that the Moslem church thought itself strong enough to proscribe the old Nestorian alphabet and to impose the Arabo-Persian orthography. Up to that date in its propaganda among the Turks it had been obliged to use the orthographic system formerly brought into Pe-lu by Jacobite monks; after the fifteenth century one no longer sees in central Asia those glorious characters from the Stele of Guyuk Tekine, with which Turkish kings and Mongol emperors proudly adorned their missives to the emperors of Constantinople, of China, of Germany, to the popes of Rome, and to the kings of France. The Nestorian writing had resisted even Buddhism, even the development of Chinese literature, which had devoured and assimilated the old writings of India, of Indo-China, of Korea, and of Japan; but among the Turks it was finally killed by Islam. Only the Mongols and Manchus, bravely and piously, in spite of the Chinese and in spite of Buddhism, have preserved the old Christian alphabet.

Among the principal Transoxanian and Khorasanian writers of the fourteenth century we must mention—after Timur himself, whose *Teuzukat* is a work without equal, and his grandson Khalil, whose verses in Persian have been preserved by Ali Shir—the mystics Said Ali Hamadani (died 1384), Khoja Beha ad-din (died 1388, the real founder of the Nakish bendi), the poets Lat fullah of Nishapur, Kemal ad-din of Khojend, Ahmed of Kerman (the author of a life of Timur in verse), Teftzani, the jurisconsult, grammarian, and exegete (1322–1381), and the lexicographer Jezeri, author of the most voluminous Arabic dictionary. In the next century wrote Jami, "the divine," exegete, moralist, philosopher, grammarian, and poet; Suheili, translator of the fables of Pilpay; Moiin ad-din, "dispenser of light," a mystic (died 1433); Hatifi, author of a life of Timur in verse more highly esteemed than that of Ahmed of Kerman; Bokhari, who taught rhetoric to Ulug Bey; Husein Kuberai, a descendant of the great Nejm ad-din Kubra, killed by the Mongols at the time of Jenghiz Khan; the satirist Mollah-Binai, renowned for his repartee (died 1516); Muhammed Salih, author of the epic entitled *Sheibani Nameh*, and of the arrangement in Turkish of the famous romance *Mejnun and Leila*; and Helali, author of a romance in verse, *Shah u dervish*, "king and monk," which the sceptic Baber designated as an "improper" work. Beyond all, we must speak of the great Mir Ali Shir Nevai, historian, moralist, poet, the real creator of the classic Jagatai language. Since poems have been written in the Turkish language, no one has written such numerous and such excellent

ones as he. Men of merit and of talent never had a supporter comparable to Ali Shir. It has been given to few men to do good in the same degree as he. Having started out as guard of the seals, he attained in maturity the dignity of a bey and held for some time the government of Astrabad. Finally he renounced the career of arms.

Among the moralists should be mentioned Hosani of Khiva, and above all Obaid Allah Ahrar, who was loyal to his motto, "My poverty is my pride." Unaided he cultivated his tiny farm. He died in the odour of sanctity in 1489, and his tomb is a place of pilgrimage at Samarkand. The dogmatic and exegetical works of Mevlana Fasih ad-din (died 1511) and Mollah Abul Gaffur (1510) are classics to-day. The *Debistan* (school of religions) of the Orient was composed at this same epoch by an anonymous author. At the end of the fifteenth century the geographer Jami wrote his book on India and on China. Among the historians, Sherif ad-din, Abdur-Rezzak, and Mirkhond are sufficiently well known to need no further mention. In conclusion, we may name the best of all, the master prose-writer in Jagatai Turkish, the great mogul Baber. After him decadence began, and outside of oral literature there is found only the rough Abulghazi, khan of Khiva in the seventeenth century, who in his unaffected Turkish, which is not without skill and beauty, has been able to preserve the manly and vigorous sobriety of his great ancestors.[b]

THE SPLITTING UP OF TATAR POWER

The last descendant of Timur in Persia, Hussun Ali, was defeated in 1470 by the khan of the Ak-koin-lu, *i.e.* white sheep Turkomans. Uzun Hassan, and Hassan's last descendant, Sultan Murad, had to give way in 1502 to Shah Ismail, the founder of the native dynasty of Sufi. A grandson of Timur's, Zehireddin Muhammed, called Baber, *i.e.* Tiger, in 1519 established the empire of the grand moguls in India, which flourished under his grandson Akbar from 1556 to 1605, but which fell in pieces after the reign of the tyrant Aureng Zeb, who was on the throne from 1656–1707, and which finally in 1782, under Shah Allum, the last grand mogul, became a dependency of the English. This occurred at the same time that the last remnant of Mongolian dominion in the Crimea fell to Russia.

The Tatar dynasty of the Yuen, Yun, or Yuan, founded by Khubilai Khan in China, maintained itself for seventy-two years after his death, which took place in 1294. Nine emperors reigned during this period, and the last of these, Shunti, Mongolian Tokatimur, had to retreat in 1368 into Mongolia before the founder of the native dynasty Tai-Ming—Hong-wu. There he founded the dynasty of the northern Yuan, at Karakorm, which remained independent under twenty-two khans until 1691, but was then weakened by internal dissensions, and during the rule of Changhi, from 1662–1722, became more and more subject to the Chinese, to whom it is still subject.

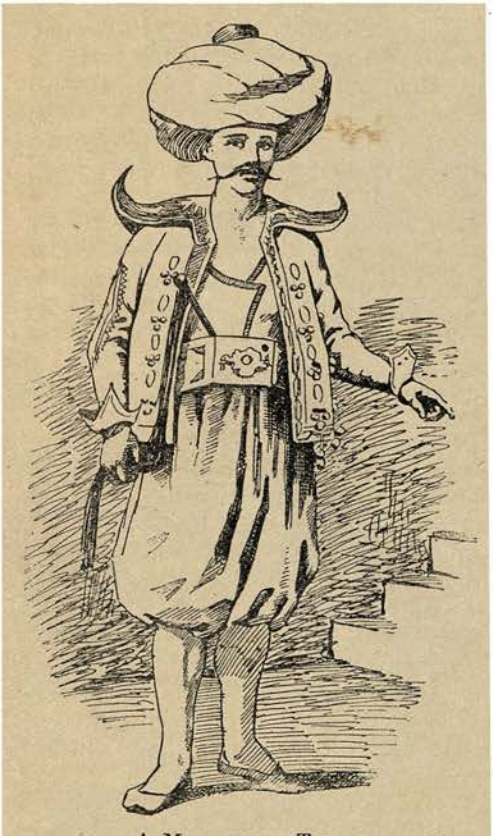
When Timur conquered the rebellious Kiptchak khan Toktamish and devastated his realm as far as Moscow, Toktamish had fled to Lithuania. The prince of that country, Withold, not only repulsed the inroad of the Tatars from Poland, but in 1397 crossed the Dnieper with an army composed of Poles, Lithuanians, and Russians, and devastated the territory of the Tatars—notably that of Prince Edigei—as far as the Don, and took back to Lithuania many thousands of Tatars with their wives and children. In their new home these renounced Islam and mingled with the inhabitants of

the country. Withold and his protégé the khan Toktamish were defeated on the Vorskla on August 5th, 1399, by Edigei and by the khan Kothlog Timur, whom he had put on the throne and who had been confirmed in his office by Timur. Kothlog Timur died on October 29th, 1399, and Edigei made his brother Shad-i-beg king. Shad-i-beg caused Toktamish to be murdered in 1408 in Siberia, but was soon afterwards himself deposed by Edigei, whereupon the latter elevated a son of Kothlog's, Pulad. Edigei wished, in 1409, to march against Lithuania, supported by the king; but since the Russian grand duke Vasili Dmitrievitch (1389–1425) refused his alliance they opened war upon him instead, and with terrible devastation of the country reduced Pereiaslavl, Rostov, Dmitrov, Serpukhov, and Nijni-Novgorod to ashes. Only Moscow withstood bravely, although it was stormed by Pulad for three weeks beginning on December 1st, 1410. The retiring Tatar army carried so many prisoners with it that every soldier had forty as his share of the booty. In the mean time, however, another son of Kothlog, Timur, had usurped the throne, and in July, 1411, forced Edigei with his puppet khan Pulad to flee. Timur was dethroned in the same year by Jelal ad-din, a son of Toktamish, but Jelal ad-din in turn was murdered by his brother Kerim Berdei in December, 1412, in a battle in which Edigei was defeated. This fratricide was murdered in 1418 by another of his brothers, Yarim Ferdei or Tschappar Berdei, against whom Edigei conspired with Withold of Lithuania. They set up Tschekre in opposition to him. Six other opposition khans arose at the same time. Ulu (*i. e.* the great) Makhmet, who drove out Tschekre and took Edigei prisoner, was finally victorious over all his rivals, and after 1427 ruled for a short time alone. Kutchuk (little) Muhammed, however, a son of Timur's, and Gaias ad-din, a son of Shad-i-beg's, then arose against Said Ahmed or Abu-Said Janibeg, the son of Barrah; Gaias ad-din also drove Ulu Muhammed out of Sarai, but was killed by Kutchuk Muhammed after a month and a half.

Although Muhammed was now khan of the Golden Horde (*ordu*) his power was still very limited, for Ulu Muhammed founded another khanate at Kazan, and Said Ahmed ruled independently at Iaik and Haji Girai or Gherai in the Crimea and on the lower Volga. All these hordes were troublesome to Russia and Poland on account of their devastating inroads, but they became more and more weakened through internal dissensions. Ulu Muhammed was killed by his own son Mahmudek in 1446; Said Ahmed wished to establish himself between the Don and the Dnieper, but was driven out by Haji Girai in 1445. He was finally taken prisoner by Kazimierz V of Poland and sent to Kovno, where he died in misery, although his horde still continued to harass Russia and Podolia until 1460. There was peace then for five years, because the Russian grand duke Ivan Vasilievitch (1462–1505) and the khan of Crimea, Haji Girai, were allies and no one ventured to disturb the peace.

When Haji Girai died in 1466, Ivan Vasilievitch ventured to attack the khanate Kazan, and subdued it in 1469 after a three years' war. Ivan had for nine years refused to pay tribute to Kutchuk Muhammed, khan of the Golden Horde in Sarai, but now that King Kazimierz, the bitter opponent of Russia, offered to aid him, Muhammed esteemed it the proper time to win back the dominion over Russia, and in the summer of 1480 he declared war. The grand duke, however, very cleverly allied himself with Mengli Girai, the khan of Crimea, the son of Haji Girai, so that the latter was forced to fall upon Podolia and Volhynia, which made it impossible for the king of Poland to send help to Muhammed. Since the Tatars could not pass

Oka, which was fortified by the Russians, they turned towards Ugra, hoping there to see their ally Kazimierz of Poland coming to their assistance with an army. He did not come, and the Russians, urged on by the clergy to fight for liberation from the heathen yoke, flocked together in such numbers that their camp covered a space of forty-five miles, and drove back the Tatar vanguard which wished to cross the Ugra. From October 8th until December 7th the armies, separated by the river, stood facing each other, inactive except for a few skirmishes. The grand duke made proposals of peace, but since the khan demanded unconditional surrender, servile debasement, and the tribute which had been in arrears for nine years, the terms were not accepted. But this delay and inactivity discouraged the Russians so much that they were seized by a panic for no especial cause, and on November 7th took flight.



A MESSENGER, TURKEY

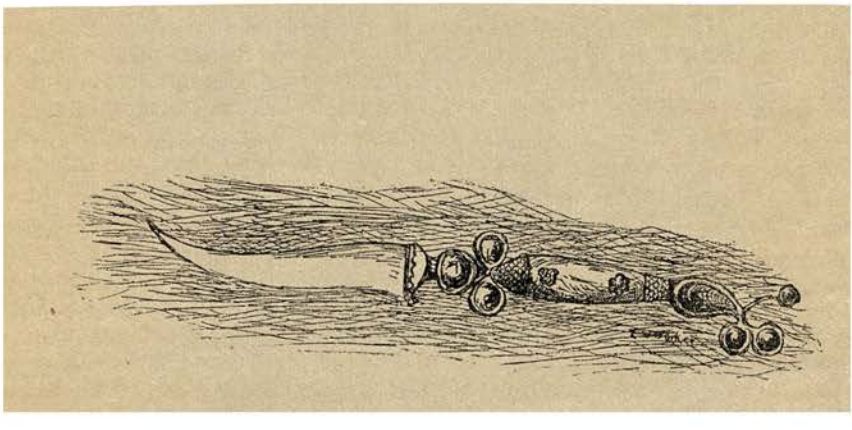
At the same time, however, the khan Kutchuk Muhammed also retired because he had received news not only that Kazimierz was hard pressed by Mengli Girai and could not come to his assistance, but also that the grand duke had sent down an army under the Crimean prince Nurdewlet and the voyevode of Sweingrod on the Volga to attack his capital Sarai; he had cause to fear also that Mengli Girai would attack him in the rear. In fact the latter had incited Iwak, the khan of the Sheibanian lords of Jumen, to fall upon Sarai from Iaik, to destroy the *yurt* of the khan and murder his family, then to cross the Volga and join forces with the sixteen thousand Nogaian Tatars under Yaghmurjei, a brother-in-law of Kutchuk Muhammed, who was thus threatened on all sides. Kutchuk Muhammed had retired to the neighbourhood of Asov to winter there. In this place he was attacked by Iwak and Yaghmurjei and killed by the latter in his own tent. Thus died Kutchuk Muhammed, at the beginning of the year 1481, in the forty-third year of his reign; he was the fiftieth of the khans who as rulers of the Golden Horde had for two hundred and sixty years spread the terror of their power far and wide in Asia and Europe, ever since 1221, indeed, when Juji, the son of Jenghiz Khan, had established himself in Kiptchak. Russia was at length free from the yoke of the Tatars, less through her own warlike strength than through the inner dissensions of her oppressors.

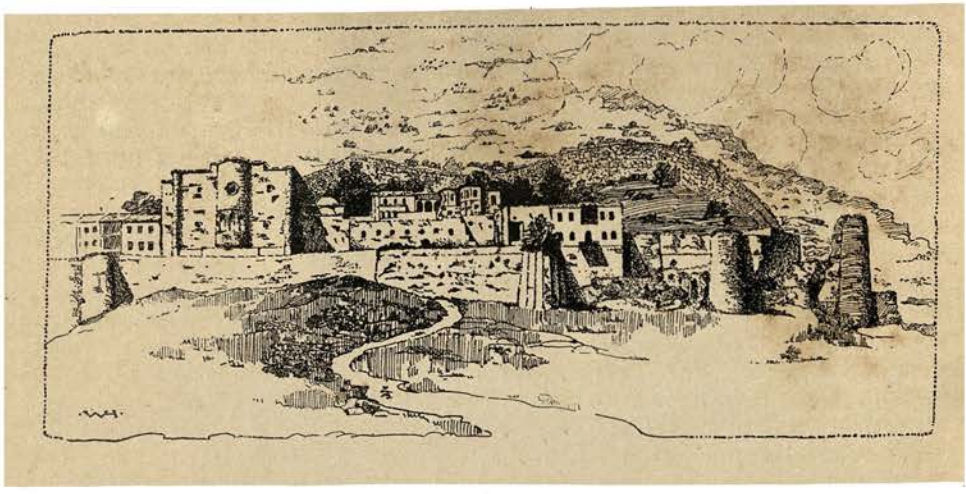
The fragments still remaining of the once so powerful Kiptchak khanate of the Golden Horde were: (1) The khanate of the Sheibanian horde at Jumen in Siberia; (2) the khanate of Astrakhan on the lower Volga and on the Don;

(3) the khanate in Desht Kiptchak, under which are to be understood the steppes of the Achtuba as far as Signakh on the Sir-Daria and Khwarezm; (4) the khanate in the Crimea, the princes of which all bore the surname Girai, from its founder Haji Girai.

The first three khanates soon came into subjection to Russia and were incorporated into that state; the khanate founded in the Crimea outlasted all the states founded by the Mongols. After 1475 it became so far subject to the Ottomans, under Muhammed II, that they appointed and confirmed the khan. Beginning in 1698, Russian armies repeatedly invaded the Crimea because its inhabitants by their raids caused extensive devastation; but it was not until 1771 that a general of Empress Catherine II, Peter Dolgoruki, really conquered them, and in the Peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji in 1774 the Porte had to recognise them as an independent state, which was to be ruled by a prince chosen from the people. The khan Girai, whose election had been effected and confirmed by Russia, was obliged on account of Turkish oppression to retire to Russia. This power gave him a pension, and on April 19th, 1783, declared Crimea to be a Russian province. To this provision the Porte was obliged to acquiesce in 1784. Girai went to Turkey afterwards, and was put to death at Rhodes at the command of the great Turk Abdul-Hamid I. Thus, after five hundred and sixty years, disappeared the last vestige of the Tatar power which had weighed so heavily on eastern Europe. At the same period the English seized the last fragments of the kingdom of the grand mogul in India.

Its place in the southern part of eastern Europe was taken by the Ottomans, who first broke into this region in 1355 under Suleiman. They chose Adrianople as a stronghold in 1402, invaded Germany in 1415 under Muhammed I, and, devastating the land as far as Salzburg, conquered Constantinople in 1453 under Muhammed II. When we consider that the Tatars, of whom there were only a hundred and fifty thousand in Batu's army in 1241, became lost in all the western lands of Asia among the Turkish hordes, through which chiefly they established and maintained their power, and whose language and religion, habits and customs they adopted, we may say with justice that the Ottoman Turkish scourge in Christian Europe is only a continuation of the Tatar Turkish.[c]





CHAPTER II

THE PERIOD OF AGGRANDISEMENT

[1200–1520 A.D.]

About six centuries and a half ago a pastoral band of four hundred Turkish families was journeying westward from the upper streams of the river Euphrates. Their armed force consisted of four hundred and forty-four horsemen, and their leader's name was Ertoghrul, which means the right-hearted man. As they travelled through Asia Minor they came in sight of a field of battle on which two armies of unequal numbers were striving for the mastery. Without knowing who the combatants were, the "right-hearted man" took instantly the chivalrous resolution to aid the weaker party, and charging desperately and victoriously with his warriors upon the larger host, he decided the fortune of the day. Such, according to the oriental historian Neschri,[1] is the first recorded exploit of that branch of the Turkish race which from Ertoghrul's son, Osman or Othman, has been called the nation of the Ottoman Turks. And in this, their earliest feat of arms, which led to the foundation of their empire, we may trace the same spirit of haughty generosity that has been their characteristic down to our own times.

The little band of Ertoghrul was a fragment of a tribe of Oghuz Turks which, under Ertoghrul's father, Suleiman Shah, had left their settlements in Khorasan and sojourned for a time in Armenia. After a few years they left this country also, and were following the course of the Euphrates towards Syria, when their leader was accidentally drowned in that river. The greater part of the tribe then dispersed; but a little remnant of it followed two of Suleiman's sons, Ertoghrul and Dundar, who determined to seek a dwelling-place in Asia Minor, under the Seljukian Turk, Aladdin (Ala-ad-din), the sultan of Iconium. It so happened that it was Aladdin himself who com-

[1] Neschri states this on the authority of Mewlana Ayas, who had heard the battle narrated by the stirrup-holder of Ertoghrul's grandson Orkhan, who had heard it from Ertoghrul himself, and had told it to his followers.

manded the army to which Ertoghrul and his warriors brought such opportune succour on the battle-field, whither their march in quest of Aladdin had casually led them. The adversaries, from whose superior force they delivered him, were a host of Mongols, the deadliest enemies of the Turkish race. Aladdin, in gratitude for this eminent service, bestowed on Ertoghrul a principality in Asia Minor, near the frontiers of the Bithynian province of the Byzantine emperors.

The rich plains of Saguta along the left bank of the river Sakaria, and the higher districts on the slopes of the Ermeni Mountains, became now the pasture-grounds of the father of Osman. The town of Saguta, or Sægud, was his also. Here he and the shepherd warriors who had marched with him from Khorasan and Armenia dwelt as denizens of the land. Ertoghrul's force of fighting men was largely recruited by the best and bravest of the old inhabitants, who became his subjects; and, still more advantageously, by numerous volunteers of kindred origin to his own. The Turkish race had been extensively spread through lower Asia long before the time of Ertoghrul. Quitting their primitive abodes on the upper steppes of the Asiatic continent, tribe after tribe of that martial family of nations had poured down upon the rich lands and tempting wealth of the southern and western regions, when the power of the early caliphs had decayed like that of the Greek emperors.

One branch of the Turks, called the Seljukian, from their traditionary patriarch Seljuk Khan, had acquired and consolidated a mighty empire more than two centuries before the name of the Ottomans was heard. The Seljukian Turks were once masters of nearly all Asia Minor, of Syria, of Mesopotamia, Armenia, part of Persia, and western Turkestan, and their great sultans, Toghrul Beg, Alp Arslan, and Melek Shah are among the most renowned conquerors that stand forth in oriental and in Byzantine history. But by the middle of the thirteenth century of the Christian era, when Ertoghrul appeared on the battle-field in Asia Minor, the great fabric of Seljukian dominion had been broken up by the assaults of the conquering Mongols, aided by internal corruption and civil strife. The Seljukian sultan Aladdin reigned in ancient pomp at Iconium, the old Konieh, but his effective supremacy extended over a narrow compass, compared with the ample sphere throughout which his predecessors had exacted obedience. The Mongols had rent away the southern and eastern acquisitions of his race. In the centre and south of Asia Minor other Seljukian chiefs ruled various territories as independent princes; and the Greek emperors of Constantinople had recovered a considerable portion of the old Roman provinces in the north and east of that peninsula.

Amid the general tumult of border warfare, and of ever-recurring peril from roving armies of Mongols, which pressed upon Aladdin, the settlement in his dominions of a loyal chieftain and hardy clan, such as Ertoghrul and his followers, was a welcome accession of strength; especially as the newcomers were, like the Seljukian Turks, zealous adherents of the Mohammedan faith. The Crescent was the device that Aladdin bore on his banners; Ertoghrul, as Aladdin's vicegerent, assumed the same standard; and it was by Ertoghrul's race that the Crescent was made for centuries the terror of Christendom, as the sign of aggressive Islam and as the chosen emblem of the conquering Ottoman power.

There was little peace in Ertoghrul's days on the frontier near which he had obtained his first grants of land. Ertoghrul had speedy and frequent opportunities for augmenting his military renown, and for gratifying his followers with the spoils of successful forays and assaults. The boldest Turkish adventurers flocked eagerly to the banner of the new and successful chieftain of their

race, and Aladdin gladly recognised the value of his feudatory's services by fresh honours and marks of confidence and by increased donations of territory.

In a battle which Ertoghrul, as Aladdin's lieutenant, fought against a mixed army of Greeks and Mongols, between Brusa and Yenisher, he drew up his troops so as to throw forward upon the enemy a cloud of light cavalry, called *akindji*, thus completely masking the centre of the main army, which, as the post of honour, was termed the "sultan's station." Ertoghrul held the centre himself, at the head of the four hundred and forty-four horsemen who were his own original followers, and whose scimitars had won the day for Aladdin when they first charged unconsciously in his cause. The system now adopted by Ertoghrul of wearying the enemy by collision with a mass of irregular troops, and then pressing him with a reserve of the best soldiers, was for centuries the favourite tactic of his descendants. The battle in which he now employed it was long and obstinate, but in the end the Turkish chief won a complete victory. Aladdin, on being informed of this achievement of his gallant and skilful vassal, bestowed on him the additional territory of Eski-Shehr, and in memory of the mode in which Ertoghrul had arrayed his army Aladdin gave to his principality the name of Sultan-Œni, which means "sultan's front."

The territory which received that name, and still bears it, as one of the sandjaks or minor governments of the Ottoman Empire, is nearly identical with the ancient Phrygia Epictetos. It was rich in pasturage, both in its alluvial meadows and along its mountain slopes. It contained also many fertile corn lands and vineyards, and the romantic beauty of every part of its thickly wooded and well-watered highlands still attracts the traveller's admiration.[b]

According to another account, Ertoghrul and his followers were pagans, and it was only by contact with the Moslem inhabitants of the country that they gradually became converted to Islam. Oriental historians relate that Ertoghrul first became acquainted with the *Koran*[a] when on one of his journeys he was entertained at the home of a pious Moslem. Seeing a book in the hands of his host, he was told that that was the word of God as it had been announced by his prophet. When his host had gone to bed Ertoghrul took the *Koran* and read it, standing, all night long. He then fell asleep, and, dreaming, heard a voice from above say, "Since thou hast read my eternal word with so much respect, thy children and the children of thy children shall be honoured from generation to generation." Ertoghrul died in 1288, and was succeeded by his son Osman.

OSMAN (1288–1326 A.D.)

The name Osman or Othman signifies "breaker of limbs." It was this name which became that of Osman's people, the Osmanlis or Ottomans. Under Osman a new step was taken in the path of Islam. The young prince often went to visit the learned and pious sheikh Edebali, living at Ithuruni, a village near Eski-Shehr. He saw the sheikh's daughter, Mal-Khatun, asked for her hand, and was refused; he was still too insignificant a lord. But one night he dreamed that he saw the moon arise from Edebali's breast. It seemed to Osman that she grew bigger and bigger until, when full, she hid herself in him. Thereupon there grew out of his loins a colossal tree, the branches of which with their shadow covered lands and seas, domes and obelisks, triumphal columns and pyramids. From the roots of the tree flowed earth's great rivers, the Tigris, Euphrates, Nile, and Danube; four great mountains—Caucasus,

Balkan, Taurus, and Atlas—supported its boughs. Suddenly a violent wind arose, and turning its leaves, which were elongated in shape like sword-blades, caused them all to point toward a single city. This city, situated at the junction of two seas and continents, looked like a ring set with two sapphires and two emeralds. Osman was about to put it on his finger, when he awoke. He related his dream to his host; the sheikh understood it to be a sign sent from God, and gave him the hand of his daughter. The preaching of Edebali hastened the conversion of Osman and of his people.

The conversion was to have incalculable influence upon history. The Ottomans had been only a crowd of nomads, mixed with Turkomans, perhaps with Mongols. The new religion made a nation of them. Furthermore, Mohammedan orthodoxy was to do for them what orthodox Christianity had done for the "Romans" of Byzantium—it was to give them the power to attract and assimilate heterogeneous foreign elements. On the other hand Islam, which had exhausted itself among the Arabic, Persian, and Berber races, would have fallen five hundred years earlier into the state of political impotence in which we see it to-day, if the Turkish race had not, through the powerful organisation of the Ottoman state and the severe discipline of the Ottoman army, infused into it new youth, new barbaric life, and new fanaticism. The alliance of the Turks with Islam, like the alliance of the Franks with Catholicism in the fifth and eighth centuries, brought forth a world.[c]

Osman's conquests were soon extended beyond the limits of Sultan-Œni, partly at the expense of rival Turkish chieftains, but principally by wresting fortress after fortress and region after region from the Greek Empire. At the close of the thirteenth century of our era the Ottoman headquarters of empire were advanced as far northwestward as the city of Yenisher, within a short march of the important Greek cities of Brusa and Nicæa, which were now the special objects of Turkish ambition.

It would, however, be unjust to represent Osman as merely an ambitious military adventurer, or to suppose that his whole career was marked by restless rapacity and aggressive violence against the neighbouring states. From 1291 to 1298 A.D. he was at peace; and the war that next followed was, at its commencement, a defensive one on his part, caused by the jealous aggressions of other Turkish emirs, who envied his prosperity, and who were aided by some of the Greek commandants in the vicinity. Thus roused into action, Osman showed that his power had been strengthened, not corrupted, by repose, and he smote his enemies in every direction. The effect of his arms in winning new subjects to his sway was materially aided by the reputation which he had honourably acquired as a just lawgiver and judge, in whose dominions Greek and Turk, Christian and Mohammedan, enjoyed equal protection for property and person. It was about this time (1299) that he coined money with his own effigy, and caused the public prayers to be said in his name. These, among the oriental nations, are regarded as the distinctive marks of royalty.

In 1326 the great city of Brusa surrendered to the Ottomans. Osman was on his death-bed, at Saguta, the first town that his father Ertoghrul had possessed, when his son effected this important conquest; but he lived long enough to hear the glad tidings and to welcome the young hero. The oriental writers narrate the last scene of Osman's life, and profess to record his dying advice to his successor. The fair Mal-Khatun had gone before him to the grave; but the two brave sons whom she had borne him, Orkhan and Aladdin, and a few of his veteran captains and sages were at the monarch's death-bed. "My son," said Osman to Orkhan, "I am dying; and I die without regret, because I leave such a successor as thou art. Be just; love goodness, and show

mercy. Give equal protection to all thy subjects, and extend the law of the prophet. Such are the duties of princes upon earth, and it is thus that they bring on them the blessings of heaven." Then, as if he wished to take actual seisin of Brusa, and to associate himself with his son's glory, he directed that he should be buried there, and advised his son to make that city the seat of empire.

His last wishes were loyally complied with; and a stately mausoleum, which stood at Brusa until its destruction by fire in the present age, marked the last resting-place of Osman, and proved the pious reverence of his descendants. His banner and his sabre are still preserved in the treasury of the empire; and the martial ceremony of girding on that sabre is the solemn rite, analogous to the coronations of Christendom, by which the Turkish sultans are formally invested with sovereign power.

Osman is commonly termed the first sultan of his race; but neither he nor his two immediate successors assumed more than the title of emir. He had, at the time of his death, reigned as an independent emir twenty-seven years, and had been chief of his tribe for thirty-nine years of his life of sixty-eight. His career fully displays the buoyant courage, the subtle watchfulness, the resolute decision, the strong common-sense, and the power of winning and wielding the affections and energies of other men which are the usual attributes of the founders of empires. And, notwithstanding his blood-guiltiness in his uncle's death,[1] we must believe him to have been eminently mild and gracious for an oriental sovereign, from the traditional attachment with which his memory is still cherished by his nation, and which is expressed at the accession of each new sultan by the formula of the people's prayer, "May he be as good as Osman."

ORKHAN (1326-1359 A.D.)

Emir Osman now slept at Brusa, and Emir Orkhan reigned in his stead. Fratricide was not yet regarded as the necessary safeguard of the throne, and Orkhan earnestly besought his brother Aladdin to share with him his sovereignty and his wealth. Aladdin firmly refused to consent to any division of the empire, and so contravene the will of their father, who had addressed Orkhan only as his successor. Nor would Aladdin accept more of the paternal property than the revenues of a single village near Brusa. Orkhan then said to him, "Since, my brother, thou wilt not take the flocks and the herds that I offer thee, be thou the shepherd of my people; be my vizir." The word "vizir" in the Ottoman language means the bearer of a burden; and Aladdin, in accepting the office, took on him, according to the oriental historians, his brother's burden of power. Aladdin did not, like many of his successors in that office, often command in person the armies of his race, but he occupied himself most efficiently with the foundation and management of the civil and military institutions of his country.

According to some authorities, it was in his time and by his advice that the semblance of vassalage to the ruler of Konieh, by stamping money with his effigy and using his name in the public prayers, was discontinued by the Ottomans. These changes are more correctly referred by others to Osman himself; but all the oriental writers concur in attributing to Aladdin the introduction of laws, which endured for centuries, respecting the costume of the

[1 In 1299 Osman's old uncle tried to dissuade him from attacking the Greek stronghold of Köprihissar, urging caution. Osman, perhaps for fear that the old man's advice would affect his other followers, shot him dead on the spot.a]

various subjects of the empire, and of laws which created a standing army of regular troops and provided funds for its support. It was, above all, by his advice and that of a contemporary Turkish statesman that the celebrated corps of janissaries was formed, an institution which European writers erroneously fix at a later date, and ascribe to Murad I.

Military Organisation

Aladdin, by his military legislation, may be truly said to have organised victory for the Ottoman race. He originated for the Turks a standing army of regularly paid and disciplined infantry and horse a full century before Charles VII of France established his fifteen permanent companies of men-at-arms, which are generally regarded as the first standing army known in modern history. Orkhan's predecessors, Ertoghrul and Osman, had made war at the head of the armed vassals and volunteers who thronged on horseback to their prince's banner when summoned for each expedition, and who were disbanded as soon as the campaign was over. Aladdin determined to insure and improve future successes by forming a corps of paid infantry, which should be kept in constant readiness for service. These troops were called *Yaya*, or *Piadé*, and they were divided into tens, hundreds, and thousands, under their respective decurions, centurions, and colonels. Their pay was high, and their pride and turbulence soon made them objects of anxiety to their sovereign. Orkhan wished to provide a check to them, and he took counsel for this purpose with his brother Aladdin and Kara Khali Tschendereli, who was connected with the royal house by marriage. Tschendereli laid before his master and the vizir a project out of which arose the renowned corps of the janissaries, so long the scourge of Christendom—so long, also, the terror of their own sovereigns, and which was finally extirpated by the sultan himself.

Tschendereli proposed to Orkhan to create an army entirely composed of Christian children, who should be forced to adopt the Mohammedan religion. Black Khalil argued thus: "The conquered are the property of the conqueror, who is the lawful master of them, of their lands, of their goods, of their wives, and of their children. We have a right to do what we will with our own; and the treatment which I propose is not only lawful, but benevolent. By enforcing the conversion of these captive children to the true faith and enrolling them in the ranks of the army of the true believers, we consult both their temporal and eternal interests; for is it not written in the *Koran* that all children are, at their birth, naturally disposed to Islam?" He also alleged that the formation of a Mohammedan army out of Christian children would induce other Christians to adopt the creed of the prophet; so that the new force would be recruited not only out of the children of the conquered nations, but out of a crowd of their Christian friends and relations, who would come as volunteers to join the Ottoman ranks.

Acting on this advice, Orkhan selected out of the families of the Christians whom he had conquered a thousand of the finest boys. In the next year a thousand more were taken; and this annual enrolment of a thousand Christian children was continued for three centuries, until the reign of Sultan Muhammed IV, in 1648. When the prisoners made in the campaign of the year did not supply a thousand serviceable boys, the number was completed by a levy on the families of the Christian subjects of the sultan. This was changed in the time of Muhammed IV, and the corps was thenceforth recruited from among the children of janissaries and native Turks; but during the con-

quering period of the Ottoman power the institution of the janissaries, as designed by Aladdin and Tschendereli, was maintained in full vigour.

The name of *yeni tscheri*, which means "new troops," and which European writers have turned into janissaries, was given to Orkhan's young corps by the dervish Hadji Beytasch. This dervish was renowned for sanctity; and Orkhan, soon after he had enrolled his first band of involuntary boyish proselytes, led them to the dwelling-place of the saint, and asked him to give them his blessing and a name. The dervish drew the sleeve of his mantle over the head of one in the first rank, and then said to the sultan, "The troop which thou hast created shall be called *yeni tscheri*. Their faces shall be white and shining, their right arms shall be strong, their sabres shall be keen, and their arrows sharp. They shall be fortunate in fight, and they shall never leave the battle-field save as conquerors." In memory of that benediction, the janissaries ever wore, as part of their uniform, a cap of white felt, like that of the dervish, with a strip of woollen hanging down behind, to represent the sleeve of the holy man's mantle that had been laid on their comrade's neck.

A DERVISH

The Christian children who were to be trained as janissaries were usually chosen at a tender age. They were torn from their parents, trained to renounce the faith in which they were born and baptised, and to profess the creed of Mohammed. They were then carefully educated for a soldier's life. The discipline to which they were subjected was severe. They were taught the most implicit obedience; and they were accustomed to bear, without repining, fatigue, pain, and hunger. But liberal honours and prompt promotion were the sure rewards of docility and courage. Cut off from all ties of country, kith, and kin, but with high pay and privileges, with ample opportunities for military advancement and for the gratification of the violent, the sensual, and the sordid passions of their animal natures amid the customary atrocities of successful warfare, this military brotherhood grew up to be the strongest and fiercest instrument of imperial ambition which remorseless fanaticism, prompted by the most subtle statecraft, ever devised upon earth.

The Ottoman historians eulogise with one accord the sagacity and piety of the founders of this institution. They reckon the number of conquerors

whom it gave to earth, and of heirs of paradise whom it gave to heaven, on the hypothesis that, during three centuries, the stated number of a thousand Christian children, neither more nor less, was levied, converted, and enlisted. They boast, accordingly, that three hundred thousand children were delivered from the torments of hell by being made janissaries. But von Hammer calculates, from the increase in the number of these troops under later sultans, that at least half a million of young Christians must have been thus made first the helpless victims and then the cruel ministers of Mohammedan power.

After the organisation of the janissaries Aladdin regulated that of the other corps of the army. In order that the soldier should have an interest not only in making but in preserving conquests, it was determined that the troops should receive allotments of land in the subjugated territories. The regular infantry, the *piadé*, had at first received pay in money; but they now had lands given to them on tenure of military service, and they were also under the obligation of keeping in good repair the public roads that led near their grounds. The irregular infantry, which had neither pay like the janissaries nor lands like the *piadé*, was called *azab*, which means "light." The lives of these undisciplined bands were held of little value, and the *azabs* were thrown forward to perish in multitudes at the commencement of a battle or a siege. It was over their bodies that the janissaries usually marched to the decisive charge or the final assault.

The cavalry was distributed by Aladdin, like the infantry, into regular and irregular troops. The permanent corps of paid cavalry was divided into four squadrons, organised like those which the caliph Omar instituted for the guard of the sacred standard. The whole corps at first consisted of only two thousand four hundred horsemen; but under Suleiman the Great the number was raised to four thousand. They marched on the right and left of the sultan; they camped round his tent at night, and they were his bodyguard in battle. One of these regiments of royal horse guards was called the Turkish *spahis*, a term applied to cavalry soldiers generally, but also specially denoting these select horse guards. Another regiment was called the *silihdars*, meaning the "vassal cavalry." A third was called the *oulou-fedji*, meaning the "paid horsemen"; and the fourth was called *ghoureba*, meaning the "foreign horse."

Besides this permanently embodied corps of paid cavalry, Aladdin formed a force of horsemen, who received grants of land like the *piadé*. As they paid no taxes for the lands which they thus held, they were termed *moselliman*, which means "tax-free." They were commanded by *sandjak beys* (princes of standards), by *binbaschi* (chiefs of thousands), and *soubaschi* (chiefs of hundreds). There were other holders of the grand and petty fiefs which were called *ziamets* and *timars*. These terms will be adverted to hereafter, when we reach the period at which the Turkish feudal system was more fully developed and defined. But in the earliest times their holders were bound to render military service on horseback when summoned by their sovereign; and they were arrayed under banners, in thousands and in hundreds, like the *mosellimans*. In addition to the regular and feudal cavalry, there were the *akindji*, or irregular light horse, receiving neither pay nor lands, but dependent on plunder, who were still called together in multitudes whenever an Ottoman army was on the march; and the terror which these active and ferocious marauders spread far and wide beyond the regular line of operations made the name of the akindji as much known and dreaded in Christendom as that of the janissaries and spahis.[b]

Orkhan was the first sultan of the Osmanli Empire. Cantacuzenus joined

with him to attack John (V) Palæologus, and even gave him his daughter in marriage; and the Turks seized upon every opportunity to benefit by the dissensions in the Byzantine Empire. Orkhan's son, Suleiman, was the first prince who entertained the idea of gaining a firm footing in Europe. An earthquake about this time severely injured the towns in the Thracian littoral, and threw down their walls. Through these openings the Turks forced their way into the towns, and fortified themselves in them. The most important of these conquests was the town of Gallipoli, then called Callipolis, the key of the Hellespont and the emporium of the Greek and eastern trade.

MURAD I

Suleiman died before his father, in consequence of a fall from his horse (he was the first Osmanli prince buried in Europe); and consequently, on Orkhan's death, his younger brother, Murad I, mounted the throne (1359–1389). The latter conquered the whole country from the Hellespont to the Balkan, and made Adrianople the chief seat of his empire. For the first time the Greeks were surrounded in their capital by the same foe both in Europe and Asia. But it was not alone the Greek Empire that was menaced. The appearance of the Mohammedans in regions which had been inaccessible even to the Arabians under the first fervour of Islam was a cause of terror to the adjoining countries, if not to all Europe, and after Pope Urban V had preached a crusade against the Turks, the rulers of Hungary, Servia, Bosnia, and Wallachia united in a war against the common foe. They were, however, defeated, and the Slavonic tribes between the Danube and the Adriatic became either tributary or entirely subject to the Turks. They attempted several insurrections, but without any permanent result.

In a rebellion of the Servians, in connection with the Albanians and the Bosnians, Murad found the termination of his glory and of his life. The Turks gained in 1389 a decisive victory on the Amselfeld in Servia; but after the end of the battle Murad fell by the hand of a Servian noble, by name Milosh Kobilovitch, under circumstances which bear a most romantic tinge. The sultan was going over the field of battle, accompanied by his vizir, in order to gaze on the multitude of victims who had fallen before his prowess. He remarked after a while, "It would be strange were my dream of last night to come true. I saw myself murdered by a hostile hand. But," he added, "dreams are the creation of the fancy; it cannot be possible." This was heard by a Servian who lay among the dead but had not yet expired, and he concluded that the sultan stood before him. Collecting his last despairing energies, he rose suddenly and stabbed the sultan. The Servian was of course cut to pieces, but the sultan also expired within two hours. Before he died, however, he ordered the execution of Lazarus, the captured king of Servia.[d]

The Servian chroniclers and the Byzantine historians give another version of the death of Murad: "The night before the battle the king was drinking with his nobles out of cups called *stravizas*. 'Drink this cup to my health,' said Lazarus to Milosh, although you are accused of betraying us.' 'Thanks,' replied Milosh, 'to-morrow will prove my fidelity.' The next morning Milosh, on a powerful charger, went to the enemy's camp and asked, as a fugitive, to be allowed to kiss the sultan's feet. The boon was granted him."[1] It is then that Milosh is said to have seized the favourable moment to stab Murad.

[1] Jean Ducas.

BAYAZID I

Murad had hardly drawn his last breath when the army acclaimed as king his eldest son Bayazid, whose brilliant merits had won him the cognomen Yilderim (lightning). The new prince inaugurated his reign by the assassination of his brother Yakub. He had been unable to see, without jealousy, this rival in glory sharing with him the affection of the soldiers; and fearing lest his brother might try to deprive him of his crown—according to the precedent set by Orkhan, who had been preferred to his elder brother—he had the young prince strangled with a bow-string.[1] The example thus set by Bayazid proved a precedent which all his successors followed. The assassination, or, at least, the captivity, of the brother of the sultan became a law of state.[e]

Injustice and tyranny were the prominent features of Bayazid's reign; he was violent and unrestrained in his outbreaks of passion, and was the first Osmanli sultan who drank wine in opposition to the commands of the *Koran*. He crossed the Danube, took possession of nearly all the towns belonging to the Byzantines in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly; invaded Greece, and subjugated the greater portion of Asia Minor. Simultaneously, a Turkish army conquered Wallachia, and carried on the war in Bosnia and Hungary.

In 1392, Sigismund, king of Hungary, advanced against the Turks in Bulgaria, and though victorious at first, was eventually forced to retreat. He then appealed to the other European princes, representing to them the danger that menaced them, and prayed for assistance. A special embassy was sent to France, and moved the compassion of that nation by a representation of a cruelty exercised by the Turks against the Christians, and found an influential patron in Philip the Bold of Burgundy. He sent his only son, the count de Nevers, to war against the Turks, and the flower of the French nobility accompanied him. The number of this army amounted to a thousand knights, the same number of soldiers, and six thousand mercenaries.

The march of this army through Germany resembled rather that of an extravagant court than of a band of warriors, so greatly did they yield to pleasure and enjoyment. Pesth was the general rendezvous, where the French and Hungarians were joined by bands of Germans. The number of warriors led by Sigismund against the Turks amounted to sixty thousand, and this army would have been sufficiently powerful to repulse the enemy, had not arrogance and disunion caused their destruction. The French knights boasted that they would support the sky itself with their lances, if it fell upon them; no thought of a defeat crossed their proud, impetuous minds, and it seemed an easy matter to them not only to drive the Turks out of Europe, but to advance into Asia and free the Holy Sepulchre. The campaign was opened by the siege of Nikopoli. Bayazid hurried up to the assistance of the garrison. The Europeans would not at first believe the truth of the rumour of his approach, and the preparations for battle were hurriedly commenced when the news was only too certain.

The day of this unhappy battle was the 28th of September, 1396. To no purpose did Sigismund entreat the French not to waste their strength on the light Turkish cavalry, but await the advance of the janissaries and spahis. They regarded this as an insult to their honour, and rushed madly and inconsiderately to battle. Thousands fell before them, and the victory might pos-

[1 Strangulation with a bow-string is the most honourable form of capital punishment. Only the great of the empire are privileged to die by that means. Similarly, in former times only the condemned of the aristocracy had been honoured with death by beheading.]

sibly have been gained had they not rashly dispersed in pursuit ere they came up with the nucleus of Bayazid's army. When they perceived this phalanx their spirits sank. The majority fled in terror; a few only sought and found an honourable death, but even flight could not save the rest. The count de Nevers was taken prisoner with twenty-one of his most illustrious comrades-in-arms. In vain did Sigismund now lead up his Bavarian and Styrian knights and a body of his brave Hungarians. The fate of the day was decided by the Servians, who were the confederates of the Turks. Sigismund escaped with great difficulty on board a boat on the Danube.

When Bayazid on the next morning surveyed the battle-field and saw sixty thousand of his soldiers lying dead, he wept for grief, and swore to revenge the death of so many Turks upon the captives. After the French knights had been reserved for the sake of the heavy ransom, the sultan ordered a massacre, and ten thousand of the prisoners had been killed ere his magnates cast themselves at his feet and implored mercy for the rest, which he conceded. The count de Nevers and his comrades pined in captivity until they were liberated by a ransom of 200,000 ducats. Bayazid was only prevented by a severe attack of gout from pursuing his victorious career in the west, but his troops advanced far into Styria and burned Pettau.

In the mean while the terrible Timur the Lame had subverted the most powerful thrones in Asia, and had advanced to the Euphrates on the appeal for assistance from the Greek court of Trebizond. In 1400 he conquered the Pontic town of Sebastia (now called Sivas) and executed Bayazid's son, who fell into his hands on this occasion. Bayazid, who was then before the walls of Constantinople, raised the siege and hurried to Asia Minor. Timur had in the mean time marched southwards, and in a very short space of time Aleppo, Damascus, and Baghdad fell before his powerful army. At last the Turkish and Mongolian army met for the decisive contest before Angora (1402). The two armies probably amounted to a million of warriors, and although the Mongolians were far superior in number, the Turks made up for this by their experience in war.

But Bayazid selected, in opposition to the advice of his grand vizir, a plain for the battle-field, and as the Asiatics serving in his army deserted to Timur during the engagement, the Turks were defeated in spite of their usual bravery, and Bayazid was taken prisoner, after the whole of his body-guard had fallen. Three of his five sons saved their lives—Suleiman, Muhammed, and Musa, late the viceroy in Europe. Isa was taken prisoner with his father, and his remaining son, Mustapha, fell in battle. Timur treated the captured monarch with respect, and on his attempt to escape had him carried from each encampment in a gilded litter, like those that Turkish ladies made use of. Thence arose the rumour of the iron cage in which he was said to be kept. Bayazid died in imprisonment in 1403, and Timur retired to Samarkand, where he also died in 1405.

CIVIL WAR

With Bayazid's captivity and death the Turkish Empire seemed utterly annihilated, more especially as his sons carried on a war against each other, from which only an entire dissolution of the state could be expected. Suleiman, the eldest son, took possession of his father's treasures, occupied the Turco-European provinces, and selected Adrianople as his abode. Muhammed and Musa remained in Asia Minor, where the former resided in Amasia, the latter in Brusa.

But the contest between the brothers led to the death of two (Musa and Suleiman), and the third reunited his father's empire, as Muhammed I (1413–1421), and subjected the Turkish emirs in Asia Minor. He died in 1421, but his vizirs considered it advisable to conceal his death for forty days, till Murad II (1421–1451), his son, arrived from Asia and ascended the throne. Murad had many contests with a false Mustapha who asserted that he was the son of Bayazid, and in 1440 he marched into Hungary on account of the assistance that country had afforded to the pretender. But on this occasion the Turks found an opponent equal to them, the brave Janos Hunyady, the future voyevod of Transylvania. He gained the first victory over the Turks on the 18th of March, 1442, at Herrmannstadt, and twenty thousand of the enemy were left on the battle-field; a second Turkish army of eighty thousand men he defeated with only fifteen thousand, at Vasag, although the Turkish leader had boasted that the Hungarians would fly as soon as they saw his turban.

MURAD II

Cardinal Julian, who had been sent by Pope Eugene to the Hungarian court, made every exertion to induce King Wladyslaw, who bore the double crown of Hungary and Poland, to commence a more effective war against the universal enemy of Christians. He promised the support of a crusade which the pope had ordered to be preached through the whole of the west. His words had effect, and in the summer of 1443 a large army, composed of Hungarians, Poles, Servians, Wallachians, and German crusaders, crossed the Danube. It was a glorious campaign, and had it been followed up by others of a similar nature the power of the Turks might have been broken. Hunyady gained the victory in two battles, and crossed the Balkan in December, 1443. But as the year was so far advanced, and want of provisions and sickness harassed the troops, they retreated, though not without brilliant hopes for the next year.[d]

Murad had been personally successful in Asia; but the defeats which his forces had sustained in Europe and the strength of the confederacy there formed against him filled him with grave alarm. He sought by the sacrifice of the more remote conquests of his house to secure for the rest of his European dominions the same tranquillity which he had re-established in the Asiatic. After a long negotiation a treaty of peace for ten years was concluded at Szegedin on the 12th of July, 1444, by which the sultan resigned all claims upon Servia, and recognised George Brankovich as its independent sovereign. Wallachia was given up to Hungary; and the sultan paid sixty thousand ducats for the ransom of Mahmud Tchelebi, his son-in-law, who had commanded against Hunyady and had been taken prisoner in the late campaign. The treaty was written both in the Hungarian and in the Turkish languages; King Wladyslaw swore upon the Gospels, and the sultan swore upon the *Koran*, that it should be truly and religiously observed.

Murad now thought that his realm was at peace, and that he himself, after so many years of anxiety and toil, might hope to taste the blessings of repose. We have watched him hitherto as a man of action, and we have found ample reason to admire his capacity and vigour in council and in the field. But Murad had also other virtues of a softer order, which are not often to be found in the occupant of an oriental throne. He was gentle and affectionate in all the relations of domestic life. Instead of seeking to assure his safety by the death of the two younger brothers, for whose fate their

father had been so anxious, Murad treated them with kindness and honour while they lived, and bitterly lamented their loss when they died of the plague in their palace at Brusa. The other brother, who took up arms against him, was killed without his orders. He forgave, for the sake of a sister who was married to the prince of Kirman, the treasonable hostility with which that vassal of the house of Osman assailed him; and the tears of another sister for the captivity of her husband, Mahmud Tchelebi, and her entreaties that he might be rescued from the power of the terrible Hunyady, were believed to have prevailed much in causing Murad to seek the pacification of Szegedin.

When that treaty was concluded Murad passed over to Asia, where he met the deep affliction of learning the death of his eldest son Prince Aladdin, who had shared with him the command of the Ottoman forces in Asia during the operations of the preceding year. The bitterness of this bereavement increased the distaste which Murad had already acquired for the pomp and turmoil of sovereignty. He determined to abdicate the throne in favour of his second son, Prince Muhammed, and to pass the rest of his life in retirement at Magnesia. But it was not in austere privation nor in the fanatic exercises of Mohammedan monasticism that Murad designed his private life to be wasted. He was no contemner of the pleasures of sense, and the scene of his retreat was amply furnished with all the ministry of every delight.

TREACHERY OF CHRISTIANS

The tidings of warfare renewed by the Christian powers soon roused the bold Paynim, like Spenser's Cymocles, from his bower of bliss. The king of Hungary and his confederates had recommenced hostilities in a spirit of treachery that quickly received its just reward. Within a month from the signature of the Treaty of Szegedin the pope and the Greek emperor had persuaded the king of Hungary and his counsellors to take an oath to break the oath which had been pledged to the sultan. They represented that the confessed weakness of the Ottomans, and the retirement of Murad to Asia, gave an opportunity for eradicating the Turks from Europe, which ought to be fully employed. The cardinal Julian pacified the conscientious misgivings which young King Wladyslaw expressed, by his spiritual authority in giving dispensation and absolution in the pope's name, and by his eloquence in maintaining the infamously celebrated thesis that no faith is to be kept with misbelievers.

Hunyady long resisted the persuasions to break the treaty, but his conscience was appeased by the promise that he should be made independent king of Bulgaria when that province was conquered from the Turks. He stipulated only that the breach of the treaty should be delayed till September 1st; not out of any lingering reluctance to violate it, but in order that the confederates might first reap all possible benefit from it by securely establishing their forces in the strongholds of Servia, which the Ottomans were then evacuating in honest compliance with their engagements. On September 1st the king, the legate, and Hunyady marched against the surprised and unprepared Turks with an army of ten thousand Poles and Hungarians. The temerity which made them expect to destroy the Turkish power in Europe with so slight a force was equal to the dishonesty of their enterprise. They advanced into Wallachia, where Drakul, the prince of that country, joined them with his levies. That sagacious chieftain saw the inadequacy of King Wladyslaw's means for the task which he had undertaken, and remonstrated

[1444 A.D.]

against advancing further. This brought on a personal difference between him and Hunyady, in the course of which Drakul drew his sabre against the Hungarian general, and was punished by an imprisonment, from which he was released only by promising fresh supplies of troops and a large contribution of money.

The Christian army in full confidence of success crossed the Danube, and marched along the line of that river through Bulgaria to the Black Sea. They then moved southward along the coast, destroying a Turkish flotilla, receiving the surrender of many fortresses, and storming the strongholds of Sunium and Pezech. The Turkish garrisons of these places were put to the sword or thrown over precipices. Kavarna was next attacked and taken, and finally the Christians invested the celebrated city of Varna.

The possession of Varna was then, as now, considered essential for the further advance of an invading army against the Turkish European Empire. Hunyady was still successful; Varna surrendered to his arms; the triumphant Christians were encamped near it, when they suddenly received the startling tidings that it was no longer the boy Muhammed that was their adversary, but that Sultan Murad was himself again. They heard that the best warriors of Asiatic Turkey had thronged together at the summons of their veteran sovereign; that the false Genoese had been bribed to carry Murad and his army, forty thousand strong, across the Bosporus, by a ducat for each soldier's freight, thus baffling the papal fleet that cruised idly in the Hellespont. Other messengers soon hurried into the Christian camp, who announced that the unresting sultan had come on against them by forced marches, and that the imperial Turkish army was posted within four miles of Varna.

A battle was inevitable; but the mode in which Hunyady prepared for it showed that his confidence was unabated. He rejected the advice which some gave in a council of war to form intrenchments and barricades round their camp and there await the sultan's attack. He was for an advance against the advancing foe. The young king caught the enthusiastic daring of his favourite general, and the Christian army broke up from their lines, and marched down into the level ground northward[1] of the city to attack the sultan, who had carefully strengthened his encampment there by a deep ditch and palisades.

BATTLE OF VARNA

On the eve of the feast of St. Mathurin, November 10th, 1444, the two armies were arrayed for battle. The left wing of the Christian army consisted chiefly of Wallachian troops. The best part of the Hungarian soldiery was in the right wing, where also stood the Frankish crusaders under the cardinal Julian. The king was in the centre with the royal guard and the young nobility of his realms. The rear-guard of Polish troops was under the bishop of Peterwardein. Hunyady acted as commander-in-chief of the whole army. On the Turkish side the first two lines were composed of cavalry and irregular infantry, the beyler-bey of Rumelia commanding on the right and the beyler-bey of Anatolia on the left. In the centre, behind their lines, the sultan took his post with his janissaries and the regular cavalry of his bodyguard. The copy of the violated treaty was placed on a lance-head and raised on high among the Turkish ranks for a standard in the battle, and as a visible appeal to the God of truth, who punishes perjury among mankind.

[1] Murad had probably crossed the Balkan by the pass that leads from Aidos to Pravadi, and had then marched eastward upon Varna. This would bring him to the rear of Hunyady.

At the very instant when the armies were about to encounter, an evil omen troubled the Christians. A strong and sudden blast of wind swept through their ranks, and blew all their banners to the ground, save only that of the king.

Yet the commencement of the battle seemed to promise them a complete and glorious victory. Hunyady placed himself at the head of the right wing, and charged the Asiatic troops with such vigour that he broke them and chased them from the field. On the other wing, the Wallachians were equally successful against the cavalry and azabs of Rumelia. King Wladyslaw advanced boldly with the Christian centre; and Murad, seeing the rout of his first two lines and the disorder that was spreading itself in the ranks round him, despaired of the fate of the day and turned his horse for flight. Fortunately for the house of Osman, Karaja, the beyler-bey of Anatolia, who had fallen back on the centre with the remnant of his defeated wing, was near the sultan at this critical moment. He seized his master's bridle, and implored him to fight the battle out. The commandant of the janissaries, Yazidzi-Toghan, indignant at such a breach of etiquette, raised his sword to smite the unceremonious beyler-bey, when he was himself cut down by a Hungarian sabre. Murad's presence of mind had failed him only for a moment, and he now encouraged his janissaries to stand firm against the Christian charge. Young King Wladyslaw, on the other side, fought gallantly in the thickest of the strife; but his horse was killed under him, and he was then surrounded and overpowered. He wished to yield himself up prisoner, but the Ottomans, indignant at the breach of the treaty, had sworn to give no quarter. An old janissary, Khoja Khiri, cut off the Christian king's head and placed it on a pike, a fearful companion to the lance on which the violated treaty was still reared on high. The Hungarian nobles were appalled at the sight, and their centre fled in utter dismay from the field.

Hunyady, on returning with his victorious right wing, vainly charged the janissaries, and strove at least to rescue from them the ghastly trophy of their victory. At last he fled in despair, with the wreck of the troops that he had personally commanded and with the Wallachians who collected round him. The Hungarian rear-guard, abandoned by their commanders, was attacked by the Turks the next morning and massacred almost to a man. Besides the Hungarian king, Cardinal Julian, the author of the breach of the treaty and the cause of this calamitous campaign, perished at Varna beneath the Turkish scimitar. This overthrow did not bring immediate ruin upon Hungary, but it was fatal to the Slavonic neighbours of the Ottomans, who had joined the Hungarian king against them. Servia and Bosnia were thoroughly reconquered by the Mohammedans; and the ruin of these Christian nations, which adhered to the Greek church, was accelerated by the religious intolerance with which they were treated by their fellow Christians of Hungary and Poland, who faithfully obeyed the pope and hated the Greek church as heretical.[b]

Murad descended a second time from the throne and returned to Magnesia to mourn his favourite son. His presence was, however, indispensable to the empire, and civil war again tore him from his retreat. The janissaries, despising the authority of a child, had revolted and sacked Adrianople. At the mere sight of Murad order was restored (1445). With him returned the glory of conquest; at the head of sixty thousand men he seized Corinth and Patras, ravaged the Peloponnesus, and forced Prince Constantine to pay tribute; then he turned to Albania, where an emulator of Hunyady's glory was already rising.

SCANDERBEG

The despot of northern Albania, or, more correctly, Mirditia, had been obliged to give up his four sons to the sultan. The three eldest died at an early age, poisoned, it is said; the fourth son, George, brought up at court in the Mohammedan faith, became the favourite of Murad, who gave him, on account of his impetuous bravery, the name of Iskander Beg (Prince Alexander). It is this name which Europeans corrupted into Scanderbeg.

Though enjoying the sultan's favour, the young man did not forget his country or his despoiled father. He brooded vengeance in his heart. The first defeat of the Ottomans in the long campaign appeared to him the desired occasion for putting his project into execution. Taking advantage of the rout at Nish, Iskander, holding a dagger at the throat of the *reis effendi*, compelled him to sign an order enjoining the commander of Akhissar (Kroia) to give up his place to the favourite of the sultan. Iskander, in order that his secret might not be betrayed, killed the minister as soon as the position had been secured. He then hastened to Akhissar, secured the keys of the place, and massacred the garrison, who were sunk in deep sleep. Scanderbeg called to his standard the chiefs of the Albanian clans, seized Petrella, Petralba, Stelusia, and entered his ancestral states as a conqueror. All the feudal lords of Epirus recognised him as their chief, and at the head of fifteen thousand mountaineers he completely defeated the forty thousand men of Ali Pasha (1443).

The abdication of Murad gave him time to organise his forces and to prepare for the struggle. Firuz Pasha and Mustapha Pasha were beaten in turn and obliged to evacuate the Epirus; at the same time Scanderbeg attacked the Venetians, who had obtained possession of Daina. The approach of Mustapha decided Scanderbeg to conclude peace with Venice; Mustapha, being conquered, was made a prisoner and left ten thousand men on the battlefield. This was too much for the Crescent. Murad at the head of a hundred thousand men marched against the audacious Albanian who had dared to oppose him. The two cities of Sfetigrad and Debra fell into his power, but he bought their fall at the price of twenty thousand men (1447).

Hunyady, taking advantage of the embarrassments of the sultan, wished to take revenge upon him for his victory at Varna. At the head of eighty thousand men, ten thousand of whom were Wallachians, Hunyady crossed the Danube and invaded Servia. Murad, to whom the Servian prince remained faithful, hastened to the aid of his vassal and met the Hungarian army in the plain of Kosovo. For the second time this place was to decide the destiny of the Illyrian peninsula.

Hunyady, trusting in fortune, began the attack without waiting for the support of Scanderbeg. The battle lasted three days. It was a furious mêlée where twenty-five thousand Christians fought, without retreating a step, against the hundred and fifty thousand Moslems of Murad. The Wallachians abandoned Hunyady, and their treason gave the victory to the Mohammedans. The Hungarians did not fall without taking vengeance: forty thousand Ottoman bodies were stretched out on the plain (October 17th, 1448).

All the forces of the Ottoman Empire were then directed against Scanderbeg. The Ottoman troops flooded the Epirus. Kroia was invested and blockaded. The commandant Uracoutel, inaccessible to fear as well as to corruption, disdainfully repulsed the presents of the sultan and in a sortie burned the besieging machines of the enemy. Scanderbeg continually harassed the Moslems and several times surprised their camp with nocturnal

attacks. Murad, tired of this inglorious warfare in which he was wearing out his army and losing his best soldiers, offered to give Scanderbeg the investiture of the insurgent countries on condition that they remained under the suzerainty of the Porte and that Scanderbeg pay 100,000 ducats tribute. The prince of Epirus refused; and the sultan, being obliged to raise the siege, took his way back to Adrianople. But Scanderbeg was awaiting him in the defiles of the mountains, and it was only at the price of superhuman effort and of half his remaining troops that the sultan was able to force a passage (1448–1450).

The marriage of Murad's son with the daughter of Suleiman Bey, a Turkoman prince, was scarcely celebrated when the sultan, overcome by a stroke of apoplexy, died in the midst of the feasting (February, 1451).[e] He was buried at Brusa. The old English historian, Knolles, who wrote in 1610, says of his sepulchre: "Here he now lieth in a chapel without any roof, his grave nothing differing from that of the common Turks, which they say he commanded to be done in his last will, that the mercy and blessing of God might come unto him by the shining of the sun and moon, and the falling of the rain and dew of heaven upon his grave."

MUHAMMED II
(1430–1481)

ACCESSION OF MUHAMMED II

Muhammed II, surnamed by his countrymen the Conqueror, was aged twenty-one years when his father died. He heard of that event at Magnesia, whither the grand vizir had despatched a courier to him from Adrianople. He instantly sprang on an Arab horse, and exclaiming, "Let those who love me, follow me," galloped off towards the shore of the Hellespont. In a few days he was solemnly enthroned. His first act of sovereign authority showed that a different spirit to that of the generous Murad would now wield the Ottoman power. Murad had left a little son, a babe still at the breast, by his second wife, a princess of Servia. Muhammed ordered his infant brother to be drowned in a bath, and the merciless command was executed at the very time when the unhappy mother, in ignorance of her child's doom, was offering her congratulations to the murderer on his accession. Muhammed perceived the horror which the atrocity of this deed caused among his subjects; and he sought to avert it from himself by asserting that the officer who had drowned the infant prince had acted without orders, and by putting him to death for the pretended treason. But Muhammed himself, when in after years he declared the practice of royal fratricide to be a necessary law of the state, confessed clearly his own share in this the first murder of his deeply purpled reign.

[1451-1452 A.D.]

He had now fully outgrown the boyish feebleness of mind which had unfitted him for the throne when twice placed on it by his father six years before. For craft, capacity, and courage he ranks among the highest of the Ottoman sultans. His merits also as a far-sighted statesman and his power of mind as a legislator are as undeniable as are his military talents. He was also keenly sensible to all intellectual gratifications, and he was himself possessed of unusually high literary abilities and attainments. Yet with all these qualities we find combined in him an amount of cruelty, perfidy, and revolting sensuality, such as seldom stain human nature in the same individual. The character of Sulla will perhaps supply the closest parallel with that of the renowned Ottoman destroyer of the Greek Empire.

Three years before Muhammed II was girt with the scimitar of Osman, Constantine XI was crowned emperor of Constantinople—a prince whose heroism throws a sunset glory on the close of the long-clouded series of the Byzantine annals. The Roman Empire of the East was now shrunk to a few towns and a scanty district beyond the walls of the capital city; but that city was itself a prize of sufficient splendour to tempt the ambition and excite the hostility of a less aspiring and unscrupulous spirit than that of the son of Murad. The Ottomans felt that Constantinople was the true natural capital of their empire. While it was in the hands of others, the communication between their European and their Asiatic provinces could never be secure. Its acquisition by themselves would consolidate their power, and invest them with the majesty that still lingered round those walls, which had encircled the chosen seat of Roman empire for nearly eleven hundred years.

CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

The imprudence of Constantine, who seems to have judged the character of Muhammed from the inability to reign which he had shown at the premature age of fourteen, hastened the hostility of the young sultan. Constantine sent an embassy, demanding the augmentation of a stipend which was paid to the Byzantine court for the maintenance of a descendant of Suleiman, Sultan Bayazid's eldest son. This personage, who was named Orkhan, had long been in apparent retirement but real custody at Constantinople; and the ambassadors hinted that if their demands were not complied with, the Greek emperor would immediately set him loose, to compete with Muhammed for the Turkish throne. Muhammed, who at this time was engaged in quelling some disturbances in Asia Minor, answered with simulated courtesy; but the old grand vizir, Khalil, warned the Byzantines, with indignant vehemence, of the folly of their conduct, and of the difference which they would soon experience between the fierce ambition of the young sultan and the mild forbearance of his predecessor.

Muhammed had indeed bent all his energies on effecting the conquest of the Greek capital, and he resolved to secure himself against any interruption or division of his forces while engaged in that great enterprise. He provided for the full security of his territories in Asia; he made a truce of three years with Hunyady, which guaranteed him from all attack from the north in Europe; and he then contemptuously drove away the imperial agents who received the revenues of the lands allotted for the maintenance of Orkhan, and began to construct a fortress on the European side of the Bosporus, about five miles above Constantinople, at a place where the channel is narrowest, and immediately opposite one that had been built by Bayazid

Yilderim on the Asiatic shore. Constantine remonstrated in vain against these evident preparations for the blockade of his city; and the Ottomans employed in the work were encouraged to commit acts of violence against the Greek peasantry, which soon led to conflicts between armed bands on either side. Constantine closed the gates of his city in alarm, and sent another embassy of remonstrance to the sultan, who replied by a declaration of war, and it was clearly evident that the death-struggle of the Greek Empire was now fast approaching.

Each party employed the autumn and winter of 1452 in earnest preparations for the siege, which was to be urged by the one and resisted by the other in the coming spring. Muhammed collected the best troops of his empire at Adrianople; but much more than mere numbers of soldiery, however well disciplined and armed for the skirmish or the battle-field, was requisite for the capture of the great and strong city of Constantinople. Artillery had for some time previously been employed both by Turkish and Christian armies; but Muhammed now prepared a more numerous and formidable park of cannon than had ever before been seen in warfare. A Hungarian engineer, named Urban, had abandoned the thankless service and scanty pay of the Greeks for the rich rewards and honours with which the sultan rewarded all who aided him in his conquest. Urban cast a monster cannon for the Turks, which was the object both of their admiration and terror. Other guns of less imposing magnitude, but probably of greater efficiency, were prepared; and ammunition and military stores of every description and the means of transport were collected on an equally ample scale. But Muhammed did not merely heap together the materials of war with the ostentatious profusion so common in oriental rulers. He arranged all, he provided for the right use of all, in the keen spirit of skilful combination which we admire in the campaigns of Cæsar and Napoleon. He was almost incessantly occupied in tracing and discussing with his officers plans of the city, of his intended lines, of the best positions for his batteries and magazines, of the spots where mines might be driven with most effect, and of the posts which each division of his troops should occupy.[b]

The siege and capture of Constantinople have already been narrated at length in these pages in connection with the fall of the Byzantine Empire. The Ottomans began the siege with an immense army in the beginning of April, 1453. As little headway could be made, even with his immense cannon, against the heavy fortifications of the city, Muhammed decided on an attack by sea, and, finding the lower part of the Golden Horn blocked, built to the upper part a plank road leading from the Bosporus. Over this road, which was five miles long, he dragged his ships into the upper harbour, where his cannons could be used with greater effect.[a]

On May 24th Muhammed sent an envoy to the besieged, promising the inhabitants life and liberty and the emperor the possession of the Morea if the city would capitulate. Constantine replied that rather than surrender he would bury himself beneath the ruins of his capital. The 29th of May was fixed for the general assault. Warlike enthusiasm and religious fanaticism exalted the Ottoman troops to the highest point. Constantine conducted himself like a soldier and general. At the head of foreign troops he continued to fight at the breach. Seeing the rout of his soldiers he understood that all hope was gone. Not wishing to survive the ruin of his country, the massacre of his people, he collected a handful of braves, and throwing himself into the midst of the Ottomans, fell, after performing prodigies of valour, among the heaps of dead. At least he had died like a soldier and king.

STATUS OF CONQUERED GREEKS

When the soldiers, glutted with booty and satiated with massacre, ceased at last to pillage and kill, Muhammed turned his attention to making good his conquest by the establishment of political institutions fitted to the temperament and customs of his new subjects.

The capture of Constantinople terrified the ancient countries of the Byzantine Empire. Greece was dismayed by this disaster. From the Morea and from the islands the people fled without knowing whither. The sea was covered with vessels and barks carrying the families of the Greeks and their riches. The mountains, the monasteries, the islands occupied by the Venetians and Genoese served as a refuge.

A firman ordered all the Greeks who were dispersed in the Ottoman Empire to return to Constantinople, and promised them the right of free exercise of their religion and the preservation of their property. The Greeks retained all their churches, from that called Suli-Monastir to those at the very gates of Adrianople. At the order of the sultan a new patriarch was installed in office by the usual ceremony. When Georgius or George Scholarius (Gennadius) had been crowned with the tiara, the sultan said to him: "Be patriarch, and may heaven protect you! On every occasion count upon my friendship and enjoy all the privileges possessed by your predecessors."

Preserving their religion, their goods, and the right of administering their own affairs, the Greeks formed a vast community entirely separate from the conquering nation. They paid double taxes, one for themselves and one for their lands. The head of the community was the patriarch, who was assisted by a synod; he had the rank of vizir and possessed a janissary guard. All civil and criminal cases of the Greek *rayahs* in the district of Constantinople were tried before his tribunal. This tribunal, composed of the principal dignitaries of the clergy, could pronounce any sentence, even that of death, and the military authorities were responsible for the execution of its decrees.

The synod formed the grand council of the nation and served at the same time as a court of appeal. The members of the synod as well as the patriarch were exempt from the land tax (*kharadj*). Every bishop enjoyed in his own diocese the same privileges that the patriarch enjoyed at Constantinople. The confiscated lands of the large Greek families were transformed into *tiamars*, but those belonging to the rayahs remained in the hands of their owners, and were subject only to the kharadj. Every community was governed by primates whom it appointed. They distributed the kharadj and the other taxes.

FURTHER CONQUESTS OF MUHAMMED

Profiting by the terror which the fall of Constantinople had spread as far as the Danube, Muhammed actively pursued his work of conquering the entire Illyrian Peninsula. In the Peloponnesus, Demetrius and Thomas Palæologus, brothers of the last emperor of Byzantium, submitted to the imposition of an annual tribute of twelve thousand ducats. Their base servility delayed their fall only a few years; eight years later, in 1462, Muhammed reunited the Peloponnesus to his states.

Servia was invaded and ravaged; fifty thousand prisoners of both sexes were carried into captivity; but Hunyady hastened to the aid of the Servians, and the terrible adversary of Murad II crushed Firuz Bey (1454). The orthodox Servians nourished against the Catholic Hungarians the same rancour and

hatred that the Greeks nourished against the Latins. George Brankovich hastened to buy, at the price of a tribute of thirty thousand ducats, a precarious and shameful peace. It was not, however, to be of long duration. The following year an Ottoman fleet, after conquering Thasos, Samothrace, Imbros, and Lemnos, experienced a sanguinary defeat before Cos, and failed completely in an attempt to capture Rhodes by siege. The sultan, at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men and three hundred pieces of artillery, then entered Servia and arrived before Belgrade without meeting with any resistance. Hunyady, assisting, had established himself in the town. The Turkish squadron, which was at the siege, was destroyed, a general attack failed, and the assailants, being driven back to their camp, were obliged to forego their attempt, leaving twenty-four thousand men buried in the intrenchments and abandoning all their artillery. The great Hungarian captain did not long enjoy his triumph. Twenty days after the flight of the Moslems he succumbed to the effects of a wound received in the combat.[1]

As his death rid the Ottomans of the most redoubtable adversary they had yet met, the grand vizir Mahmud Pasha re-entered Servia. He took possession of Semendria, and in two years finished the definitive conquest of that country, which has been so often invaded and ravaged. The most energetic portion of the population, led by the patriarch, preferred exile to servitude. Taking refuge in Hungary, the Servians formed settlements somewhat like military colonies, which provided the emperors of Austria with their best soldiers; and nowhere did the Ottomans meet more determined enemies (1458–1460). The conquest of Bosnia followed soon after that of Servia. While Mahmed Pasha was conquering Servia and Bosnia, Sultan Muhammed took the city of Amasia from the Genoese and Sinope from Ismail Bey. The conquest of Greece was accomplished at the same time; only the islands of the Archipelago and of the Ægean Sea and the Venetian principalities of the Peloponnesus had escaped the conqueror.

Desirous of shielding Servia, his recent conquest, from the attacks of the Hungarians, Sultan Muhammed turned his arms against the voyevod of Wallachia, Vlad the Executioner. The ferocity of this prince had won for him from his subjects the name of Drakul (devil); the Moslems called him Kazikli-Woda (the impaling voyevod), on account of the punishment he was accustomed to inflict. Vlad hastened to submit to Sultan Muhammed and concluded with him a treaty which until recent times was regarded as a charter of the rights of Wallachia.

This treaty was hardly signed when Vlad allied himself with Matthias Corvinus, impaled the sultan's envoys with all their suite—"the pasha on an elevated pole as a sign of honour"—and invaded Bulgaria. Muhammed marched against him with fifty thousand men, and after several months of desperate and merciless warfare the voyevod took refuge in Hungary, where Matthias Corvinus threw him into prison. Vlad's brother, Radul, a favourite of the sultan, succeeded him, but was reduced to the condition of a simple pasha. Wallachia was incorporated with the empire (1462).[e]

In Asia Muhammed's arms were more uniformly successful. He conquered and annexed to his empire Sinope and Trebizond, and he finally subdued the

[1 The name of Giovanni di Capistrano is inseparably connected with the battle of Belgrade. He was a Franciscan monk, who traversed the whole of Europe trying to arouse people to fight against the infidels. He came to the aid of Hunyady at Belgrade with an army consisting of "townsmen, peasants, students, and begging monks." The victory of the Christians on that day was largely due to the confidence of Capistrano, who urged the attack when Hunyady thought all was lost.]

princes of Karamania, those rancorous enemies of the house of Osman. The most important of all his conquests, after that of Constantinople, was the subjugation of the Crimea in 1475 by one of the most celebrated of the Turkish captains, Ahmed, surnamed Keduk, or Broken-mouth, who was Muhammed's grand vizir from 1473 to 1477. The immediate causes of the expedition to the Crimea were the sultan's hostility with the Genoese, who possessed the strong city of Kaffa in that country, and the entreaties which the deposed khan of the Crim Tatars addressed to Muhammed for aid against his revolted brothers. But it cannot be doubted that a prince of Muhammed's genius discerned the immense value of the Crimea to the occupiers of Constantinople, and the necessity of securing his dominions by its annexation. Ahmed Keduk attacked Kaffa with a powerful fleet and an army of forty thousand men. That city, then called Little Constantinople from its wealth and strength, surrendered in four days. The booty which the conqueror seized there was immense; forty thousand of the inhabitants were transplanted to Constantinople, and fifteen hundred young Genoese nobles were compelled to enter into the corps of janissaries. The whole of the peninsula was speedily covered by the Turkish troops; and the Crimean khans were thenceforth for three centuries the vassals of the Ottoman sultans.

Muhammed was frequently engaged in hostilities with the Venetians as well as with the Genoese. The Archipelago and the coasts of Greece were generally the scenes of these wars, in the course of which the sultan obtained possession of Eubœa, Lesbos, Lemnos, Cephalonia, and other islands. The conquest of the Eubœa was marked by base treachery and cruelty on the part of the sultan, and signalised by the pure courage of a Christian heroine. The Venetian commander, Paul Erizzo, after a long and brave defence, surrendered the citadel on condition of the sultan pledging his word for the safety of all within it. Muhammed signed the capitulation; and when the garrison had marched out and laid down their arms, he put all of them, except the Greeks, to death with the cruellest tortures. Paul Erizzo was sawed in two by his orders. The daughter of the Venetian general, the young and fair Anne Erizzo, was dragged to the sultan's tent; but the Christian maiden preferred death to dishonour, and, unmoved by either promise or threat, she was killed by the slaves of the angry tyrant.

Towards the end of Muhammed's reign, Scanderbeg was completely overpowered by the Ottoman forces, and Albania and the district of Herzegovina were united with the sultan's dominions. These conquests brought the Turkish arms into more extensive contact with the possessions of Venice along the eastern coasts of the Adriatic. In 1477 a powerful Turkish army marched into the territory of Friuli at the northern extremity of that sea, and menaced Venice itself. The Venetians carried a line of intrenchments from the mouth of the Isonzo to Görz. But the Turks in the October of that year passed their lines and defeated their army. Omar Pasha, the Ottoman general, next passed the Tagliamento, a stream destined to become so illustrious in after warfare. The Turkish troops spread themselves without resistance over all the rich level country as far as the banks of the Piave; and the trembling senators of Venice saw from their palace-roofs the northern horizon glow with the light of burning towns and villages. The Turks retired in November, loaded with booty. Venice eagerly concluded a treaty of peace with the sultan, which (according to one Italian historian) contained a stipulation, by which the republic was to aid the sultan, if attacked, with a fleet of one hundred galleys, and the sultan was, in case of like necessity, to send one hundred thousand Turkish cavalry against the enemies of Venice.

The subjugation of Italy was a project which Muhammed, though often obliged to delay, had never abandoned. In 1480 he prepared to carry it into execution on a scale of military and naval preparation equal to the grandeur of the enterprise, and at the same time he resolved to quell the sole formidable enemy that yet remained near the heart of his dominions. The strong island of Rhodes was still in the possession of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who had established themselves there in 1311, and gallantly maintained their sovereignty of the island as an independent power for upwards of a century and a half. Three renegades from the order had incited the sultan to attack Rhodes, by giving him plans of its fortifications, and promising that it would be easily captured by forces which the Turks could employ against it. Mesih Pasha was sent to capture Rhodes in the April of 1480, with a fleet of one hundred and sixty galleys, a powerful army, and a large part of the heaviest artillery. The Ottoman pasha effected a landing on the island, and after capturing some inferior posts, he formed his lines of siege against the city itself, which is built on the northern extremity of the isle.

The grand master of the knights, Peter d'Aubusson, defended the city with indomitable fortitude and consummate skill; but it must have fallen, had it not been for the ill-timed avarice or military rigour of the Turkish commander. After a long siege and many severe encounters, the Turks made a general assault on the 28th of July, 1480. Their artillery had opened a wide rent in the walls; their numbers were ample, their zeal was never more conspicuous. In spite of the gallantry of the Christian knights, the attacking columns had gained the crest of the breach; and the Ottoman standard was actually planted on the walls, when Mesih Pasha ordered a proclamation to be made that pillage was forbidden, and that all the plunder of the place must be reserved for the sultan. This announcement filled the Turkish army with disgust and disaffection. The soldiery yet outside the town refused to march in to support their comrades who had won the breach, and these were borne back and driven in disorder from the city by a last desperate charge of the chevaliers, who had marked the sudden wavering of their assailants. The siege was raised, and Rhodes rescued for half a century.

On the same day that the Turks advanced to their unsuccessful assault on Rhodes, the leader of their other great expedition, Ahmed Keduk, the conqueror of the Crimea, effected his disembarkation on the coast of Italy, where no Ottoman before him had ever placed his foot. He landed on the Apulian shore, and marched against Otranto, which was then considered the key of Italy. His fleet cast anchor in the roads, and the city was promptly and fiercely assailed both by sea and by land. The resistance of Otranto, though spirited, was brief. The place was stormed on the 11th of August, 1480. Out of a population of twenty-two thousand, the greater number were massacred without mercy, and the wretched survivors subjected to the worst atrocities of Turkish warfare.

Muhammed was now master of a strong city and harbour, which secured an entrance for his armies into Italy. His arms had met reverses at Rhodes when he was absent, but he resolved to conduct the next enterprise in person. Early in the spring of 1481 the horsetails were planted on the Asiatic shore of the Bosporus, as signals for a new campaign; but no one, save the sultan himself, knew against which quarter the power of Turkey was now to be directed. His maxim was that secrecy in design and celerity in execution are the great elements of success in war. Once, when at the commencement of a campaign one of his chief officers asked him what were the main objects of his operations, Muhammed answered sharply, "If a hair of my beard knew them, I would

[1481 A.D.]

pluck it out and cast it into the fire." No one could tell what throne was menaced by the host that now gathered at the sultan's bidding; but while the musters were yet incomplete, the expedition was arrested by the death of the sultan, who expired suddenly in the midst of his army on May 3rd, 1481.[b]

ORGANISATION OF EMPIRE

As a legislator Muhammed deserves a place apart from that of the other Ottoman monarchs. Before him the Osmanlis were an army rather than a nation; it was he who systematised their institutions and established them on a firm basis. His code, the *Kanun-nameh* (fundamental law), is divided into three parts. It treats of the hierarchy of the great, of ceremonies, of fines, and of the products of labour. The mystic number four is taken as the base of the governmental hierarchy in honour of the four angels which carry the *Koran*, and of the four caliphs, disciples of Mohammed.

A Reis Effendi

The state is compared to a tent; in it the government is the gate (porte) or most conspicuous part. The four supports of the Sublime Porte are the first four dignitaries of the empire: the vizir, the *kadi-asker* (judge of the army), the *defterdar* (minister of finance), and the *nishandji* (secretary for the signature of the sultan). The number of vizirs was fixed at four, but the grand vizir was by far the most important; to him was confided the seal of state, badge of supreme dignity; he had the right to hold a separate divan at his own house in which matters of detail were discussed. The kadi-askers, of which there were two, one for Europe and one for Asia, appointed judges and professors for all posts, excepting a few privileged places, the bestowal of which was reserved for himself by the grand vizir. The nishandji affixed the *tughra* (sultan's seal) on documents, preparing and revising them. This function became honorific afterwards, all its attributes having gradually passed to the *reis effendi*, or secretary of state.

After these dignitaries came the chiefs of the army—the *agha* of the janissaries, who at the same time was prefect of police in Constantinople, and the *aghas* of the spahis and other cavalry corps. The exterior aghas were the *topji-bashi*, general of artillery; the chamberlains, equerries, etc. The interior aghas were the grand officers of the palace, the *kapu agha* (chief of the white eunuchs), the *kislar agha* (chief of the black eunuchs), the *bostanji-bashi* (head gardener), the *tchaush-bashi* (chief of state messengers), etc. Beys—pashas having as their standard the tail of a horse—governed the provinces; beyler beys—pashas having as their standard the tails of two horses—levied the taxes, and performed duties of similar nature.

Opposite the names Muhammed entered an estimate of the wealth of their domains in order proportionately to regulate their rents. The customs, mines, fines, and tributes composed the remainder of the fiscal revenues.

ULEMAS

The most important part of the legislation of the conqueror was the organisation of the religious and judicial corps, known by the name of the "chain" of ulemas. "The so-called priests," says Von Hammer-Purgstall,† "that is to say, the officiators in the mosques, the prayer-criers, the imams, and the preachers, have perhaps less influence in the Ottoman Empire than in any other state; the teaching corps, on the contrary, has an authority and importance which are unexampled anywhere else except in China." The ulemas are not a sacerdotal class; they are a learned and literary body. From them exclusively are recruited the primary civil functionaries, the magistrates, doctors, and professors. The "chain" of the ulemas includes professors and students, officials and candidates. All the officials are graduated from superior schools (*medresses*), in which are taught grammar, syntax, logic, rhetoric, metaphysics, geometry, astronomy, jurisprudence, and theology; the two last-named sciences the Moslems treat as one.

A Kapudji Bashi

The candidates pass through the successive degrees of *thaleb* (student), of *damishmend* (endowed with science), and of *mulazim* (prepared). The grade of damishmend suffices for obtaining the position of an imam, of an inferior judge (*naib*), or of a professsor in the primary schools; that of mulazim capacitates the candidate for the position of a *muderri* (professor), a *medresse*, of a *mollah*, or of one of the high officers of the magistracy. Ten degrees are conferred in the class of muderris. These can be gained only successively and always in the order of age. Every passage from one grade to another demands a new diploma (*ronus*). Arrived at the grade of Suleymanieh, the ulemas pass in the order of age from the corps of muderris to that of mollahs.

The Ottoman body of magistrates is divided into five orders distinct in rank, prerogatives, and attributes. To the first order belong the *sadr-rum* or *kadi-asker* of Rumelia, the *sadr-anatoli* or kadi-asker of Anatolia, the *istambol-kadissi* or judge of Constantinople, the mollahs of Galata, Scutari, Eyub, etc. Under the first two sultans there was only one kadi in the capital; he had no prerogative other than simple pre-eminence over the kadis of the provinces. Muhammed II divided this office into two departments (1480). The two new officials had the collective title *Sadrein*, that is to say, two magistrates *par excellence;* the first had the jurisdiction in the European provinces, the second exercised the same powers in the Asiatic provinces.

[1459-1481 A.D.]

In the seventeenth century, while the authority of the sadr-anatoli became more and more restricted, even to the point of being annihilated, the jurisdiction of the *sadr-rum* reached a high degree of importance. The sadr-rum has a general acquaintance with all legal cases. It is to him that the grand vizir refers almost all civil and criminal affairs which have been cursorily examined by the divan. He has the power to summon before his tribunal all cases still pending in the other tribunals of the capital. It is his right after the decease of any citizens of higher condition, whether Mohammedan or not, to place seals upon their goods. His most eminent prerogative is that of deciding on all suits concerning state property, state claims, and the treasury.

The *istambol-kadissi* is the ordinary judge of Constantinople; he has under his supervision the commerce, arts, manufactures, and food-stuffs of the capital. The mollahs of Mecca and Medina come next in the hierarchal order, and after them the mollahs of Adrianople, Brusa, and Damascus. The last three magistrates are equal in rank, and from any one of these offices they may pass to those of Mecca or Medina. The mollahs of Galata, Scutari, Eyub, Smyrna, Aleppo, Yenisher (Larissa), and Saloniki form the inferior class of magistrates of the first order. To the first order of the magistracy belong also five of the chief officers of the *serai* (palace): the *khodja*, or preceptor of the sultan; the *hekim bashi*, chief physician; the *munedjim bashi*, chief astrologian; the *hunkars imami*, or chaplains of the serai. The mollahs of Marash, Baghdad, Bosra, Sofia, Belgrade, Kutaya, Konieh, and Philippopolis compose the class of magistrates of the second order, which usually does not count more than seventy members.

A Bostanji Bashi

The right of appeal is unknown in Moslem legislation. The magistrates are at the same time notaries and officers of the civil state. The tribunals have neither councillors nor assessors. "A registrar, *wekayi-kiatibi*," writes D'Ohsson,[9] "is present at all trials, pen in hand, to register the deeds and the pleas of the parties; most frequently it is he who directs the procedure and determines the judgment of the magistrates. Cases are pleaded by the parties themselves or by persons who have received the power of attorney; the testimony of two witnesses is accepted as complete proof in both civil and criminal cases."

The *muftis* form a body of a little more than two hundred doctors or jurisconsuls, whose sole occupation is to furnish *fetvas* (legal opinions) to those who have occasion to consult the sacred law concerning doctrine, morals, or civil and criminal jurisprudence. There were never more than one in every principal city. The mufti who resided near the sovereign had pre-eminence over the others. In the capital, as in the provinces, they came only after the kadis in the hierarchal order. Immediately after the capture of Constantinople, however, Muhammed II gave the two charges of mufti and kadi of the capital to Djelal Zade Kidir Bey Tchelebi, conferred on him the title of *sheikh ul-islam* (chief dignitary of Islam), and among other prerogatives submitted to his jurisdiction all the muftis of the provinces.

At the death of Kidir Bey, Feramuz Zade Khosru Muhammed Effendi united the offices of sheikh ul-islam, of istambol-kadissi, and of mollah of

Galata and Scutari (1459). Particular reasons led him to resign his offices (1472). The sultan then gave the former to Abdul-Kerim Effendi, separating the duties of mufti and of kadi. The authority of the mufti, supported by religion, soon became all-powerful, and often their fetvas counterbalanced the despotic power of the sultans. This body of mufti so strongly constituted—chiefly through the labours of the grand vizir Mahmud—has contributed not a little towards keeping the Ottomans at a stand-still in the midst of the universal progress which has been realised under their eyes. It is to this institution that must be attributed their religious fanaticism, their servile attachment to the letter of the law, and their blind respect for tradition.

The second part of the Kanun-nameh establishes fratricide in principle and in practice: "The ulemas have declared it permissible that whoever of my illustrious sons and grandsons attains the supreme power may put his brothers to death to assure the peace of the world." Muhammed had set the example; his first act on mounting the throne had been, as we have seen, to order the death of his brother, an infant at the breast.

The third part of the law regulates the price of blood: the price of a murder is fixed at 3,000 aspers; of an eye put out, at 1,500; of a wound in the head, at 30, etc.; the police are charged with collecting these taxes. Together with the ordinances of Suleiman the Magnificent, the Kanun-nameh forms all the civil legislation of the Ottomans.

In establishing themselves in the Byzantine Empire the Turks left untouched almost all the laws, habits, customs, ceremonies, the pompous etiquette, and the administrative, financial, and municipal system of the conquered people. Far from seeking to assimilate the traditions of Greek and Roman civilisation by adapting them to their own character, habits, and religion; far from trying to fuse the conquered with the conquering race, to attain unity and to form a single nation, the victors thought only of making more distinct the line which separated them from their subjects, while accepting *en bloc* the refined, despotic, venal, and corrupting legislation of the Byzantines.

"At the same time that they adopted the spirit, if not the letter," says Despies,[h] "of the system of taxation in force among the Greeks, they recognised the privileges of the large landholders of Bosnia and Albania. Finally they themselves instituted little by little vast fiefs under the name of *beyliks*, which were founded on the principle of peasant servitude. This system encouraged the spahis possessing *timars* and *ziamets* to exchange their right to a title for a right of ownership in land and persons."

The Ottoman armies were filled with Christians, who either were converted to Islam by force or served with the title of auxiliaries; a large proportion of the vizirs and generals were of Christian origin; all the administrators, scribes, collectors, and envoys were Slavs or Greeks. "It was a maxim of state among the Osmanlis," says Von Hammer-Purgstall,[f] "that it was necessary to be the son of a Christian to attain the highest dignities in the empire."[e]

Muhammed had veritably created a Turkish Empire, giving it Constantinople for its capital and the Kanun-nameh for its code. He had completed the conquest of Anatolia to the upper Euphrates and that of the Balkan Peninsula to the Danube; he had by so many incursions beyond these frontiers pointed out the battle-fields for succeeding reigns; he had disquieted Persia and Egypt and carried terror to the confines of Austria and Italy. At two points his impetuous course was broken—at Belgrade and at Rhodes. And without Belgrade the Ottoman Empire was bridled on the Danube; without Rhodes it was not master of the Ægean Sea and could not risk itself on the Mediterranean.[c]

BAYAZID II

Muhammed's son and successor, Bayazid II (1481–1512), was compelled, immediately after ascending the throne, to march against his younger brother, Zizim [or Jem], viceroy of Karamania, as he refused obedience. Zizim, defeated at Nicæa, fled in the first instance to Egypt, and then to the knights of St. John, who effectually protected him. Bayazid bound himself to pay them an annual sum of 45,000 ducats, on condition that they would not allow him to quit their territory.

They kept their promise, although the kings of France, Aragon, and Hungary in turn demanded Zizim's extradition, in order to embarrass the sultan by taking his part. At last, however, they were compelled to give him up to Pope Alexander VI. The latter, who was seated on the papal throne from 1492–1503, and disgraced it by conduct only paralleled by that of a Nero or an Elagabalus, entered into negotiations with Bayazid II, in consequence of which he removed Zizim by means of poison in 1495.

In 1492 Bayazid attempted to take Belgrade by surprise, but was repulsed. He then attacked Albania, and simultaneously ravaged Transylvania, Croatia, Styria, and Carinthia. At Villach his troops were attacked by a Christian army, when ten thousand of them were killed, seven thousand taken prisoners, and fifteen thousand captured Christians liberated. In 1498 the Turks twice attacked Poland, and in the following year, through the instigation of the pope, waged war with the Venetians, and on this occasion made a fresh invasion into Carinthia. The last years of Bayazid's reign were disturbed by the rebellions and wars of his sons, who wished to assure themselves of the throne. In 1509 the eldest, Korkud, rebelled, but was forced to fly to Egypt. Bayazid then appointed his second son, Ahmed, his successor; but the third son, Selim, rose in opposition, and though defeated at Adrianople he established himself in Asia; and the janissaries then summoned Selim to Constantinople, and declared him to be the heir to the monarchy (1512). His father, who was forced to abdicate, and was exiled to Demotika, died on the road to his place of banishment.[d]

FIRST RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND TURKEY

The first appearance of the Russians in the affairs of the Ottomans dates from the end of the reign of Bayazid II and the first days of the reign of Selim I. The savage brutality of an ambassador of this great people, a people which was only beginning to enter politics and which was still ignorant of oriental forms of politeness, has too much analogy with the attitude of the Russian ambassador at Constantinople in 1853 to pass unobserved of history.

John III, prince of Moscow, sent Michel Plestshiev to negotiate with the court of Constantinople a treaty of free commerce in the states of the sultan. Plestshiev had orders from his sovereign not to bend the knee either before Bayazid II or before Selim, not to confer with the vizirs as organs of the government, but to treat only with the sultans themselves, and not to cede place before any ambassador of the powers of Europe or Asia. Plestshiev exceeded in insolence the pride of his court. He affected to disdain the customs of the nation from which he was receiving hospitality; he refused to be present at an entertainment given by the vizir for his reception; he sent back the robes and diplomatic presents which the divan offered him. His outrages of the Ottoman customs aroused the indignation of the western ambassadors.

"The sovereign of the Russians," wrote the sultan, "with whom I strongly desire to contract friendship, has sent me an insolent man; I cannot let one of my slaves accompany him back to Russia for fear lest he might continue his insults. I who am respected in Europe and in the Orient should blush to submit an Ottoman to such affronts. Let him send me a polite ambassador, or let him send me an army to uphold his insolence."[i]

SELIM I

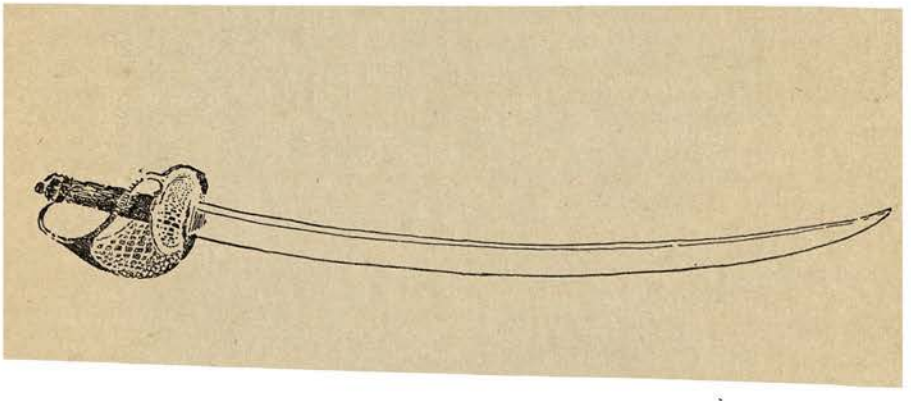
Selim I (1512–1519 A.D.) on his accession made himself worthy of his surname the Inflexible by immediately murdering the sons of his deceased brothers. A war, in consequence, broke out with his still living brothers, Korkud and Ahmed, which was terminated by their defeat and execution. Murad, a son of Ahmed, fled to Persia, whose Mohammedan population rejected the *sunna* (tradition or oral history), and hence were termed *shiites*, or heretics, by the Turks. Selim took vengeance for the protection Murad had received from the Persian shah, by having forty thousand innocent shiites in his empire executed; and when Ismael exercised the right of requital in Persia, he attacked him, utterly defeated him on the 14th of August, 1514, and marched triumphantly into Tabriz. An insurrection of the janissaries, however, compelled his return; but in the year 1516 he entirely subjugated Syria and Palestine, defeated in the following year the sultan of Egypt, and marched into Cairo, which he suffered his troops to plunder. With the incorporation of Egypt Selim assumed the title of caliph, which the Egyptian sultans had till then borne. Selim I died on the 21st of September, 1519.[d]

Selim I was mourned only by Piri Pasha, the grand vizir, who concealed his death from the soldiers and people until the arrival of his son Suleiman. The physicians in burying him secretly under his tent found on his body seven marks of the colour of blood, which, according to the astrologers, corresponded to the seven murders of his two brothers and of his five nephews, by which he had ensanguined his reign. He had brought into the government the same ferocity of will which had gained him his throne. He heaped his Divan with corpses as he did his camps. His mufti Jemali, the casuist of the empire, rendered him judgments conformable to his ambitions and to his anger. The Ottomans called Jemali "the mufti of the basket," because he answered all the questions addressed to him by the people or by the cadis with a brief "yes" or "no" thrown into a basket which hung from his window. The decisions which he made at the sultan's request, although severe, are proverbial for their conscientiousness and for their absolute independence. They did not, however, suffice to satisfy the impetuosity of Selim. One day when the sultan was on horseback beside the mufti on the way from Adrianople to Constantinople, Selim reproached Jemali for his indulgence: "Why," said he, "didst thou not authorise the death of those four hundred merchants whom I condemned to die for having traded in silk with Persia? Is it not permitted to put to death two-thirds of the inhabitants of the empire for the good of the other third?" "Yes," replied Jemali, "if the existence of those two-thirds must involve the misfortune of the others. But the disobedience of these merchants has not been juridically proved." The sultan on his return to Constantinople set the merchants at liberty, and wished to give Jemali the office of judge over the armies of Europe and of Asia in addition to his office of mufti. Jemali refused, not wishing, he said, to impair in himself the independence of the mufti by any political ambition.

[1519 A.D.]

Jemali constantly preserved the Christians from Selim's religious persecutions. Selim having once ordered the grand vizir to force belief by terror in order to multiply the converts to Islam in the empire, the grand vizir, horrified at the order, had recourse to Jemali. Jemali advised the Greek patriarch to appear at Selim's audience with all his clergy, having a *Koran* and the pledges of Muhammed II in his hand. The *Koran* forbids conversion by force; the promises of Muhammed II pledge the word of the sultan to tolerate and protect the Christians. In default of this treaty, which had been preserved in writing, but had been lost, the patriarch took with him several old janissaries, as witnesses of the conquest, who under oath testified to the words of the conqueror. Selim, on the representation of Jemali, retracted the order given to the grand vizir. He contented himself with taking away from the Christians the most beautiful churches of Constantinople, to convert them into mosques, but he authorised them to build others more in keeping with the small number of the faithful who then inhabited the capital.

This prince in dying left a sinister example to Ottoman sovereigns of fratricide and usurpation of his father's throne. He had added one victory in Persia to the renown of his race, and two conquests—Syria and Egypt—to the territory of his nation. But he had corrupted the morals and politics of the Ottomans by the soldierly influence of the janissaries, against which he had struggled in vain, after having won his throne by means of it. This corruption had been further increased by a sanguinary despotism substituted for the paternal policy of his house, and above all by the scandal caused in the Orient by the accession to the throne of a fratricide. The Tatar had reappeared in him in the character of sultan. He had steeped the conquering Ottomans in war, but he had above all steeped them in barbarity and in blood. His reign is one of those which it would be a pleasure to efface from the history of a people, for it afflicts and humiliates humanity.[i]



CHAPTER III

MERIDIAN AND BEGINNING OF DECLINE

[1520–1656 A.D.]

THE period comprised within the reign of Suleiman I (1520–1566) is one of the most important not only in Ottoman history, but in the history of the world. The great monarchies of western Christendom had now emerged from the feudal chaos. They had consolidated their resources and matured their strength. They stood prepared for contests on a grander scale, for the exhibition of more sustained energy, and for the realisation of more systematic schemes of aggrandisement, than had been witnessed during the centuries which we term the ages of mediæval history. At the commencement of this epoch (1520) nearly forty years had passed away since the Ottomans had been engaged in earnest conflict with the chief powers of central and western Europe. The European wars of the feeble Bayazid II had been coldly waged, and were directed against the minor states of Christendom; and the fierce energies of his son, Selim the Inflexible, had been devoted to the conquest of Mohammedan nations.

During these two reigns the great kingdoms of modern Europe had started from childhood into manhood. Spain had swept the last relics of her old Moorish conquerors from her soil, and had united the sceptres of her various Christian kingdoms in the sway of a single dynasty. France, under three warlike kings, Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I, had learned to employ in brilliant schemes of foreign conquest those long discordant energies and long divided resources which Louis XI had brought beneath the sole authority of the crown. In England, and in the dominions of the house of Austria, similar developments of matured and concentrated power had taken place. Moreover, while the arts which enrich and adorn nations had received in Christendom, towards the close of the fifteenth century, an almost unprecedented and unequalled impulse, the art of war had been improved there even in a higher degree. Permanent armies, comprising large bodies of well-

armed and well-trained infantry, were now employed. The manufacture and the use of firearms, especially of artillery, were better understood and more generally practised; and a school of skilful as well as daring commanders had arisen, trained in the wars and on the model of the "Great Captain" Gonsalvo of Cordova. Besides the commencement of the struggle between France and Austria for the possession of Italy, many other great events signalised the transition period from mediæval to modern history at the end of the fifteenth and the commencement of the sixteenth centuries; and those events, though not all strictly connected with warfare, were all of a nature calculated to waken a more far-reaching and a more enduring heroism among the Christian nations, and to make them more formidable to their Mohammedan rivals.

The great maritime discoveries and the conquests effected by the Portuguese and the Spaniards in the East Indies and in the New World, the revival of classical learning, the splendid dawnings of new literatures, the impulse given by the art of printing to enlightenment, discussion, and free inquiry, all tended to multiply and to elevate the leading spirits of Christendom, to render them daring in aspiration, and patient of difficulty and long-suffering in performance. There was also reason to expect that these new energies of the Franks would find their field of action in conquests over Islam; for religious zeal was still general and fervent in that age, and the advancement of the cross was the ultimate purpose of the toils of the mariner, the philosopher, and the student, as well as of the statesman and the soldier. The hope that the treasures to be derived from his voyages would serve to rescue the Holy Land from the infidels was ever present to the mind of Columbus amid his labours and his sufferings, and amid the perils of the unknown deep, even as Charles VIII, amid his marches and battle-fields between the Alps and Naples, still cherished the thought of proceeding from conquered Italy to the rescue of Constantinople from the Turks.

The probability of a marked change in the balance of power between Christendom and Islam before the middle of the sixteenth century may seem to have been materially increased by the fact that one Christian sovereign combined many of the most powerful states under his single rule. The emperor Charles V reigned over an empire equal to that of Charlemagne in space, and immeasurably surpassing it in wealth and strength. He had inherited the Netherlands, the Austrian states, and the united Spanish monarchy, with the fair kingdoms of Naples and Sicily and the newly discovered territories in America. He obtained by election the imperial throne of Germany; and Cortés and Pizarro gave him the additional transatlantic empires of Mexico and Peru, with their almost countless supplies of silver and gold. It might perhaps have been foreseen that the possessor of this immense power would be trammelled, when employing it against the Ottomans, by the ambitious rivalry of France and by the religious dissensions of Germany; but, on the other hand, the Ottoman Empire was at least in an equal degree impeded from full action against Christendom by the imperial rivalry of Persia, by the hatred of Shiite against Sunnite, and by the risk of revolt in Syria and Egypt.

Yet the house of Osman not only survived this period of peril, but was lord of the ascendant throughout the century, and saw numerous and fair provinces torn from the Christians and heaped together to increase its already ample dominions. Much, unquestionably, of this success was due to the yet unimpaired vigour of the Turkish military institutions, to the high national spirit of the people, and to the advantageous position of their territory. But

the principal cause of the Ottoman greatness throughout this epoch was the fact that the empire was ruled by a great man—great not merely through his being called on to act amid combinations of favouring circumstances, not merely by tact in discerning and energy in carrying out the spirit of his age, but a man great in himself, an intelligent ordainer of the present, and a self-inspired moulder of the future.

SULEIMAN I

Sultan Suleiman I, termed by European writers Suleiman the Great and Suleiman the Magnificent, bears in the histories written by his own countrymen the titles Suleiman Kanuni (Suleiman the Lawgiver) and Suleiman Sahibi Kiran (Suleiman the Lord of his Age).[b]

Suleiman, being the only son of Selim I, did not have to soil his hands with the blood of his brothers. Moreover, he was born under favourable auspices. He bore one of the most venerated names in the Orient, that of the great King Solomon. He was the tenth sultan of the Turks; he was born at the beginning of the tenth century of the Hejira, and the number ten is considered exceedingly lucky by Orientals. Suleiman lived in the full brilliancy of the European Renaissance; he has exercised the pens of our most famous writers and of the ablest Venetian ambassadors. Paul Veronese in his *Marriage at Cana* has painted him seated at table with the celebrated sovereigns of his time.

He was fine-looking, and so robust in health that he was able to endure the fatigues of sixteen campaigns; he was of an enlightened spirit, well educated, a brilliant poet. Whereas most of his successors emerged from the seclusion of the harem or of a *serai* to mount the throne, he was at his accession experienced in affairs. He had been governor of Kaffa while his grandfather Bayazid was alive, and during the reign of his father he had not been excluded from the council or from the camp. He did not have to wait and languish in the precarious situation of heir-apparent, for Selim occupied the throne only eight years. Fate smiled upon him, consequently he appears more humane and of a more generous and clement nature than most of the sultans. He was not prodigal with punishments, like Selim. The post of grand vizir ceased to be feared. On occasion, however, native ferocity and perfidy were revealed in him. This was shown when Ibrahim, the favourite grand vizir, was suddenly given over to the bow-string of the mutes, and when on several different occasions massacres of prisoners were ruthlessly ordered.[c]

IBRAHIM, GRAND VIZIR

The history of Ibrahim, the favourite of Suleiman I, is one of those popular tales of the Orient which would impress the Occident as the chimera of fable. Ibrahim was the son of a poor Greek fisherman. Being captured one day in his father's boat by Turkoman pirates of Cilicia, the beautiful child was sent as a slave to Smyrna, sold to a rich widow from the valley of Magnesia, and employed to tend her gardens. The grace and intelligence of the child, which flattered the pride of the widow, led her to give a maternal care to his education. She had the most renowned teachers of Magnesia to instruct him in the *Koran*, in languages, rhetoric, poetry, and, above all, in music, which the voluptuous inhabitants of Ionia prefer to all the arts. Whether she planned

to adopt him some day as a son, or whether she wished to profit by the talents of her slave to rent or sell him to some powerful family of Magnesia for a big price, is not known; but she clothed him with the richest costumes; she made notorious the gifts which he had received by nature and by education; she exposed his beauty in public places, causing the youth to follow her with great ostentation. Men and women envied her the possession of the beautiful slave.

All this was taking place at the time when the young Suleiman was relegated by his father to the governorship of Magnesia. One day while hunting on horseback in the fields of the valley, Suleiman on the bank of a little stream heard the exquisite tones of a flute which came to his ears through the plane trees, and which testified that the player possessed an art or a genius remarkable for a simple shepherd. He approached, he saw Ibrahim, he was charmed with his face, with his answers, with his talent for music; he bought the young slave with the prodigality of an heir to a throne; he admitted him to his serai, gave him his liberty, became intoxicated with the sound of his instrument, was astonished at his skill, at his intelligence, at his aptitude in all exercises of mind and body; he perfected the boy's talents with lessons from his own masters, enjoyed more and more his conversations with the youth, and made of him the favourite companion of his studies and of his pleasures. From the slave of a poor village woman, Ibrahim at twenty had become the friend of the future sultan of an empire. His modesty and fidelity justified the passionate favour of his master.

On the death of Selim I, Suleiman took his young favourite to Constantinople, to the Danube, to Rhodes, in order to accustom him to war, to government, and to politics, without giving him any other duties than those of confidant and friend. Ibrahim, being endowed with that prompt and universal aptitude which distinguishes young Greeks of Dalmatia, grew in knowledge, courage, and genius with his fortune. He thought, fought, and governed with the sultan in secret. His modest intimacy did not cause the vizirs to envy a flute-player. For a long time they saw in him only an instrument of the pleasures of his master.[d]

THE CAPTURE OF BELGRADE AND OF RHODES

The commencement of Suleiman's reign was happily marked by the restoration to liberty of six hundred Egyptians whom his father, Selim, had torn from their native country and reduced to slavery at Constantinople. In 1521 he undertook a campaign against Belgrade, and obtained possession of it. He then returned to Constantinople, and assiduously devoted himself to the affairs of government. The island of Rhodes was a constant source of annoyance to the sultan, and the more so because it menaced the new conquest of Egypt. On July 28th, 1522, Suleiman landed in this hitherto impregnable island, under the fire of an invincible artillery. The seven bastions of the city were defended by the knights of eight Christian nations. On several occasions the besiegers were repulsed, and in a desperate assault, on September 24th, they lost fifteen thousand men. On December 21st the place, being no longer tenable, was surrendered by the grand master on honourable terms of capitulation. This memorable siege lasted five months, with a loss to the Turks of one hundred thousand men, and was marked by the most brilliant feats of courage on the part of its chivalric defenders.[e]

By the terms of capitulation (December 25th, 1522) which Suleiman granted to the knights, he did honour to unsuccessful valour; and such honour

is reflected with double lustre on the generous victor. The knights were to be at liberty to quit the island with their arms and property within twelve days in their own galleys, and they were to be supplied with transports by the Turks if they required them; the Rhodian citizens, on becoming the sultan's subjects, were to be allowed the free exercise of their religion; their churches were not to be profaned; no children were to be taken from their parents; and no tribute was to be required from the island for five years. The insubordinate violence of the janissaries caused some infraction of these terms, but the main provisions of the treaty were fairly carried into effect. By Suleiman's request, an interview took place between him and the grand master before the knights left the island. Suleiman addressed, through his interpreter, words of respectful consolation to the Christian veteran; and, turning to the attendant vizir, the sultan observed: "It is not without regret that I force this brave man from his home in his old age." Such, indeed, was the esteem with which the valour of the knights had inspired the Turks that they refrained from defacing their armorial bearings and inscriptions on the buildings. For more than three hundred years the Ottomans had treated the memory of their brave foemen with the same respect; and the escutcheons of the knights of St. John, who fought against Sultan Suleiman for Rhodes, still decorate the long-captured city.[1]

THE MEETING OF THE JANISSARIES

Suleiman had experienced the turbulence of the janissaries at Rhodes, and he received three years afterwards a more serious proof of the necessity of keeping that formidable body constantly engaged in warfare, and under strict but judicious discipline. The years 1523 and 1524 had not been signalised by any foreign war. The necessity of quelling a revolt of Ahmed Pasha, who had succeeded Khair Bey in the government of Egypt, had occupied part of the Ottoman forces; and after the traitor had been defeated and killed, Suleiman sent his favourite grand vizir Ibrahim into that important province to resettle its administration and assure its future tranquillity. Suleiman's personal attention for the first eighteen months after the campaign of Rhodes was earnestly directed to improving the internal government of his empire; but in the autumn of 1525 he relaxed in his devotion to the toils of state, and, quitting his capital, he repaired for the first time to Adrianople, and followed there with ardour the amusement of the chase. The janissaries began to murmur at their sultan's forgetfulness of war, and at last they broke out into open brigandage and pillaged the houses of the principal ministers. Suleiman returned to Constantinople, and strove to quell the storm by his presence. He boldly confronted the mutinous troops, and cut down two of their ringleaders with his own hand; but he was obliged to pacify them by a donative, though he afterwards partly avenged himself by putting to death many of their officers, whom he suspected of having instigated or of having neglected to check the disorder. He then recalled his vizir Ibrahim from Egypt, and, by his advice, determined to lead his armies into Hungary, with which country he was still at war, though no important operations had taken place since the

[1] "Three hundred and fifteen years have now elapsed since this illustrious order was obliged to abandon its conquests, after a possession of two hundred and twelve years. The street of the knights is uninjured, and the door of each house is still ornamented with the escutcheon of the last inhabitant. The buildings have been spared, but are unoccupied, and we could almost fancy ourselves surrounded by the shades of departed heroes. The arms of France, the noble *fleur-de-lis*, are seen in all directions. I observed those of the Clermont-Tonnerres, and of other ancient and illustrious families."—MARSHAL MARMONT.*f*

campaign of Belgrade. Suleiman was at this time vehemently urged to invade Hungary by Francis I of France, who wished to distract the arms of his rival Charles V; and, on the other hand, an ambassador had been sent from Persia, the natural foe of Turkey, to the courts of Charles and the king of Hungary, to form a defensive and offensive league against the Ottomans.[b]

CAMPAIGNS IN ASIA

By the capture of Belgrade and of Rhodes all the routes of the Occident were open. Nevertheless, since Suleiman's attention was, throughout his reign, constantly diverted from European affairs by events in Asia, we shall narrate here without interruption his campaigns against Persia.

Suleiman was no less zealous a Sunnite than his father; he hated the Shiites as much as he. To the tardy felicitations of Shah Tamasp, the successor of Ismail, Suleiman replied by massacring the Persian prisoners held at Gallipoli, which Selim the Fierce had spared. New grievances had been added to those which the two princes already entertained against each other; Sherif Bey, the Ottoman governor of Bitlis, had surrendered himself and his city to the shah; Oulama, the Persian governor of Baghdad, had sent the keys of that city to the sultan. Suleiman I ordered the grand vizir Ibrahim to take possession of it. The places situated about Lake Van were gained by Ibrahim by force of arms or through defection. He reoccupied Tabriz (July 13th, 1534) and completed the conquest of Azerbaijan. He was then joined by an army commanded by the sultan in person. The princes of Ghilan, of Shirvan, and many other vassals of the shah made their submission. The Ottomans marched upon Baghdad by the defiles of the Elwend (Orontes). The stages were so difficult that they were obliged to burn their artillery wagons and bury their cannon. The grand vizir took the lead to receive the submission of Baghdad and to close the gates so that the city should not be pillaged by the janissaries and the azabs. In January, 1535, the sultan made his entry into the ancient capital of the caliphs.

He did not reappear upon the frontier of Persia until thirteen years afterwards (1548). In the mean while the shah Tamasp had reoccupied the regions of Lake Van. Suleiman retook Tabriz and Van. Against Tamasp he supported a brother of Tamasp, called Elkass, who pushed his incursions as far as Ispahan. He seized twenty castles in Georgia and returned to Constantinople in December, 1549. Five years later the attacks of the Persians upon the conquered lands obliged the sultan to undertake another campaign into Asia. In 1554 he invaded Persian Armenia, and conquered Nakhitchevan, Erivan, and Karabagh. These victories led to the Peace of Amasia (May 29th, 1555), the first to be signed between orthodox Turkey and heretic Persia. It was the re-establishment of the *status quo ante bellum*.

If the conquest of Mesopotamia and of Babylonia, countries of the plain, had been definitive since the campaigns of Selim and since the campaigns of 1534, the same was not true of the mountainous regions of Armenia, of Azerbaijan, and of Kurdistan. They could be retained only by giving the cities and castles as fiefs to vassals, who were generally native chiefs. But the rival families or the princes of the same family, faithful to their old habits of anarchy, disputed with one another the possession of the peaks and valleys; the feudatories invested by the sultan out of caprice transferred their allegiance from the sultan to the shah or from the shah to the sultan. Petty guerilla warfare and sieges went on incessantly in the intervals between

the great Turko-Persian wars. The Turkish Empire indeed was obliged to renounce Azerbaijan and half of Armenia and Kurdistan.

On the other hand the Turkish domination was firmly established on the Shat el-Arab, formed by the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris. Through the port on the river and of Basra (Bassora) and through the port of Suez in Egypt, the suzerainty of Turkey extended over the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean. In the period following the year 1526 the captain Selman Reis traversed the Red Sea, chastised the Arab corsairs, and confirmed the sovereignty of the sultan over the sacred cities of Arabia and over Yemen. The eunuch Suleiman, the governor of Egypt, organised at Suez a fleet of eighty sail (1538). Aden was occupied. Turkey could then make its influence felt even in the affairs of Hindustan. In 1538 appeared at Constantinople an Indian prince, son of the sultan Iskander of Delhi, who was at war with the grand mogul Humaiun. The Indian came as ambassador from Bahadur, prince of Guzerat, from whom the Portuguese had just taken the city of Diu. Suleiman ordered the pasha of Egypt to equip a fleet to aid in recapturing the city. Before the armament was complete it was learned that Bahadur had been killed by the Portuguese. The treasures which this prince had deposited at Mecca—three hundred coffers full of gold and silver—were sent to Constantinople. In 1547 Suleiman received an ambassador from Ala-ad-din (Aladdin), another prince of India, who came to implore his help against the Portuguese. In 1551 Piri Reis paraded the Ottoman flag in the Asiatic seas, took Marcate on the coast of Oman, and besieged Ormus. His successor, Murad, in sight of this island, delivered and lost a battle to the Portuguese. In 1553 Sidi Ali, surnamed Katibi al-Rumi, lost another battle to them before Basra and took refuge in the ports of Guzerat. However, the principal concern of Suleiman was not Egypt, nor Arabia, nor Persia, nor Hindustan; it was the fight against the king of Hungary, the German emperor, and their allies.

UNDERSTANDING WITH FRANCE

Nothing in the first quarter of the sixteenth century could appear more paradoxical than a rapprochement between France, the eldest daughter of the church, and Turkey, the last and most redoubtable incarnation of Islam; such a rapprochement would seem to be "a sacrilegious union of the lily and the crescent." The "very Christian" king had always been at the head of all projects for effecting a crusade. But on February 24th, 1525, Francis I had been defeated and taken prisoner before Pavia. The terrified Protestants of Germany bowed their heads, the Italian states felt themselves at the mercy of the strongest, the England of Henry VIII grovelled before the victor. A Turkish alliance, a Turkish war with all its ferocity could alone restore the European equilibrium. Who was it in France who first had the idea of that heroic and atrocious remedy?

It is not known whether the idea emanated from Francis I or from his mother, the regent Louise. One thing is certain—that the first French embassy to Turkey was sent immediately after the battle of Pavia. The name of the ambassador is not known. He was carrying to the sultan a letter and the ring of Francis I, when, in passing through Bosnia, he and his twelve companions were massacred. It appears that the papers and ring were recovered and sent to Constantinople. Later the grand vizir Ibrahim, in conversing with the Hungarian envoys, showed them a ring on his finger and

said: "This ruby was on the right hand of the king of France when he was taken prisoner, and I have bought it." Another envoy, Giovanni Frangipani, was more successful and brought a letter to the sultan from the king of France.

The answer of the sultan is superb in its generosity and pride: "Thou who art Francis, king of the country of France, thou hast sent thy faithful servant Frangipani to my Porte, the asylum of sovereigns. Thou hast made known that the enemy has seized thy country and that thou art now in prison, and thou hast asked for aid and succour for thy deliverance. All thy petitions have been laid at the foot of my throne, the refuge of the world, and my imperial wisdom has embraced them in detail. It is not an unheard-of thing for emperors to be conquered and to become prisoners; wherefore take courage and be not cast down. Our glorious ancestors (may God illumine their tomb) have never ceased to make war to repulse the enemy and to conquer new territory. We also have walked in their footsteps. Night and day our horse is saddled and our sabre is girt."

COSTUME OF AN ATTENDANT OF THE GRAND VIZIR

BATTLE OF MOHÁCS

On April 23rd, 1526, "the sultan blessed by fortune, having decided to attack the most accursed of the infidels and to deliver battle to this adversary full of hatred," left his capital at the head of a hundred thousand men and three hundred pieces of artillery. As long as the route led through Ottoman provinces, pillaging was strictly forbidden; "spahis were decapitated for having let their horses graze in the grain fields."

On July 18th the town of Peterwardein was conquered, and the citadel was taken a few days after. A bridge, two hundred and ninety-four ells long, was thrown over the Drave near Essek and the town pillaged and burned. The Ottomans arrived in the marshy plain of Mohács, where the Hungarian army was ranged in battle order (August 28th, 1526). Its force consisted chiefly of cavalry. The first line was commanded by Peter Pereny and by the bishop Paul Tomori, the second by the young king Louis of Hungary.

The first line of Hungarian cavalry routed the Ottoman vanguard and then put to flight the troops of Anatolia, which were commanded by the grand vizir, turning them back upon the Anatolians of the beyler-bey Behram. It was then charged to the right and left by the *akindji* (irregular cavalry) and had to split up to meet this double attack. The second Hungarian line broke through the army of Anatolia. The valiant Marczali, at the head of thirty-four cavaliers, who had all sworn to take the sultan or perish, cut a path to Suleiman. Several of the sultan's guards were killed around him; he owed his life to his cuirass, against which the arrows and lances were blunted. The Hungarian

cavalry, surrounded by the Turkish army, hurled itself upon batteries whose cannon were chained together and defended by numerous arquebusiers. It was checked at a distance of ten paces from the batteries by a series of terrific discharges. The janissaries, the azabs, and the akindji completed the victory. "The intrepid Moslems, having forced the enemy to turn their backs, changed their day into darkest night. They precipitated them by troops of fifty or a hundred to their doom, making some victims of the sword, others of the arrow of destruction." Everywhere the Hungarians, broken and disbanded, tried to escape; one detachment sank into quicksands, another was drowned in the morass; among the latter was the young king Louis. The battle had lasted two hours. The *defterdars* (secretaries) of the Turkish army made a count of the Hungarian dead, and declared the number to be twenty thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry soldiers, besides four thousand prisoners, who were executed.

CHARACTER OF RELATIONS WITH FRANCE

During this period of the alliance between France and the Ottomans, Suleiman showed much more consistency in his ideas than Francis I, more decisiveness in action, and consequently more loyalty. The king of France was constantly torn between two sentiments: he understood the interests of state, but he was held back by scruples of religion; he had need of the Turks, and he did not dare to acknowledge them as his allies; sometimes he sent them ambassadors to hasten their action, sometimes he remembered that he was the "very Christian" king, and envied Charles V his rôle as chief of the crusade.

In the case of the sultan, on the contrary, religious zeal was in harmony with interests of state. The king of Hungary and the emperor were to him political and at the same time infidel enemies; hence he betrayed neither scruple nor hesitation. He was always ready to invade Hungary and Austria; he never missed the rendezvous assigned by Francis I. With the exception of the years when the war in Asia demanded his presence, he took every spring the road to Adrianople against the countries of the north. Whereas Francis I appears so often double-faced and uncertain, prompt to contradict himself, duping himself and duping others, the Osmanli padisha shows a certain lofty frankness, and, as it were, a proud affectation of loyalty; he is magnificent in actions as in words. Whereas Francis I is always a year behind in the amount of his revenue and the strength of his army, the sultan seems to dispose of the treasures and resources of the world, lavishing gold with full hands as soon as he receives it, throwing into the field armies ten times the size of those of the Occident.

He put in motion armies of two hundred thousand men, fleets of two hundred sail. Were it not for the superior numbers of his troops and for the devastation of territory by his myriads of irregulars, one might say that he made war in a way superior to that of the occidentals. There was an order and discipline in his camp which contrasted with the anarchy in the French and imperial camps. Before Nice all was in order on his fleet, whereas the French were reduced to asking projectiles and powder of Khair-ad-din. When the siege of Nice was raised, the Spanish general, "regarding the works of the Turks, was so much astonished at their skill in building ramparts that he confessed that our people seemed to him much inferior in such things compared with those barbarians."

The Turkish alliance marked the beginning of prosperity for the French

ports in the Mediterranean. The hatti-sherif of 1528 confirmed and extended the privileges of the French in Egypt. France commenced from that time to enjoy in the Ottoman states a privileged and preponderating position; other European nations, like the English, Sicilians, Genoese, etc., had to navigate and trade under the French flag. The king of France was the only sovereign that the sultan consented to treat as an equal, for the old "bey of France" bore from that time the title of *padisha* (emperor) in the acts of the chancery.[c]

Disturbances in Asia Minor had hastened Suleiman's departure from Hungary, but he returned in the third year, still more menacing and more formidable. The struggle was now to be with Austria, and the next campaign of Suleiman, the campaign of the first siege of Vienna, is one of the most important in German and in Ottoman history.[b]

CAMPAIGN IN HUNGARY; SIEGE OF VIENNA

Zapolya, supported by the Ottomans, whose vassal he professed to be, fought against Ferdinand of Austria, who had been called to the throne by the national party. The two rivals met in the plain of Tokay. Zapolya was completely defeated, and implored the aid both of his father-in-law, Sigismund, king of Poland, and of the sultan. An offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between Hungary and the Porte. Ferdinand tried in vain to obstruct this negotiation; his ambassadors, after being held captive for nine months, returned with the ironical message: "Your master has not yet borne towards us the relation of a friend and neighbour, but such a relation he soon shall bear. Tell him that I am coming to him with all my forces and that I myself will give him what he demands. Let him therefore prepare for our visit."

The Moslem army, commanded by Ibrahim Pasha, who had been created serasker of all the Ottoman troops, started on May 10th, 1529. Two hundred and fifty thousand men marched to the aid of Zapolya, who had been forced to abandon to Ferdinand Pesth and almost the entire country. Zapolya met the sultan at Mohács and did not blush to swear fidelity and allegiance to him on that place which had witnessed the massacre of the Hungarians by the Moslems. Buda surrendered to the sultan after a siege of six days; the troops were permitted to retire with arms and baggage; but the janissaries, deceived in the expectation of plunder, violated the capitulation treaty and massacred almost the entire garrison.

Zapolya was installed king of Hungary; the new monarch imposed, as his first gift after a joyful accession, an extraordinary levy on his capital city. The money thus extorted was distributed among the janissaries who composed the escort of the Hungarian king. The times of Hunyady and Matthias Corvinus were far distant. It would appear that baseness is contagious. Bogdan, the prince of Moldavia, seizing this moment to place his neck in the yoke, acknowledged himself vassal to the sultan. When the *fêtes* given in honour of Zapolya and Bogdan were terminated, the sultan, with the new king in his suite, marched upon Vienna. In the month of September, 1529, one hundred and twenty thousand men and four hundred pieces of artillery invested the city, while a fleet of eight hundred sail was stationed on the Danube. To these formidable forces the besieged could oppose only sixteen thousand men and sixty-two pieces of artillery. Their ramparts were without batteries and were only six feet thick. But the ardour of the German soldiers was doubled by their hatred of the Osmanlis, the courage and skill of the leaders supplemented

the insufficiency of the means of defence. The works of the Ottomans were several times destroyed in vigorous sorties; their camp was burned; all the assaults were repulsed; in vain the artillery and the sappers destroyed the ramparts; new walls arose as if by enchantment. The soldiers, disheartened by the stubborn defence of the place, refused, in spite of the threats and blows of their officers, to march to the attack; discouragement was at its height.

Suleiman retired in anger (October 14th) and not without sanguinary farewells. All the prisoners were burned alive or massacred without pity. The Ottoman army had lost forty thousand men before Vienna, and Suleiman had for the first time experienced a check. To console himself and to try to alter public opinion, the sultan on his return to Pesth ordered grand fêtes and public rejoicings. Zapolya was solemnly installed as king of Hungary, and the crown, famous in legend as the crown of St. Stephen, was placed upon his head.[9]

A JANISSARY IN THE DRESS OF CEREMONY

A peace was concluded between the sultan and Ferdinand in 1533, by which Hungary was divided between Ferdinand and Zapolya. Suleiman had, in the interval, again invaded Germany with forces even stronger than those which he led against Vienna; and as Charles V, on this occasion (1532), put himself at the head of the armies of the empire, which gathered zealously around him, a decisive conflict between the two great potentates of Christendom and Islam was anxiously expected. But Suleiman was checked in his advance by the obstinate defence of the little town of Güns; and after honourable terms had been granted to the brave garrison of that place (August 29th, 1532), Suleiman, finding that Charles did not come forward to meet him but remained posted near Vienna, turned aside from the line of march against that city, and, after desolating Styria, returned to his own dominions. Each, probably, of these two great sovereigns was unwilling to risk life, and empire, and the glorious fruits of so many years of toil and care, on the event of a single day; and neither was sorry that his adversary's lukewarmness for battle furnished a creditable excuse for his own. The warlike energies of the Ottomans were now for some time chiefly employed in the East, where the unremitted enmity of Persia to Turkey, and the consequent wars between these two great Mohammedan powers, were a cause of relief to Christendom, which her diplomatists of that age freely acknowledged.

The modern Turk, who seeks consolation in remembering the glories of the great Suleiman, must dwell with peculiar satisfaction on the tokens of respectful fear which his nation then received from the most powerful as well as from the weaker states of Christendom. And the year 1547 is made a peculiarly proud one in the annals of the house of Osman by the humble concession which its rival, the Austrian house of Habsburg, was then compelled to make to its superior strength and fortune. The war in Hungary

had been renewed in consequence of the death of John Zapolya, in 1539; upon which event Ferdinand claimed the whole of Hungary, while the widow of Zapolya implored the assistance of the sultan in behalf of her infant son. Suleiman poured his armies into that country, and in 1541 and the following years he again commanded in person on the banks of the Danube. He professed the intention of placing the young prince Zapolya on the throne of Hungary and Transylvania when he should have attained the age of manhood; but Buda and the other chief cities were garrisoned by him with Turkish troops, the country was allotted into sandjaks, over which Turkish governors were appointed, and the Ottoman provincial system was generally established.

The strong cities of Gran, Stuhlweissenburg, and many others were taken by the Turks in this war; and though their success was not unvaried, the general advantage was so far on the side of the sultan that as early as 1544 Charles V and Ferdinand made overtures for peace, and in 1547 a truce for five years was concluded, which left the sultan in possession of nearly the whole of Hungary and Transylvania, and which bound Ferdinand to pay to the Sublime Porte 30,000 ducats a year—a payment which the Austrians called a present, but the Ottoman historians more correctly term a tribute.

This treaty, to which the emperor Charles, the pope, the king of France, and the republic of Venice were parties, may be considered as a recognition by Christendom of the truth of Suleiman's title, Sahibi Kiran (Lord of his Age). Austrian pride, indeed, had previously stooped so low before the sultan that King Ferdinand, when seeking peace in 1533, consented to style himself the brother of Ibrahim, Suleiman's favourite minister, and thus to place himself on the level of a Turkish vizir. Francis I had repeatedly sought the aid of Suleiman in the most deferential and submissive terms. That aid was more than once effectively given by the Turkish invasions of Hungary and Germany, which compelled the emperor to draw the weight of his arms from off France; and, still more directly, by the Turkish fleets which were sent into the Mediterranean to attack the enemies of the French king.

THE TURKISH NAVY

We have hitherto directed our chief attention to the military history of Suleiman's reign; but the awe which the Ottoman Empire inspired in this age was due not only to the successes gained by the Turkish armies, but also to the achievements of the Turkish navy, which extended the power and the renown of Sultan Suleiman along all the coast of the Mediterranean, and in the more remote waters of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. His predecessors had devoted much care and treasure to the maritime force of their empire, but they were all surpassed in this respect by Suleiman; and the skill and valour of his admirals made the Ottoman flag almost as formidable by sea as it was by land. The most celebrated of the Turkish naval commanders in this reign was Khair-ad-din Pasha, better known in Europe by the surname of Barbarossa. It was principally by his means that the piratical states of North Africa placed themselves under the sovereignty of the sultan, and that the naval resources of the Sublime Porte were augmented by the commodious havens, the strong forts and cities, the well-built and well-found squadrons, and the daring and skilful corsairs of Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis.

Barbarossa was born in the island of Mytilene. His father, a spahi of Rumelia, had settled there when the island was conquered by Muhammed II.

Of four sons, the eldest, Ishak, traded as a merchant in Mytilene; the other three, Elias, Urudsch, and Khizr (afterwards called Khair-ad-din), practised commerce and piracy conjointly during the reign of Bayazid II and Selim. Elias fell in a sea-fight with the knights of Rhodes. Urudsch was taken prisoner, but was released through the influence of Prince Krkoud, then governor of Karamania. Urudsch and Khair-ad-din next practised as bold and fortunate sea-rovers, under Muhammed, the sultan of Tunis. They saw, however, the feebleness of the Mohammedan princes of the North African seaports, and they knew the strength of the Ottoman Empire, especially under such a ruler as Selim. They paid court therefore to the Sublime Porte, by sending one of their richest prizes to Constantinople, and received in return two galleys and robes of honour. They now made themselves masters of some small towns on the African coast; and being joined by their brother, Ishak, the merchant of Mytilene, they increased their squadron, and succeeded in taking possession by force or by stratagem of Tlemcen, and also of the strong city of Algiers. Ishak and Urudsch soon after this fell in battle with the Spaniards, and Khair-ad-din was left sole master of their conquests. He formally recognised the sovereignty of the Turkish sultan, and received from Selim the regular insignia of office, a sabre, a horse, and a banner, as beyler-bey of Algiers.

Khair-ad-din carried on active war against the Spaniards and the independent Arab tribes of North Africa. He took from the Spaniards the little island in front of the port of Algiers, which had for fourteen years been in their occupation; and he defeated and captured a Spanish squadron which was sent to succour the garrison. Acting steadily up to his policy of professing allegiance to the Sublime Porte, Barbarossa sent regular reports of his operations to Constantinople, and desisted, in obedience to orders received thence, from attacking the ships or coasts of France, when that country became connected by treaty with Turkey. The red-bearded sea-king of Algiers was now required by Sultan Suleiman to measure himself with a formidable opponent in the Genoese Doria, Charles V's favourite admiral. Barbarossa, joining his galleys with those of the corsair, Sinan, sailed in triumph along the Genoese coast, which he swept with fire and devastation. He next transported seventy thousand of the persecuted Moors of Spain from Andalusia to strengthen his own Algerine dominions. In the mean while Doria had captured from the Turks the city of Koron, in the Morea; and Suleiman, who recognised in Barbarossa the only Mohammedan admiral that could compete with the Genoese hero, sent for Khair-ad-din to Constantinople to consult with him as to the best mode of carrying on the war by sea against the Spaniards. Khair-ad-din set sail from Algiers (1533) in obedience to his padisha's commands, with eighteen vessels, five of which belonged to pirates, who had volunteered into the sultan's service, and he captured on the voyage two of Doria's galleys. He was received by the Sublime Porte with the highest honours, and under his personal direction the arsenals of Constantinople were busy throughout that winter with the equipment of a powerful fleet of eighty-four vessels (including the Algerine squadron), with which Barbarossa sailed for Italy in the spring of 1534, while Suleiman was commencing his campaign against Persia.

Barbarossa (now Khair-ad-din Pasha and Kapitan) sacked Fondi, principally in the hope of surprising and carrying off the celebrated beauty of the age, Giulia Gonzaga, the wife of Vespasian Gonzaga. Barbarossa wished to present her as a courtly offering to Suleiman, and he designed that the flower of the fair of Christendom should shine in his sultan's harem. Barbarossa's crews

landed so stealthily in the night, and assailed Fondi so vigorously, that the beautiful Giulia was roused from sleep only by the alarm that the Turks were in her palace. Evading their hot pursuit with the greatest difficulty and danger, she was set on horseback in her night-dress by an Italian cavalier, who rescued and rode off with her alone to a place of safety. The sensitive beauty afterwards caused her preserver and companion to be assassinated—whether it was, says the German historian, that he had dared too much on that night, or that he had only seen too much.

After plundering the Neapolitan coasts, Barbarossa stood across to Africa, and captured Tunis, which had long been the object of his ambition. He did not, however, retain this prize more than five months. The Moorish prince, whom he expelled, implored the assistance of Charles V; and the emperor led to Tunis an army and fleet of such strength that Barbarossa, after a brave and skilful defence, was obliged to abandon the city. The cold-blooded and unsparing cruelty with which, after Barbarossa's retreat, the unresisting and unoffending city was sacked by the Christian forces, which had come thither as the nominal allies of its rightful king, equalled the worst atrocities that have ever been imputed to the Turks.

Though driven from Tunis, Khair-ad-din was still strong at Algiers, and, sailing from that port with seventeen galleys, he took revenge on Spain by plundering Minorca, and he then repaired to Constantinople, where the sultan conferred on him the highest naval dignity, that of Kapitan Pasha. In 1537 he again desolated the shores of Italy; and when Venice took part in the war against the Sublime Porte, Barbarossa captured from her nearly all the islands that she had possessed in the Archipelago, and the cities of Nauplia and Castelnuovo. He recovered Koron from the Spaniards; and on the 28th of September, 1538, he engaged the combined fleets of the pope, Venice, and the emperor in a great battle off Prevesa. Barbarossa on this occasion practised the bold manœuvre of cutting the line, which Rodney, St. Vincent, and Nelson made afterwards so celebrated in the English navy. The Turkish admiral's force was inferior to the enemy in number and size of vessels and in weight of metal; but by seamanship and daring Barbarossa gained a complete and glorious victory, though the coming on of night enabled the defeated Christians to escape without very heavy loss.

The disastrous reverse which Charles V sustained when he attacked Algiers in 1541 was chiefly the work of the elements. Barbarossa commanded the Turkish fleet sent by Suleiman to protect Algiers, but he was detained in harbour by the same tempest that shattered the ships of Spain. The last great service in which Khair-ad-din was employed by the sultan was in 1543, when he was sent with the Turkish fleet to assist Francis I, and acted in conjunction with the French squadron in the Mediterranean. He captured the city of Nice, though the castle held out against him; and he is said to have roughly reproved the French officers for their negligence, and for the defective state of their ships as to equipment and necessary stores. The allies, whom he came to protect, were obliged to listen submissively to his rebukes; and it was only by the earnest entreaties and apologies of the French admiral, the duke d'Enghien, that the choler of the old Turkish veteran was appeased.

During the latter years of Barbarossa's life, he was, when not employed at sea, a regular attendant, as Kapitan Pasha, at the divan of the Sublime Porte, where the counsels of the old admiral were always listened to with respect. He died in 1546; and his tomb on the side of the Bosporus near Beschik-Tasch still invites attention by the romantic beauty of its site, and

by the recollection of the bold corsair who sleeps there by the side of the sounding sea, which so long he ruled. His wealth had been principally devoted by him to the foundation of a college: a striking tribute to the general respect for literature and science which prevailed in Suleiman's court, and which exercised its influence over even the rugged temper of Barbarossa, who, from the circumstances of his early life, could not possibly have been a Turkish Raleigh.[1]

Some, however, of the Ottoman admirals were themselves eminent for their scientific attainments, and for their contributions to the literature of the country. Such were Piri Reis and Sidi Ali, two of the commanders of the squadrons which by Suleiman's orders were equipped in the ports of the Red Sea, and which, issuing thence, conquered for the sultan of Constantinople the port of Aden, which England now possesses and justly values for its important position in the line of European commerce with India by the Red Sea and Egypt. Many other cities and districts on the coasts of Arabia, Persia, and the northwest of India were added to the Ottoman Empire; and many gallant contests were sustained with the Portuguese, as well as with the native rulers, by the Turkish admirals, the octogenarian Suleiman Pasha and Murad, and the two whose names have been already mentioned. Piri Reis was the author of two geographical works, one on the Ægean and one on the Mediterranean Sea, in which their currents, their soundings, their harbours, and their best landing-places were described from personal surveys. Sidi Ali was a poet as well as a sailor; and besides his productions in verse, he wrote a description of his travel overland to Constantinople from Guzerat, where his fleet had been damaged by tempests so as to be no longer able to cope with the Portuguese. Sidi Ali was also the author of several mathematical and nautical treatises, and of a very valuable work called *Mouhit*, on the navigation of the Indian Sea, which he drew from the best Arabian and Persian authorities of his time on the subject of India.[2]

Two other Turkish admirals of this reign must not be omitted, Dragut (Torghud) and Piali. Piali was a Croatian by birth; Dragut was born a subject of the sultan, but of Christian parentage. He, early in life, joined the crew of a Turkish galley, and was chosen captain of a band of thirty sea-rovers. He collected a force of thirty vessels, and attacked the island of Corsica, but was defeated by Doria, who took him prisoner and chained him to the bench of his galley, where Dragut toiled at the victor's oar for many a weary month. At last Barbarossa rescued him by threatening to lay Genoa waste if Dragut was not set free; and, under the patronage of Khair-ad-din, Dragut soon reappeared on the waves, chief of a squadron of twenty galleys that spread terror along the coasts of Italy and Spain. He made himself master of Tripoli; and, following the example of Barbarossa, he acknowledged himself to be the sultan's vassal, and received in return high rank and substantial aid from Constantinople.

Dragut had more than once the advantage of Doria in their encounters, and was almost as much dreaded in the Mediterranean as Barbarossa himself.

[1] The true biography of Barbarossa was little known in western Europe before the German Von Hammer-Purgstall narrated it from the full and indisputable authorities which are found in the Ottoman literature. Barbarossa himself had, by Sultan Suleiman's order, dictated an account of his life and adventures to a writer named Sinan, which is still extant; and it is also epitomised and embodied in the *History of the Naval Wars of the Turks*, written by Haji Khalfa.

[2] Von Hammer-Purgstall states that copies of the work of Piri Reis on the Archipelago and Mediterranean are to be found in the royal libraries at Berlin and Dresden, in the Vatican, and at Bologna. The only known copy of Sidi Ali's *Mouhit* is at Naples.

[1560 A.D.]

His boldness of spirit was shown even towards the sultan. He had on one occasion been tempted by the sight of a rich fleet of Venetian argosies, and had captured them, though there was peace at that time between the republic of St. Mark and the Porte. Dragut was ordered to Constantinople to answer for this outrage, and, as the grand vizir Rustem was his enemy, his head was in serious peril. But Dragut, instead of obeying the order of recall, sailed out of the straits of Gibraltar and took service under the emperor of Morocco, until Suleiman, after Barbarossa's death, recalled him by pledge of pardon and ample promises of promotion. We shall soon have occasion to notice his final services and death at the siege of Malta.

Piali Pasha was chiefly signalised during the reign of Suleiman by the capture of Oran, and by the great defeat which he gave in 1560 to the combined Christian fleets that were destined for Tripoli and the isle of Jerba. Two hundred vessels were prepared for this expedition by the pope, Genoa, Florence, Malta, Sicily, Naples, and the prince of Monaco. Doria was high admiral of the fleet, and Don Alvaro de Sandi commanded the army which it conveyed. The fleet effected the passage to Jerba in safety; the troops were landed, the island nearly subdued, and a fortress erected. But before the Christian galleys left the waters of Jerba, Piali had heard of the attack, and had left the Dardanelles with a fleet which was reinforced at Modon by the squadrons of the governors of Rhodes and Mytilene. On the 14th of May, 1560, he attacked Doria's fleet and completely defeated it. Twenty galleys and twenty-seven transports of the Christians were destroyed; seven galleys ran for shelter up the channel of Jerba, where they were subsequently captured; the rest fled to Italy, leaving their comrades of the land forces to be besieged and captured in their new fortress by the troops whom the active Piali soon brought together against them.

On the 27th of September Piali re-entered the harbour of Constantinople in triumph. He had previously sent a vessel to announce his victory, which appeared in the Golden Horn with the captured high standard of Spain trailing in the sea behind her stern. On the day of the arrival of Piali, Suleiman went to the kiosk of his palace, at the water's edge, to honour with his presence the triumphal procession of his Kapitan Pasha. Don Alvaro and other Christian prisoners of high rank were placed on the poop of the Ottoman admiral's galley, and the captured vessels were towed along rudderless and dismasted. Those who were near Sultan Suleiman observed that his aspect on this proud day of triumph bore the same grave and severely calm expression which was its usual characteristic. The ambassador of King Ferdinand, who was present, attributed this stoical composure to magnanimity, and admired "the great heart of that old sire," which received unmoved anything that fortune could bring. The modern German historian of the house of Osman points out that this unexulting austerity of the great sultan may have been caused by the domestic affliction which by this time he had sustained, and which may have steeled while it saddened his heart.

Glorious, indeed, and prosperous as had been the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, he had, as a man, drunk deeply of sorrow and remorse; and the Erinnys of family bloodshed, that for so many centuries has haunted the house of Osman, was fatally active in his generation. To be friendless is the common penalty of despotic power; and Suleiman must have felt it the more severely, inasmuch as he appears naturally to have had a capacity for friendship and to have sought earnestly for it in the early part of his reign. His celebrated grand vizir, Ibrahim, was for many years not only his most trusted counsellor and general, but the companion of his pleasures and his studies. Yet his suspicions

were at last raised against the overpowerful and incautious favourite; and a vizir whom a sultan begins to dread has not long to live. Ibrahim was married to Suleiman's sister, but not even this close affinity could save him.[b]

INFLUENCE OF THE HAREM; ROXELANA

It would seem that the wives of the sultan, slaves captured or bought, who were kept strictly in the depths of the serai by black eunuchs, could have little influence on affairs. In general this was true. But quarrels often arose among the sons of the sultan from the fact that, being sons of the same father, they still had different mothers. The name *sultana valida* was given to the mother of the sultan, that of *sultana khasseki* to the one who had borne him a son.

COSTUME OF THE BLACK EUNUCH OF THE SERAI

Under the reign of Suleiman one woman in particular played an important rôle, which proved disastrous to the future of Turkey. In an expedition which the Tatars made into Red Russia they carried off the daughter of the pope of Rogatino. She was bought for the sultan's harem, and finally eclipsed the other women there, less perhaps by her beauty (the most beautiful Circassian girls were in the harem) than by her grace, vivacity of mind, and joyous temperament. She was called Khurrem (the "laughing one") and also Roxelana (perhaps "the Russian"). A Circassian woman — the mother of that prince Mustapha who was adored by the sultan, the army, and the people—at that time was the sultana khasseki. She became violently jealous of the unexpected precedence given this slave and tried to fight against the favourite, but was discomfited.

Roxelana became sultana khasseki. She was not only the favourite of the sultan but his most trusted counsellor; it was she who caused him to make war against Persia in 1548. Later she carried on a curious correspondence with the favourite sultana of Shah Tamasp, in which both ladies vied with each other in hyperbolical praises and oriental metaphors. She was in truth an empress. Her power was known throughout Europe. Her gaiety covered a boundless ambition, a dangerous spirit of intrigue, and a vindictive soul. After driving away the Circassian, her displeasure fell upon Prince Mustapha, the heir to the throne. She first secured his transfer from the governorship of Magnesia, a few days' journey from the capital, to that of Amasia, twenty-five days distant; she then turned against a devoted friend of the prince, the grand vizir Ibrahim.

Doubtless Ibrahim exposed himself to such an attack; he almost believed himself sultan and added the title to all his others, signing himself boldly

"Sultan Ibrahim." He was not tender to his particular enemies. He had even asked—and secured—the head of the defterdar Iskandar Tchelebi. He was open to attack also on the ground of his Moslem faith; at first he had affected the profoundest respect for the holy book, pressing it to his lips and forehead whenever anyone gave him a copy; but at the end of the campaign in Persia (1536) he fell into a rage when a *Koran* was offered him, saying that he had plenty of copies at home. All this was of course used against him. On March 5th, 1536, when he had gone to the serai as usual to dine with the sultan and to sleep in his chamber, he was strangled.

The death of the Albanian placed all the power in the hands of the Russian. In order to have a means of executing her designs she secured a few years afterwards for the austere Rustem, to whom she had given her daughter in marriage, the appointment of grand vizir. Her object now was to make a way to the throne for her two sons Selim and Bayazid. She pursued more bitterly her hostility against Mustapha. Rustem accused him of having an understanding with the Persians. He reported to the sultan certain words of the janissaries, accusing them of saying, "The sultan is too old to march against the enemy; it is about time to proclaim the prince and to send the old padisha to his repose." Suleiman ordered his son to appear before him. The friends of Mustapha, fearing for his life, tried to persuade him not to obey the command of the sultan. Mustapha replied: "I must above all things obey my father; I have no cause to reproach myself; if my life is forfeit, at least let it be taken by him who gave it." When he entered the sultan's tent he found him on his throne; in a corner were five mutes with the bow-string in their hands. Suleiman watched with dry eyes his son's desperate struggle with his executioners (September 21st, 1553).

Roxelana triumphed, but soon the vice and incapacity of her favourite son, Selim, became apparent to all eyes. The janissaries no longer concealed their scorn for this degenerate Osmanli. The cry of the army became so loud that Selim's brother, Bayazid, Roxelana's other son, took up arms in his province of Karamania. Roxelana died at the beginning of this new civil war; and Suleiman, already broken by old age, and still more overcome by the loss of his "laughing one," had to march against his rebellious son. Bayazid was defeated (1559) and escaped to Persia. His brother and his father showed equal ferocity in reclaiming his extradition from the shah Tamasp. The shah gave him up for the enormous sum of 400,000 pieces of gold; he was strangled with his five sons (1561). Thus the intrigues of the harem had ended in the murder of the greatest of Suleiman's ministers and in the execution of those of his sons who alone were worthy to succeed him.[c]

Besides the domestic sorrows which clouded the last years of Suleiman, his military glory and imperial ambition sustained, in the year 1565 (the year before his death), the heaviest blow and most humiliating disappointment that had befallen them since the memorable retreat from Vienna. This second great check was caused by the complete failure of the expedition against Malta, which was led by the admirals Mustapha and Piali, and nobly and victoriously encountered by the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, under their heroic grand master, La Valette.[b]

The peace with Hungary, precarious as it was, allowed the sultan to push his naval operations more energetically. Piali, the kapudan pasha, Salih Bey, the beyler-bey of Algeria, and Dragut, the beyler-bey of Tripoli, held the maritime forces of Spain in check. In order to dominate the Mediterranean without dispute it was resolved to attempt the conquest of Malta. On April 11th, 1565, the kapudan pasha set sail with one hundred and eighty ships, and

on May 20th twenty thousand men landed on the island and opened fire upon the fortress of St. Elmo. On the very first day Dragut ordered an assault, during which he was killed by a bullet. After a month of murderous fighting St. Elmo fell into the hands of the assailants. The serasker, Mustapha Pasha, at the sight of the immense loss which the conquest had cost, could not help exclaiming, "If the son has cost so much, what sacrifice will be necessary to buy the father!" In order to intimidate the garrison he had the prisoners quartered and their limbs nailed to boards in the shape of a cross, which were thrown at the foot of the walls. The grand master, La Valette, replied by massacring the Ottoman prisoners and loading his cannon with their heads, which he thus returned to the besiegers. When summoned to surrender, the bold chevalier, pointing to the moats, answered the envoy, "That is all the land I can cede to thy master; let him come and fill it with the bodies of his janissaries."

On September 11th, after losing twenty thousand men, the kapudan pasha re-embarked. War had already begun again with Hungary; Ferdinand was dead (1564), and his son Maximilian wished nothing better than to renew the truce, but Stephen Zapolya suddenly invaded Austrian territory and took Szathmay by surprise. Maximilian replied by seizing Tokay. During this double infraction of the treaty Ali Pasha died (1565). His successor, Muhammed Sokkoli, a Bosnian Slav, breathed only war; hostilities commenced immediately. Croatia and Transylvania were invaded, but the governor of Buda, Arslan Bey, hastening to fight, met with a disaster before Palota, where he was defeated by the count Eck de Salm (1566). On June 29th Suleiman affectionately received the young Stephen Zapolya in a solemn audience at Schabatz, and gave him the territory between the Theiss and the frontier of Transylvania, promising him not to leave Hungary before he had assured him its possession.

The army was marching upon Erlau when the news of the death of Muhammed Bey, the sandjak bey of Tirhala, who had been defeated and killed by the count Nicholas Zrinyi, the palatine of Sziget, modified the plan of campaign and led the sultan to lay siege to Sziget. Zrinyi, having resolved to fight to the finish, put into his defence a degree of pomp worthy of the magnificence and splendour which Suleiman manifested in his expeditions. The ramparts of Sziget were covered with red draperies, and the principal tower was hung with tin plaques which gleamed like silver. At the end of fourteen days the advance works had fallen; the besieged abandoned the city, set fire to it, intrenched themselves in the citadel, and opposed a determined resistance. After a siege of four months the Ottomans had made no visible progress, and on September 5th, Suleiman, who had been ill for a long time, died, complaining that he did not hear the beating of the great drum of victory. In order to avoid the discouragement which would seize upon the army were it to learn of the death of its glorious emperor, Muhammed Sokkoli carefully kept the catastrophe a secret, and letters purporting to be from the sultan were read to the soldiers to arouse their courage. Finally, on September 8th, there was nothing left to the besieged but the great tower which had been their powder magazine; all hope of escape was gone. Zrinyi put on a silken garment and took the keys of the fortress with a hundred ducats. He armed himself with the oldest of the four swords of honour which he had won, saying: "It was with this weapon that I acquired my first honours and my first glory; with it I should like to appear before the throne of the Eternal and there hear my sentence."

After a short harangue to the six hundred brave men who were left him, he gave the order to open the gates just as the janissaries advanced. An enormous cannon sent a charge of grapeshot among them. In the midst of the

SORTIE OF COUNT NICHOLAS ZRINYI DURING THE DEFENCE OF SZIGET AGAINST THE TURKS, 1566

(From the painting by Peter Krafft, in the Imperial Art History Museum, Vienna)

[1566 A.D.]

smoke, the palatine, preceded by his standard-bearer and followed by an equerry, plunged into the thickest of the hostile ranks; in spite of prodigies of valour he was taken alive and decapitated on the mouth of a cannon. The janissaries, mad with rage, rushed into the citadel, massacring all the inhabitants, cutting to pieces women and children; suddenly the mined tower exploded with a terrible noise, burying three thousand Ottomans in its ruins.[9]

EMPIRE OF SULEIMAN

Sultan Suleiman I left to his successors an empire to the extent of which few important permanent additions were ever made, except the islands of Cyprus and Candia, and which under no subsequent sultan maintained or recovered the wealth, power, and prosperity which it enjoyed under the great lawgiver of the house of Osman. The Turkish dominions in his time comprised all the most celebrated cities of biblical and classical history, except Rome, Syracuse, and Persepolis. The sites of Carthage, Memphis, Tyre, Nineveh, Babylon, and Palmyra were Ottoman ground; and the cities of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Damascus, Smyrna, Nice, Brusa, Athens, Philippi, and Adrianople, besides many of later but scarcely inferior celebrity, such as Algiers, Cairo, Mecca, Medina, Bassorah, Baghdad, and Belgrade, obeyed the sultan of Constantinople. The Nile, the Jordan, the Orontes, the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Tanais, the Borysthenes, the Danube, the Hebrus, and the Ilyssus rolled their waters "within the shadow of the Horsetails." The eastern recess of the Mediterranean, the Propontis, the Palus Mœotis, the Euxine, and the Red Sea were Turkish lakes. The Ottoman crescent touched the Atlas and the Caucasus; it was supreme over Athos, Sinai, Ararat, Mount Carmel, Mount Taurus, Ida, Olympus, Pelion, Hæmus, the Carpathian and the Acroceraunian heights. An empire of more than forty thousand square miles, embracing many of the richest and most beautiful regions of the world, had been acquired by the descendants of Ertoghrul in three centuries from the time when their forefather wandered, a homeless adventurer, at the head of less than five hundred fighting men.

Suleiman divided this empire into twenty-one governments, which were again subdivided into 250 sandjaks. The governments were: (1) Rumelia, under which term were then comprised all the Ottoman continental possessions in Europe south of the Danube: these included ancient Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, Epirus, Illyria, Dalmatia, and Mœsia; (2) the islands of the Archipelago: this government was vested in the kapudan pasha; (3) Algiers and its territory; (4) Tripoli in Africa; (5) Buda, comprising the conquered portions of western Hungary; (6) Temesvar, combining the Bannat, Transylvania, and the eastern part of Hungary; (7) Anatolia, a title commonly given to the whole of Asia Minor, but here applied to the northwestern part of the peninsula, which includes the ancient Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pisidia, and the greater part of Phrygia and Galatia; (8) Karamania, which contains the residue of the last-mentioned ancient countries, and also Lycaonia, Cilicia, and the larger part of Cappadocia; (9) Rum, called also the government of Sivas, and sometimes the government of Amasia: it comprehended part of Cappadocia, and nearly the whole of the ancient Pontus that lay in Asia Minor; (10) Sulkadr: this embraced the cities of Malatea, Samosata, Elbostan, and the neighbouring districts, and the important passes of the eastern ridges of Mount Taurus; (11) Trebizond: the governor of this city commanded the coasts round the southeastern extremity of the Black Sea; (12) Diarbekir; (13) Van: these two governments included the greater part of Armenia and

Kurdistan; (14) Aleppo; (15) Damascus: these two embraced Syria and Palestine; (16) Egypt; (17) Mecca and Medina, and the country of Arabia Petræa; (18) Yemen and Aden: this government extended over Arabia Felix, and a considerable tract along the coast of the Persian Gulf and northwestern India; (19) Baghdad; (20) Mosul; (21) Basra: these last three contained the conquests which Selim and Suleiman had made from the Persians in Mesopotamia and the adjacent southern regions: the Tigris and the Euphrates (after its confluence with the other river) formed their eastern limit, and at the same time were the boundaries between the Turkish and the Persian dominions.

Besides the countries that were portioned out in these twenty-one governments, the sultan was also sovereign over the vassal states of Wallachia, Moldavia, Ragusa, and Crim Tatary. They paid him tribute, which in the cases of the two former were considerable; and the last-named feudatories of the Porte, the Crim Tatars, furnished large and valuable contingents to the Turkish armies. It is not easy to define the territory then belonging to the vassal khans of the Crimea beyond that peninsula. They and their kinsmen, the Tatar khans of Astrakhan, were chiefs of numerous and martial tribes that roved amid the steppes to the north of the Euxine, and round the sea of Azov; but the fluctuation of their almost perpetual wars with the Cossacks, the Muscovites, and each other prevents the fixing of any territorial boundaries in those regions for any specified epoch.

CAPITAL OF THE CHURCH OF RAGUSA

An ample revenue judiciously collected, and prudently though liberally employed, was one decisive advantage which Suleiman possessed over his contemporary monarchs. The crown lands of the sultan at that time produced the large sum of 5,000,000 ducats. The tithe or land tax, the capitation tax on the rayahs, the customs, and the other regular taxes raised this to between seven and eight millions. The burden of taxation on the subject was light, and it was only twice in his reign that Suleiman levied an additional impost. The necessity caused by the sieges of Belgrade and Rhodes, in the beginning of his reign, and the cost of armaments in the year of the battle of Mohacs, compelled him to impose a poll-tax on all his subjects, without distinction of creed or fortune. But the amount was small on each occasion; and never was a similar measure again necessary. The victorious campaigns of the sultan were soon made to reimburse their outlays, and still further to enrich the Porte. Large contributions were drawn from Hungary and Transylvania; and Ragusa, Moldavia, and Wallachia poured tribute into the treasury of the Porte. Another less glorious source of revenue was found in the confiscated goods of the numerous high officers of state who were executed during this reign. By invariable usage the property of those who die thus is forfeited

to the crown; and the riches of the grand vizir Ibrahim, and other unhappy statesmen of this age, were no unimportant accessions to the ways and means of the years in which they perished.

We examined the general principles of the Ottoman government when reviewing the institutes of Muhammed the Conqueror. Every branch of the administration of the empire received improvement from Suleiman Kanuni; and, like another great conqueror and ruler, he has come down to posterity with his legislative works in his hand. He organised with especial care the Turkish feudal system of the *ziamets* and *timars*, reforming the abuses which had then already begun to prevail. He ordained that no *timar* (small fief) should be allowed to exist if below a certain value. A number of the smaller fiefs might be united so as to form a *ziamet* (a grand fief), but it was never lawful to subdivide a ziamet into timars, except in the case of a feudatory who was killed in battle and left more than one son. By permission of the supreme government several persons might hold a fief as joint tenants; but it was still reckoned a single fief, and any partition and subdivision not especially authorised by the Sublime Porte itself was severely punished.

The reader who is familiar with the workings of the feudal system in western Europe will perceive how admirably these provisions were adapted to check the growth of evils like those which the practice of subinfeudation produced in mediæval Christendom. The Turkish fiefs descended from father to son, like our fees in tail male. There was no power of devise or alienation; and in default of male issue of the deceased holder, the timar or ziamet reverted to the crown. It had been usual before Suleiman's time to allow the vizirs and governors of provinces to make grants of the lapsed fiefs within their jurisdiction, but Suleiman restricted this to the case of the minor fiefs. None but the sultan could make a new grant of a lapsed ziamet, and in no instance did the feudatory who received the investiture of a timar from a subject pay any homage or enter into any relation of feudal duty to the person who invested him. There was no mesne lordship. The spahi was the feudal vassal of his sultan, and of his sultan alone.

The number of the larger fiefs, or ziamets, in Suleiman's time was 3,192; that of the smaller fiefs, or timars, was 50,160. It will be remembered that each spahi (or holder of a military fief) was not only bound to render military service himself in person, but, if the value of his fief exceeded a certain specified amount, he was required to furnish and maintain an armed horseman for every multiple of that sum; or (to adopt the phraseology of early English institutions) the estate was bound to supply the crown in time of war with a man-at-arms for each knight's fee. The total feudal array of the empire in the reign of Suleiman amounted to a hundred and fifty thousand cavalry, who, when summoned by the beyler-beys and sandjak beys, joined the army at the appointed place of muster, and served throughout the campaign without pay. We must not only add this number to the forty-eight thousand regularly paid and permanent troops when we estimate the military force of the Turkish Empire in its meridian, but we must also bear in mind the numerous squadrons of Tatar cavalry which the vassal khans of the Crimea sent to swell the Turkish armies, and we must remember the swarms of irregular troops, both horse and foot, the akindji and the azabs, which the sultan's own dominions poured forth to every campaign.

There is no surer proof of the true greatness of Suleiman as a ruler than the care which, at the same time that he reformed the Turkish feudal system so as to make it more efficient as an instrument of military force, he bestowed on the condition of those rayahs who, like the serfs of mediæval Europe,

cultivated the lands assigned to the spahis. The Kanuni Rayah, or "code of the rayahs," of Suleiman, limited and defined the rents and services which the rayah who occupied the ground was to pay to his feudal lord. It is impossible to give any description of this part of the Turkish law which shall apply with uniform correctness to all parts of the sultan's dominions. But the general effect of Suleiman's legislation may be stated to have been that of recognising in the rayah rights of property in the land which he tilled, subject to the payment of certain rents and dues, and the performance of certain services for his feudal superior. The Englishman who understands the difference between the position of a modern copyholder and that of a mediæval villein towards the lord of his manor will well understand the important boon which the enlightened wisdom of the Turkish lawgiver secured, if he did not originate. And when the difference of creed between the lawgiver and the rayahs is remembered, and we also bear in mind the fact that Suleiman, though not a persecutor like his father, was a very sincere and devout Mohammedan, we cannot help feeling that the great Turkish sultan of the sixteenth century deserves a degree of admiration which we can accord to none of his crowned contemporaries in that age of melancholy injustice and persecution between Roman Catholic and Protestant throughout the Christian world.

The difference between the lot of the rayahs under their Turkish masters and that of the serfs of Christendom under their fellow Christians and fellow countrymen, who were their lords, was practically shown by the anxiety which the inhabitants of the countries near the Turkish frontier showed to escape from their homes, and live under that Turkish yoke which is frequently represented as having always been so tyrannical. "I have seen," says a writer who was Suleiman's contemporary, "multitudes of Hungarian rustics set fire to their cottages, and fly, with their wives and children, their cattle and instruments of labour, to the Turkish territories, where they knew that, besides the payment of the tenths, they would be subject to no imposts or vexations."

Besides the important branches of law and government that have been mentioned, the ceremonial law (a far more serious subject in the East than in western Europe), the regulations of police, and the criminal law received the personal attention of the great sultan, and were modified and remodelled by his edicts. Every subject-matter of legislation is comprised in the great code of Ottoman law, compiled by Suleiman's mollah, Ibrahim of Aleppo, which has been in authority down to the present age in the Turkish Empire. Suleiman mitigated the severity of the punishments which had previously been appointed for many offences. The extreme slightness of the penalties with which crimes of sensuality were visited by him is justly blamed as a concession to the favourite vices of the Turkish nation; but, in general, his diminution of the frequency with which the punishments of death and mutilation were inflicted entitles him to the praise of the modern jurist.

The minuteness of the laws by which he strove to regulate rates of prices and wages, and to prescribe the mode in which articles of food should be prepared and sold, may raise a smile in our more enlightened age; but we should remember how full our own statute book is of similar enactments, and how far our own excise laws still maintain the spirit of vexatious and mischievous interference. Some of the more noticeable laws of Sultan Suleiman are those by which slanderers and tale-bearers are required to make compensation for the mischief caused by their evil-speaking; false witnesses, forgers, and passers of bad money are to have the right hand struck off;

interest is not to be taken at a higher rate than eleven per cent.; a fine is imposed for three consecutive omissions of a Mussulman's daily prayer, or a breach of the solemn fasts; kindness to beasts of burden is enjoined.

Whatever the political economists of the present time may think of the legislation of Suleiman Kanuni as to wages, manufactures, and retail trade, their highest praises are due to the enlightened liberality with which the foreign merchant was welcomed in his empire. The earliest of the contracts, called capitulations, which guarantee to the foreign merchant in Turkey full protection for person and property, the free exercise of his religion, and the safeguard of his own laws administered by functionaries of his own nation, was granted by Suleiman to France in 1535. An extremely moderate customs duty was the only impost on foreign merchandise; and the costly and vexatious system of prohibitive and protective duties has been utterly unknown among the Ottomans. No stipulation for reciprocity ever clogged the wise liberality of Turkey in her treatment of the foreign merchant who became her resident, or in her admission of his ships and his goods. The boasted civilisation of western Europe, which long followed a different course, is now beginning painfully to retrace its steps, and gain the vantage-ground which was acquired three centuries ago by the nation which we so often hear derided as barbarous, and against whose rulers are frequently brought such sweeping accusations of savage and short-sighted rapacity.

We have already observed, in referring to the institutes of Muhammed II, the authority which the *ulema*, or educators and men learned in the law, possess in Turkey, and the liberal provisions made there for national education. Suleiman was a munificent founder of schools and colleges, and he introduced many improvements into the educational discipline and rank of the ulema. But the great boon conferred by him on this order, and the peculiar homage paid by him to the dignity of learning, consisted in establishing, as rules of the Ottoman government, the exemption of all the ulema from taxation, and the secure descent of their estates from father to son; the property of a member of this body being in all cases privileged from confiscation. Hence it has arisen that the only class among the Turks in which hereditary wealth is accumulated in families is furnished by the educational and legal professions; and the only aristocracy that can be said to exist there is an aristocracy of the brain.[b]

LITERATURE UNDER SULEIMAN

The Ottoman literature had followed the progress of civilisation and politics during the last reigns, and particularly during the reign of Suleiman. Arts, sciences, and letters, which are eclipsed under conquering princes, shone forth again under legislative princes. Suleiman himself cultivated philosophy and poetry; he signed his poems with a conventional name, Muhibbi, a word which signifies "the man with a sympathetic heart." His verses, which are imbued with a pious morality and a tender passion for the felicity of his people, are the pastime of a man of war who does not take up the pen except when he lays down the sword. But he admired enthusiastically in others the genius which he did not have the leisure to cultivate sufficiently in himself. He even pardoned the poets of his time offences prompted by their genius.

The greatest of Ottoman lyric poets, Abdul Baki the Immortal, a name given to him while he was still alive, sang during the reign of Suleiman. In an elegy similar to that of Fontaine on Fouquet's disgrace he had the daring to celebrate the death of the unfortunate Mustapha. These funerary verses,

which soon became popular in Turkey, redounded in inarticulate reproaches against the father of Mustapha. The tears of the poet were like acid upon the wound in the heart of the sultan and father. People believed that Abdul Baki would be punished. Suleiman, instead of punishing his courage, honoured it. He addressed a poem to the poet, in which he congratulated himself upon reigning by right of descent during a century made illustrious by one of those geniuses who dominate the human mind by the very right of nature. He bestowed upon the poet the surname Immortal, predicting that future ages would ratify this title—the most glorious that can be given to mortal men. Baki, upon the death of Suleiman, wrote a funerary ode, which is considered by the Ottomans as the most "splendid sepulchre" in which poetry has ever entombed the memory of a great man.

Nine poets, whose work, though inferior to that of the Immortal, is superior to anything which the Ottomans had yet admired in their language, vied with Abdul Baki for the popularity of this Pindar of the Turks and for the favour of the sultan. The Quintilian of Ottoman literature, von Hammer Purgstall,[h] enumerates their names and their works after the annals and libraries of the empire: Abu Suud, who also celebrated the death of Suleiman, his master and his friend, in a *ghazel* of mourning; Khiali, so dazzling in his images that the sultan compared his words to diamonds and assigned him an income of 10,000 piastres from his own treasury; Ghazali, the cynic; Fuzuli, the Anacreon of the Turks, who told of the intoxications of opium and of wine, and of the loves of Leila and Mejnun; Jelili, who was inspired with the Persian adventures of Shirin, an inexhaustible subject for orientals; Fikri, who described in verse the luminous march of the planets; Rewani, author of the *Book of Pleasures*; Lamii, who introduced into Turkey the fables of *Pilpay* (Bidpai), that puerile but parabolical poetry which eternally charms the childhood of men and people.

One hundred and fifty other eminent poets adorned this literary reign at Constantinople. Three hundred more illumined the distant provinces of the empire. A universal history by the Persian Lari, whom Suleiman had called to his court from Taurus, served to spread general notions of history in Turkey and to discredit the fables which were promulgating erroneous ideas concerning the customs of the people. Birgeli, whose works are still printed to-day, wrote the most complete commentaries on jurisprudence and legislation.

The annals of the empire, recounted successively by five historiographers, registered the national events from day to day. These Ottoman historians carry their scrupulousness to the point of the most sincere minuteness and nicety. When compared with the accounts of Venetian historians and with the correspondence of ambassadors who resided at that period in Constantinople, these historic memoirs do not leave in shadow any character or any event in Ottoman history. No people possesses in its archives more numerous documents bearing on its own history. The greater part of them are written by vizirs or high officials of the serai, witnesses, confidants, or by those who were themselves actors in the dramas which they relate. When an event is of a nature to dishonour the reigning sultan they do not give a false account of it, but pass it over without mention. Silence is their only flattery. A gap in the recital is always easily filled in by the reports which the foreign agents address to their courts. The minister of foreign affairs, Feridun, and the two *nishandjis*, Mustapha Jelal Zade and Muhammed Ramazan Zade, are the most illustrious of these historian statesmen during the reign of Suleiman.

Philosophy, and that philosophy of the people, religion, became, during this culminating reign of Ottoman civilisation, no less refined than politics,

customs, laws, arts, and letters. The religious dogmas of the people had until this time been puerilised by the superstitions and fables added by Arabia to the simplicity of the *Koran*. Now the labours of the reformers and commentators of the holy book gradually freed these dogmas of such extraneous matter. And little by little Islam was divested of its religious character, and was organised into a cult whose creed was conscience.[d]

ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE

Constantinople saw again the days of its great constructor, the *basilicus* Justinian. Under Muhammed II arose the mosque of the conqueror, Eyub, who was the standard-bearer of the prophet, the mosque of the grand sheikh Bokkari (at the gate of Adrianople), and that of the janissaries (Orta Jami) near their barracks. At Adrianople, Kasim Pasha built the mosque which bears his name. Bayazid II founded one at Adrianople and another on the third of the hills of Constantinople. In 1556 Suleiman finished the Suleimanieh, the most beautiful of all the mosques, superior even to that of St. Sophia for the boldness of its cupola and the magnificence of its columns. A wealth of sculpture was lavished on the *mikrab* (tabernacles of the *Koran*) and on the pulpit. The architecture is the work of the celebrated Sinan; the window panes are that of a master called Ibrahim the Drunkard, and the inscriptions that of the skilled Kara Hissari. Suleiman also built the mosque of Selim I (the Selimieh); those of his brothers Muhammed and Jihangir at Galata; that of the sultana khasseki Khurrem or Roxelana; that of his daughter Khanun Sultana, also called Mikrmah (moon of the sun), the wife of the grand vizir Rustem. Another was built in honour of this same princess at Scutari. To Suleiman I is also due the aqueduct of the Forty Arches, or of the Forty Fountains (so called on account of the number of fountains it fed).

The minarets chiefly distinguish a Turkish mosque from the old orthodox church. Their tall and slender profiles give to the panorama of Constantinople its aspect of graceful *hérissement*. Every mosque has two, three, or four minarets. That built by the sultan Ahmed I is the only one which has the "glorious crown of six minarets," a privilege reserved till then for the holy Kaaba.

In the Ottoman Empire, as elsewhere, the religion of the conquerors has appropriated the religious art of the conquered. Nearly all the mosques, says De Amicis, are "imitated from the basilicus of Justinian; they have its large cupola, the little cupolas placed below, the courts, and the porticoes; some of them are in the form of the Greek cross. But Islam has so spread its own colour and light over everything that the union of these familiar forms presents the appearance of a new edifice, in which one perceives the horizons of an unknown world and feels the breath of an unknown God. There is nothing to distract the mind; across the white emptiness the thought goes straight to the object of its adoration; nothing save the distinct, dazzling, and formidable idea of a solitary God, who takes pleasure in the severe nudity of these vast spaces flooded with light which admit no image of himself other than the sky!

"The mosque occupies only the smallest part of the enclosure which embraces a labyrinth of courts and houses. There are halls for the reading of the *Koran*, places of deposit for private treasures, libraries, academies, schools of medicine and schools for children, lodgings for children and kitchens

for the poor, asylums for travellers, bathing-places—in short, there is a whole little city, hospitable and benevolent, its buildings gathered around the high mass of the temple as at the foot of a mountain, and shaded by gigantic trees."[c]

CAUSES FOR THE DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE

In spite of the incomparable brilliancy of this reign, in spite of the rights of Suleiman to the titles of great legislator and great man, it must be admitted that he introduced into the empire germs of decadence, germs which were to grow rapidly under his incapable successors. Khatshi Bey, a contemporary of Murad IV, whose work on the decadence of the Ottoman Empire has won for him the name of the Turkish Montesquieu, enumerates various causes of dissolution, which he attributes to Suleiman.

Towards the end of his days the sultan, borrowing the customs of the effeminate despots of Asia, had ceased to appear at the divan. Desiring to invest the person of the sovereign with a sacred prestige, he had made himself invisible. This custom contributed not a little towards developing love of ease and idleness among his successors. The elevation of favourites to the highest positions of the state was a dangerous example, which tended to give to intriguers places hitherto reserved for men of talent and experience. The influence of the harem in public affairs, though appearing to assure the position of Rustem, in reality weakened his authority, and no longer the women only, but the eunuchs also, had a share in the government.

Under the influence of Rustem Pasha venality and corruption were introduced into the administrative offices. "He sold the posts of governor," writes von Hammer-Purgstall,[h] "at fixed prices, and, in return for considerable sums, confirmed the property of the state in the possession of Jews and people of no consideration, who in order to mend their fortunes committed all sorts of outrages." The grand vizirs imitated the sumptuous prodigality of the sultan, and luxury suddenly invaded Ottoman society. The salary of the grand vizir, which had been only 10,000 aspers a month, was raised to 25,000 in favour of Ibrahim Pasha. The use of wine, so severely prohibited by the prophet, began to become public, to the great scandal of zealous Mohammedans. Suleiman, being a tolerant and enlightened prince, closed his eyes to these evils. The poets had the courage even to jest at the interdictions of the law. Mafiz celebrated wine in song. In one of his most beautiful *ghazels* he dared to exclaim, without respect for the word of the prophet, "Wine, that mother of all the vices, is sweeter to us than the kiss of a young girl!" The mufti Emir Saud refused to have him prosecuted, saying that he ought not to be judged too severely. But the ideas of tolerance disappeared with Suleiman, and the few steps that had been taken towards reform served only to change the national institutions.

To this conquering prince also belongs the responsibility for the decadence in the army. The principal force of the Ottoman armies consisted in the janissaries. This chosen corps had the right not to enter a campaign unless the sultan commanded the troops, hence the sultans are always seen to conduct important operations in person. In depriving the janissaries of this prerogative Suleiman freed his successors from the obligation of commanding the armies, and thus their inclination to inertia was increased. The first padishas were always in the tent; the successors of Suleiman no longer left the serai. The janissaries, moreover, were no longer recruited exclusively from the levy of Christian children, but from adventurers of all sorts who

were attracted by the privileges of the corps. It was permitted them to marry; their sons were admitted into the ranks; they engaged in trades and became sedentary in their garrisons; they were no longer soldiers, but ordinary citizens, and this troop, formerly the first in the empire, now became only a national guard. As long as Suleiman lived, as long as the grand vizir Sokolli upheld his traditions, all the causes of weakness remained latent; but the longer their activity was retarded the more rapid was their final disorganising action.*g*

SELIM II

Suleiman the Great, the Magnificent, the Lawgiver, the Lord of his Age, was succeeded by a prince to whom his own national historians give the epithet Selim the Sot. The ignoble vices of this prince (to secure whose accession so much and such dear blood had been shed) had attracted the sorrowful notice and drawn down the indignant reprimand of the old sultan in his later years; but there was now no brother to compete for the throne with Selim, and on the 25th of September, 1566, the sabre of Osman was girt for the first time on a sovereign who shrank from leading in person the armies of Islam, and wasted in low debauchery the hours which his predecessors had consecrated to the duties of the state. The effects of this fatal degeneracy were not immediately visible. The perfect organisation, civil and military, in which Suleiman had left the empire cohered for a time after the strong hand which had fashioned and knit it together for nearly half a century was withdrawn.

There was a numerous body of statesmen and generals who had been trained under the great sultan, and thus somewhat of his spirit was preserved in the realm, until they had passed away, and another generation arisen which knew not Suleiman. Foremost of these was the grand vizir Muhammed Sokolli, who had victoriously concluded the campaign of Sziget after Suleiman's death; and who, fortunately for Selim and his kingdom, acquired and maintained an ascendency over the weak mind of the young sultan, which was not indeed always strong enough to prevent the adoption of evil measures or to curb the personal excesses of Selim's private life, but which checked the progress of anarchy and maintained the air of grandeur in enterprise and of vigour in execution by which the Sublime Porte had hitherto been distinguished.

An armistice was concluded with the emperor Maximilian in 1568, on the terms that each party should retain possession of what it then occupied; and there was now for many years an unusual pause in the war between the houses of Habsburg and Osman. The great foreign events of Selim's reign are the attempts to conquer Astrakhan and unite the Don and the Volga, the conquest of Cyprus, and the naval war of the battle of Lepanto. The first of these is peculiarly interesting, because the Turks were then for the first time brought into armed collision with the Russians.*b*

Muhammed Sokolli, who exercised talents of the highest order, had conceived the gigantic project of joining the Don to the Volga to insure the domination over the Muscovite countries. The possession of Astrakhan was necessary for the success of this plan. The siege of the place was decided upon, but the enterprise was badly conducted, and failed. The Russians defeated the besieging body and destroyed all the works that had been already raised. The khan of the Crimea, judging the enterprise to be harmful to his interests, skilfully worked on a prejudice of the Moslems which made them regard the north as forbidden to true believers. The night, he said, was only four hours

long in summer; it would be necessary either to interrupt sleep for prayer two hours after sunset and again at break of dawn, or else to violate the prescriptions of the *Koran*. These causes, operating with the cold, the hunger, and the storms, completely demoralised the army, which refused to obey the orders of the generals; the project had to be abandoned, and peace was renewed with the czar.

Sokolli now conceived the audacious idea of penetrating the isthmus of Suez.[g]

His schemes in this quarter, however, were delayed by a revolt which broke out in Arabia, and which was not quelled without a difficult and sanguinary war. And when that important province was brought back to submission, the self-willed cupidity and violence of Sultan Selim himself involved the Porte in a war with Venice and other Christian states, for the sake of acquiring the island of Cyprus, which he had coveted while he was governor of Kutalya in his father's lifetime.[1] There was a treaty of peace between Venice and the Porte; but Selim obtained from his mufti Abu Suud a fetva authorising him to attack Cyprus, in open violation of the treaty. Cyprus had at one time been under Mohammedan rulers; and the Turkish authorities now proclaimed and acted on the principle that the sovereign of Islam may at any time break a treaty, for the sake of reconquering from the misbelievers a country which has formerly belonged to the territory of Islam.[b][2]

The Venetians formed an alliance with the king of Spain, the pope, the duke of Savoy, and the knights of Malta, and their united fleet, under the command of Don John of Austria, gained a decisive victory over the Turks at Lepanto, October 7th, 1571. The Turks lost two hundred and twenty-four ships and thirty thousand men; nearly three hundred and fifty cannon were taken by the conquerors, and fifteen thousand Christian captives liberated. But instead of taking advantage of this victory and sailing to Constantinople, the Christian leaders separated, and sailed back, as they could not agree about their further proceedings.[i]

Meanwhile the sea-captain, Uludj Ali, with a squadron which he had saved from Lepanto, gleaned together the Turkish galleys that lay in the different ports of the Archipelago, and at the end of December sailed proudly into the port of Constantinople at the head of a fleet of eighty-seven sail. In recompense of his zeal he received the rank of kapudan pasha, and the sultan changed his name of Uludj into Kilidj, which means "the sword." The veteran admiral Piali, the hero of Jerba, was yet alive, and under his and Kilidj Ali's vigorous and skilful directions a new fleet was constructed and launched before the winter was past. While the rejoicing Christians built churches, the resolute Turks built docks. The effect was that before June a Turkish fleet of two hundred and fifty sail, comprising eight galeasses or mahons of the largest size, sailed forth to assert the dominion of the seas. The confederate Christian powers, after long delays, collected a force numerically superior to the Ottoman; but, though two indecisive encounters took place, they were unable to chase Kilidj Ali from the western coasts of Greece, nor could the duke of Parma undertake the siege of Modon, which had been designed as the chief operation for that year. It was evident that, though the Christian confederates could

[1] It seems that Selim, like Cassio, found the attraction of Cyprus wine irresistible. A Jew, named Joseph Nassi, had been Selim's boon companion, and persuaded him that he ought to be master of the isle in which the juice of the grape was so delicious.

[2] The case laid by Selim before the mufti, and the answer of that functionary, are given at length by von Hammer. The reader will observe how utterly opposed this principle is to the doctrine laid down in the Turkish military code.

win a battle, the Turk was still their superior in a war.[1] The Venetians sought peace in 1573, and in order to obtain it consented not only that the sultan should retain Cyprus, but that Venice should pay him his expenses of the conquest. It was not unnaturally remarked by those who heard the terms of the treaty that it sounded as if the Turks had gained the battle of Lepanto.

After Venice had made peace with the Porte, Don John undertook an expedition with the Spanish fleet against Tunis, which Uludj Ali had conquered during the year in which Cyprus was attacked. Don John succeeded in capturing the city, which was the more easy inasmuch as the citadel had continued in the power of the Spaniards. Don John built a new fortress and left a powerful garrison in Tunis; but, eighteen months after his departure, his old enemy Kilidj Ali reappeared there, and after a sharp siege made the sultan again master of the city and citadel, and stormed Don John's new castle. Tunis now, like Algiers and Tripoli, became an Ottoman government. The effectual authority which the Porte exercised over these piratical states of North Africa grew weaker in course of time, but the tie of allegiance was never entirely broken; and though the French have in our own time seized Algiers, the sultan is still sovereign of Tripoli, the scene of the successful valour of Dragut, the great admiral.

TURKISH COURT DRESS

Selim the Sot died not long after the recovery of Tunis; and the manner of his death befitted the manner of his life. He had drunk off a bottle of Cyprus wine at a draught, and on entering the bath-room with the fumes of his favourite beverage in his head, he slipped and fell on the marble floor, receiving an injury of the skull which brought on a fatal fever (1574). He showed once a spark of the true Osman, by the zeal with which he aided his officers in restoring the Turkish navy after Lepanto. He then contributed his private treasures liberally, and gave up part of the pleasure-gardens of the serai for the site of the new docks. Except for this brief flash of patriotism or pride, his whole career, both as prince and sultan, is unrelieved by a single merit; and it is blackened by mean treachery, by gross injustice and cruelty, and by grovelling servitude to the coarsest appetites of our nature.

There is an eastern legend that, when the great king and prophet Solomon died, he was sitting on his lion-throne, clad in the royal robes, and with all the insignia of dominion round him. The lifeless form remained in the mon-

[1] The Venetian envoy, Barbaro, endeavoured to open negotiations at Constantinople in the winter after the battle of Lepanto. The vizir, in reference to the loss of the Turkish fleet and the conquest of Cyprus, said to him: "There is a great difference between our loss and yours. You have shaved our chin, but our beard is growing again. We have lopped off your arm, and you can never replace it."

arch's usual attitude; and the races of men and beasts, of genii and demons, who watched at respectful distance, knew not of the change, but long with accustomed awe paid homage, and made obeisance before the form that sat upon the throne; until the staff on which Solomon had leaned, holding it in both hands towards the mouth, and on which the body had continued propped, was gnawed by worms and gave way, letting the corpse fall to the ground. Then, and not till then, the truth was known and the world was filled with sorrow and alarm.

This fable well images the manner in which the empire of Sultan Suleiman remained propped on the staff of the vizirate, and retained its majesty after his death and during the reign of Selim, so long as the power of Suleiman's grand vizir Sokolli remained unimpaired. When Sokolli's authority was weakened and broken by the corrupt influence of favourites and women at the court of Selim's successor, Murad III, the shock of falling empire was felt throughout the Ottoman world, spreading from the court to the capital, from the capital to the provinces, and at last becoming apparent even to foreign powers.

Murad III was summoned at the age of twenty-eight from his government at Magnesia to succeed his father at Constantinople. He arrived at the capital on the night of the 21st of December, 1574, and his first act was to order the execution of his five brothers. In the morning the high officers of state were assembled to greet their master, and the first words of the new sultan were anxiously watched for, as ominous of the coming events of his reign. Murad turned to the aga of the eunuchs and said, "I am hungry; bring me something to eat." These words were considered to be prophetic of scarcity during his reign; and the actual occurrence of a famine at Constantinople in the following year did much to confirm the popular superstition.

Sokolli retained the grand vizirate until his death, in 1578, but the effeminate heart of Murad was ruled by courtiers who amused his listless melancholy, and by four women, one of whom was his mother, the dowager sultana, or (as the Turks term her) the sultana validi, Nur Banu; the next was Murad's first favourite sultana, a Venetian lady of the noble house of Baffo, who had been captured by a Turkish corsair in her early years. The fair Venetian so enchanted Murad that he was long strictly constant to her, slighting the other varied attractions of his harem, and neglecting the polygamous privileges of his creed. The sultana validi, alarmed at the ascendency which the sultana Safiye (as the Venetian lady was termed) was acquiring over Murad, succeeded in placing such temptation in her son's way as induced him no longer to make his Venetian love his only love; and he thenceforth rushed into the opposite extreme of licentious indulgence even for a Mohammedan prince. Such was the demand created for the supply of the imperial harem that it is said to have raised the price of beautiful girls in the slave-market of Constantinople.

One of this multitude of favoured fair, a Hungarian by birth, obtained considerable influence over her lord; but his first love, Safiye, though no longer able to monopolise Murad's affections, never lost her hold on them; and it was her will that chiefly directed the Ottoman fleets and armies during his reign—fortunately for her native country Venice, which she prevented Turkey from attacking, even under circumstances of great provocation, caused by the outrages and insolence of some of the cruisers of the republic of St. Mark. The fourth lady who had sway in Murad's counsels did not owe it to her own charms but to the adroitness with which she placed before him the charms of others. This was Djanfeda, who was *kiaya* (or grand mistress) of the harem. These were the chief ladies who interposed and debated on

all questions how the power bequeathed by the great Suleiman should be wielded, and with whom the house of Osman should have peace or war.

Generals and admirals trained in the camps and fleets of Suleiman still survived; and the hostilities in which the Turkish Empire was involved during the reign of Murad III were marked by more than one victory, and were productive of several valuable acquisitions of territory. War between Turkey and Persia broke out again soon after Murad's accession, and was continued for several years.[b]

PERSIAN WAR

The old shah Tamasp died in 1576, poisoned by his wife, leaving his crown to his fifth son, Haider. The latter reigned only a few hours, then died, assassinated by the Tcherkes party. His brother, Shah Ismail, who was half madman, succeeded him, and was strangled after a tyranny of eighteen months. The vizirs Sinan Pasha and Mustapha Pasha persuaded the sultan of Turkey to profit by these internal dissensions to attempt the conquest of Persia. Mustapha Pasha, being appointed serasker, invaded Georgia without a declaration of war and gained a brilliant victory over Tokmak Khan. Tiflis fell into the hands of the victors, and a second defeat of the Persians on the borders of the Kansak was followed by the submission of Georgia.

The country was divided into four provinces confided to as many beylerbeys: Uzdemir Osman Pasha commanded in Shirvan, Muhammed Pasha at Tiflis, Haider Pasha at Sukhum, and the son of Lewend in Georgia proper. Four Persian armies advanced with forced marches to wrest from the Ottomans their new conquest. Osman Pasha crushed the governor of Shemakha, Eres Khan, and defeated Prince Hamza; but, being attacked by the main contingent of the Persian army, he had to evacuate Shirvan and fall back upon Derbent. Simon Luarseb, the dispossessed prince of Tiflis, laid siege to his old capital; the valiant defence of the garrison gave Hassan Pasha, son of Sokolli, time to arrive. The siege was raised (1579).

The interior troubles of Persia and the changes in the command of the Turkish armies delayed operations a long time. However, Uzdemir Osman Pasha valiantly upheld in the Daghestan the honour of the imperial arms. On May 9th, 1583, a great battle was fought on the banks of the Samur; such was the fury of the conflict that it lasted all night, by torchlight. The four days following were spent in strategical manœuvres, at the end of which the Ottomans were completely surrounded. They attacked boldly, opened a path for themselves, and dispersed the enemy. Three thousand prisoners and a pyramid of heads were the trophies of the victory. After having completed the conquest of the Daghestan, Osman Pasha crossed the Caucasus and reached Kaffa by a painful march which was often harassed by the Russians. He had to depose the khan of Crimea, Muhammed Girai, who had refused to furnish the Osmanlis with the aid demanded by the Porte; Muhammed Girai, however, took up arms, and at the head of forty thousand cavalry blocked up Osman Pasha, who was too weak to hold the field, in Kaffa. Fortunately his brother, Islam Girai, to whom the Porte promised the investiture, revolted against the khan, and Muhammed, being betrayed by his own people, was assassinated (1584). The entry of Osman Pasha into Constantinople was triumphal, and the victor was heaped with honours such as had never been accorded to any general. A few days afterwards he was appointed grand vizir and serasker of the army destined to invade Azerbaijan.

At the head of a hundred and sixty thousand men, he marched upon Tabriz;

in vain did the Persian prince, Hamza Mirza, defeat his vanguard, in vain did he crush Muhammed Pasha's corps; the Persians, overwhelmed by numbers, had to give way and evacuate Tabriz. The poor health of the vizir marred the success of the operations. Cicala[1] was defeated by Hamza Mirza, and lost twenty thousand men. This disaster forced Osman Pasha to retreat. Pursued by Hamza Mirza and forced to give battle, he was conquered, and expired at the moment when his troops were routed. Cicala's son took the command and managed the retreat in good order, even gaining a victory over the enemy.

While Hamza, pursuing his success, was defeating the pashas of Erivan and of Selmas, Tokmak Khan and Ali Kuli Khan invested Tabriz, and Simon of Georgia again laid siege to Tiflis. The garrison of Tabriz defended itself heroically; in the space of ten months it sustained fifteen assaults and delivered forty-eight battles. It was finally liberated by Fuhad Pasha, the serasker. The death by an assassin of the brave prince Hamza Mirza, a victory won by Fuhad Pasha in 1586, the success of Cicala Zade in Khuzistan, and the capture of the capital of Karabagh (1588)—all these events determined the king of Persia, Shah Abbas, who was menaced at the same time by the Usbegs, to conclude peace (March 21st, 1590). The treaty abandoned to the Ottomans Georgia, Shirvan, Loristan, Tabriz and a part of Azerbaijan.

DEATH OF MURAD

A few months before, an insurrection of the janissaries had broken out at Constantinople, because it had been attempted to pay them in coin of a base alloy, "as light as an almond leaf and of no more value than a drop of dew." The rebels attacked the serai and demanded with loud cries the heads of the defterdar and of the beyler-bey of Rumelia. The sultan was obliged to yield to their demands. From 1589 to 1592 troubles and disorders of all kinds bore witness to the disorganisation of the empire. In Egypt the militia rose against the governor; at Tabriz the troops mutinied and refused the changed coinage of Constantinople; Jafar massacred eighteen hundred of them; at Buda the garrison, to whom six months' pay was due, assassinated the pasha. In Asia an adventurer claimed to be the son of Shah Tamasp, but he was taken prisoner by the governor of Erzerum. Finally a terrible plague which raged in the capital completed the public disaster.

The insolence of the janissaries increased from day to day; they had the audacity to establish a voyevod in Moldavia on their own authority. To give occupation to this ferocious militia it was resolved to make war. Through the efforts of Sinan Pasha, the grand vizir, an invasion of Hungary was decided upon. Hassan Pasha, governor of Bosnia, opened hostilities with the siege of Sissek; but being cornered in the angle formed by the Kulpa and the Odra, he suffered a complete defeat and was drowned with most of his followers. Sinan Pasha started at once to take command of the army. Meanwhile the pasha of Buda was defeated at Stuhlweissenburg, and nine fortresses fell into the hands of the imperial forces (1593). The successes on each side balanced each other, until Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia revolted simultaneously, made an alliance with the emperor, and massacred all the Moslems established in the country (1594). Murad tried to reanimate the courage of the troops by bringing from Syria the sacred standard, which tradition says was that of the Prophet; nothing could remedy the lack of discipline among the troops and the disorganisation of the army. Soon the feeble sovereign, stricken with fear of

[1] An Italian renegade.

a strange dream which he interpreted as a presage of his early death, fell ill and died (January 6th, 1596).

During his reign the Turkish Empire still possessed forty pashalics and four great tributary countries. Of these pashalics, eight were in Europe and Hungary: Bosnia, Semendria, Rumelia, Kaffa, Temesvar, Candia, and the Archipelago, to the latter of which also belonged the Morea, Lepanto, and Nicodemia. In Africa were the four pashalics of Egypt, Algiers, and Tripoli; in Asia there were eight. The four tributary countries were Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, and Ragusa.

The death of Murad was kept secret at Constantinople also, but this was the last occasion on which recourse was had to this stratagem; for he was the last prince who, at the death of the sultan, was residing at a distance from the capital. From this period all the heirs to the crown were kept in close confinement until their accession—an unnatural custom, which has precipitated the ruin of the empire.

MUHAMMED III

Murad was succeeded by Muhammed III, his son by the Venetian woman of Baffa. He signalised his accession by the murder of his nineteen brothers. Nevertheless, in spite of this bloody application of the law of fratricide, the sultan—who was not only a pupil of the poet Nevi and of the historian Saad ad-din, but also himself a poet—appeared to be animated by the best intentions. He paid all his father's debts, scrupulously practised the laws of Islam, and pretended to enforce their observance. "Know," he said to one of his ministers, "that I have sworn by the household gods of my ancestors never to pardon a grand vizir, but to punish severely the least prevarication of which he shall be found guilty; he shall be put to death, his body quartered, and his name made infamous." Nevertheless, in spite of these energetic words, the empire, which had already begun to give signs of disorganisation under the reign of his predecessor, proceeded rapidly on its downward way. Muhammed, completely dominated by his mother, who maintained her influence by constituting herself purveyor of the imperial harem, left all the cares of government to his ministers, Sinan Pasha, Cicala Zade, and Hassan the Cruel, who bargained in civil and military offices, altered the currency, and crushed the people with new imposts and taxes in natural produce and in money.

War, bitter and pitiless, continued on one side and another; the successes were fairly balanced, except in Wallachia, where the Ottoman armies again and again suffered sanguinary disasters. The voyevod of Wallachia, Michael the Brave, at the end of Murad's reign had concluded a treaty of alliance with Aaron, voyevod of Moldavia, with Sigismund Báthori, prince of Transylvania, and with the emperor Rudolf II. The grand vizir Sinan Pasha marched upon Bukharest and took possession of it (1595). But Michael drew the Ottomans into impracticable swamps and took Tergovishtea; the garrison was impaled, and Ali Pasha and Kodji Bey, who commanded it, were roasted at a slow fire. The Turks beat a retreat; surprised at the passage of the Danube near Giurgevo, they were totally defeated; Giurgevo was carried by assault and the garrison massacred; Nikopoli and Widdin capitulated.[g] The disasters in Wallachia and Hungary finally aroused the weak-minded sultan to action. Statesmen and people urged him to march in person against the unbelievers. Muhammed left Constantinople in June, 1596, and gained a brilliant victory over the Christians in October. After this spasmodic effort Muhammed returned to his life of indolence, and the war in Hungary dragged on.[a]

AHMED I

The reign of Muhammed III was a continued succession of hostilities down to his death in 1603. One of the most calamitous epochs in Ottoman history, it was, nevertheless, distinguished by the flourishing state of literature and legal science and the rigid enforcement of the laws of Islam. Ahmed I, his eldest son, followed him. In 1606 he terminated the war which was desolating Europe, by a treaty of peace, the necessity of which was another conclusive sign that the once formidable Ottoman power was broken.[e]

The Peace of Sitavorok (Zsitvatorok), which has not sufficiently attracted the attention of writers and the memory of which has been lost, being effaced by that of the Treaty of Karlowitz, which was signed a century later, has nevertheless a deep significance in the history of political law and of diplomatic relations between Turkey and the rest of Europe. It fixed for the first time a limit to the Ottoman conquest, which till then had threatened the Occident. The signs of vassalage—the annual tributes brought by the ambassadors—were suppressed and diplomatic relations were established on a footing of equality. Transylvania was half removed from the Turkish yoke, and Hungary, although still submitted to Ottoman domination for a part of its territory, was at least relieved from Turkish tribute for the rest. For the first time the formalities current among the nations of Europe were observed by the sultan and the grand vizir. The Peace of Sitavorok announced to European powers the decadence of the Porte and prepared the way for the Treaty of Karlowitz.[h]

Under this reign the use of tobacco was first introduced into Turkey. The Hollanders, who for some time had divided the trade of the Levant with the Venetians, made the Ottomans acquainted with this new source of enjoyment in 1605. They surrendered themselves with such passionate delight to its use that the mufti, believing they saw in its effects some resemblance to the intoxication produced by wine, issued a severe edict against the innovation. This proceeding aroused the whole population. It was insisted that, as tobacco was not prohibited by Mohammed, the mufti had no right to be more severe than the Prophet himself. These murmurs were followed by an insurrection of the people, the troops, and the officers of the seraglio; and the mufti was obliged to revoke his ordinance to preserve the public peace.

About the same time a singular event happened at Constantinople, which illustrates in a remarkable manner the charity of Mussulmans to animals. The plague having broken out in the capital, the physicians declared that it was necessary to destroy the dogs, which propagated the scourge. The mufti took up the defence of the proscribed, and pleaded their cause with such zeal that the fatal decree was commuted to simple banishment. The *protégés* of the high priest of Islam were then embarked in boats and transported to a neighbouring island.

THE SULTANS MUSTAPHA I, OSMAN II, MUSTAPHA II

Mustapha, who in 1617, by the death of his father, inherited the throne, was no sooner invested with the imperial insignia than the report of his imbecility produced his deposition and imprisonment. Osman II, yet a child, took his place. Upon arriving at manhood he undertook the conquest of Poland, but without obtaining any important results. These repeated failures of the Turkish arms increased the already widespread discontent of the nation. The

soldiers detested the sultan on account of his avarice, and rose and murdered him in 1622. This was the first instance in which the Ottoman throne had been stained with blood. Mustapha II succeeded, but his weak and irresolute character gave rise to new military disorders. Upon his death Murad became sultan.[e]

MURAD IV

Murad IV at the time of his accession (September 10th, 1623) was only twelve years of age. But even thus early he gave indications of a resolute and revengeful character, and showed that a prince animated by the spirit of the first Selim was once more on the Ottoman throne. The Turkish historian, Evliya, relates of him: "When Sultan Murad entered the treasury after his accession, my father, Dervish Muhammed, was with him. There were no gold or silver vessels remaining—only 30,000 piastres in money, and some coral and porcelain in chests. 'Inshallah' (please God), said the sultan, after prostrating himself in prayer, 'I will replenish this treasury fifty-fold with the property of those who have plundered it.'"

The young sultan during the first year of his reign acted principally under the directions of his mother, the sultana Mahpeiker, who, providentially for the Ottoman Empire, was a woman of remarkable talent and energy, which were taxed to the uttermost to meet the dangers and disasters that clouded round the dawn of her child's sovereignty. From every part of the empire messengers arrived with evil tidings. The Persians were victorious on the frontiers. The rebel Abaza was lord and tyrant over Asia Minor. The tribes of the Lebanon were in open insurrection. The governors of Egypt and other provinces were wavering in their allegiance. The Barbaresque Regencies assumed the position of independent powers, and made treaties with European nations on their own account. The fleets of the Cossack marauders not only continued their depredations along the Black Sea, but even appeared in the Bosporus, and plundered the immediate vicinity of the capital. In Constantinople itself there were an empty treasury, a dismantled arsenal, a debased coinage, exhausted magazines, a starving population, and a licentious soldiery. Yet the semblance of authority was preserved, and by degrees some of its substance was recovered by those who ruled in the young prince's name; and, though amid tumult and bloodshed, and daily peril to both crown and life, young Murad, observing all things, forgetting nothing and forgiving nothing, grew up towards man's estate.

There is a wearisome monotony in the oft-repeated tale of military insurrections; but the formidable mutiny of the spahis, which convulsed Constantinople in the ninth year of Murad's reign, deserves notice on account of the traits of the Turkish character which its chief hero and victim remarkably displayed, and also because it explains and partly palliates the hard-heartedness which grew upon Murad, and the almost wolfish appetite for bloodshed which was shown by him in the remainder of his reign. In the beginning of that year a large number of mutinous spahis, who had disgraced themselves by gross misconduct in the late unsuccessful campaign against Baghdad, had straggled to Constantinople, and joined the European spahis, already collected in that capital. They were secretly instigated by Redjib Pasha, who wished by their means to effect the ruin of the grand vizir Hafiz, a gallant though not fortunate general, to whom the young sultan was much attached, and who had interchanged poetical communications with his sovereign when employed against the Persians. The spahis gathered together in the hippodrome on

three successive days (February, 1632), and called for the heads of the grand vizir Hafiz, the mufti Jahia, the defterdar Mustapha, and other favourites of the sultan, seventeen in all. The shops were closed, and the city and the serai were in terror.

On the second day the mutineers came to the gate of the palace, but withdrew on being promised that they should have redress on the morrow. On the third day, when the morning broke, the outer court of the seraglio was filled with raging rebels. As the grand vizir Hafiz was on his way thither to attend the divan, he received a message from a friend, who warned him to conceal himself until the crowd had dispersed. Hafiz answered with a smile, "I have already this day seen my fate in a dream; I am not afraid to die." As he rode into the seraglio, the multitude made a lane for him as if out of respect, but as he passed along they cast stones at him; he was struck from his horse, and borne by his attendants into the inner part of the palace. One of his followers was murdered and one grievously wounded by the spahis. The sultan ordered Hafiz to make his escape, and the grand vizir took a boat at the watergate of the serai, and crossed over to Scutari.

A SPAHI

Meanwhile the rebels forced their way into the second court of the seraglio, which was the usual hall of the divan, and they clamoured for the sultan to come forth and hold a divan among them. The sultan appeared and held a divan standing. He spoke to the mutineers, "What is your will, my servants?" Loudly and insolently they answered, "Give us the seventeen heads. Give these men up to us, that we may tear them in pieces, or it shall fare worse with thee." They pressed close upon the sultan, and were near upon laying hands on him. "You can give no hearing to my words; why have you called me hither?" said Murad. He drew back, surrounded by his pages, into the inner court. The rebels came after him like a raging flood. Fortunately the pages barred the gate; but the alarm and the outcry became the greater They shouted aloud, "The seventeen heads, or abdicate."

Redjib Pasha, the secret promoter of the whole tumult, now approached the young sultan, and urged on him that it was necessary to still the tumult by granting what was demanded. He said that it had become a custom for the chiefs to be given up to the soldiery. "The unchained slave must take what he pleases; better the head of the vizir than that of the sultan." Murad sorrowfully gave way, and sent a summons to Hafiz to return and die. The vizir hesitated not, and as he came back the sultan met him at the water-gate. The gate of the inner court was then opened. The sultan ascended the throne of state, and four deputies from the insurgents, two spahis and two janissaries,

[1632 A.D.]

came before him. He implored them not to profane the honour of the caliphate; but he pleaded in vain; the cry was still "The seventeen heads!" Meanwhile Hafiz Pasha had made the ablution preparatory to death which the Mohammedan law requires, and he now stood forth and addressed Murad. "My padisha," said he, "let a thousand slaves such as Hafiz perish for thy sake. I only entreat that thou do not thyself put me to death, but give me up to these men, that I may die a martyr, and that my innocent blood may come upon their heads. Let my body be buried at Scutari." He then kissed the earth, and exclaimed, "In the name of God, the all-merciful, the all-good. There is no power or might save with God, the most high, the Almighty. His we are, and unto him we return."

Hafiz then strode forth a hero into the fatal court. The sultan sobbed aloud, the pages wept bitterly, the vizirs gazed with tearful eyes. The rebels rushed to meet him as he advanced. To sell his life as a martyr, he struck the foremost to the ground with a well-aimed buffet, on which the rest sprang on him with their daggers, and pierced him with seventeen mortal wounds. A janissary knelt on his breast and struck off his head. The pages of the seraglio came forward and spread a robe over the corpse. Then said the sultan: "God's will be done! But in his appointed time ye shall meet with vengeance, ye men of blood, who have neither the fear of God before your eyes nor respect for the law of the prophet." The threat was little heeded at the time, but it was uttered by one who never menaced in vain.

Within two months after this scene fresh victims had fallen before the bloodthirsty rabble that now disgraced the name of Turkish troops. The deposition of Murad was openly discussed in their barracks, and the young sultan saw that the terrible alternative, "Kill, or be killed," was no longer to be evaded. Some better spirits in the army, shamed and heart-sick at the spirit of brigandage that was so insolently dominant over court and camp, placed their swords at their sovereign's disposal; and a small but brave force, that could be relied on in the hour of need, was gradually and quietly organised. The dissensions also among the mutinous troops themselves, and especially the ancient jealousy between the spahis and the janissaries, offered means for repressing them all, of which Murad availed himself with boldness and skill. His first act was to put the archtraitor, Redjib Pasha, suddenly and secretly to death.

Murad's Reign of Terror

He then proceeded to the more difficult one of reducing the army to submission. This was done on the 29th day of May, 1632, the day on which the sultan emancipated himself from his military tyrants and commenced also his own reign of terror. Murad held a public divan on the shore of the sea near the kiosk of Sinan. The mufti, the vizirs, the chief members of the ulema were there, and the two military chiefs, who had devoted themselves to the cause of the sultan against the mutinous troops, Kœsè Muhammed and Rum Muhammed. Six squadrons of horse guards, whose loyalty could be trusted, were also in attendance and ready for immediate action. Murad seated himself on the throne, and sent a message to the spahis, who were assembled in the hippodrome, requiring the attendance of a deputation of their officers. Murad then summoned the janissaries before him, and addressed them as faithful troops who were enemies to the rebels in the other corps. The janissaries shouted out that the padisha's enemies were their enemies also, and took with zealous readiness an oath of implicit obedience,

which was suggested at the moment. Copies of the *Koran* were ready, and were handed through the ranks. The janissaries swore on the sacred book, "By God, with God, and through God." Their oath was formally registered; and Murad then turned to the deputies of the spahis, who had by this time arrived and had witnessed the loyal fervour of the janissaries. The sultan reproached them for the rapacity and lawlessness of their body. They answered humbly that the sultan's charges were true, but that they were personally loyal, though unable to make their men obey them. "If ye are loyal," said Murad, "take the oath which your brethren the janissaries have taken, and deliver up to me the ringleaders of rebellion from your ranks." Surrounded by the royal horse guards and janissaries, the spahi officers obeyed in fear and trembling.

Murad then ordered the judges to stand forward. He said to them: "Ye are accused of selling your judgments for gold, and of destroying my people. What answer have you to give?" "God is our witness," said they, "that we seek not to make a traffic of justice, or to oppress the poor; but we have no freedom or independence; and if we protect thy subjects against the violence of the spahis and the tax-gatherers, we are accused of corruption, our tribunals are assailed by armed men, and our houses are pillaged." "I have heard of these things," said the sultan. Then arose in the divan a valiant judge of Asia, an Arab by birth, and he drew his sabre, and cried, "My padisha, the only cure for all these things is the edge of the sword." At these words the sultan and the whole assembly fixed their eyes on the Arabian judge, who stood before them with flashing eyes and weapon, but said no more. The declaration of the judge was registered; and then all present, the sultan, the vizirs, the mufti, and the chief officers, signed a written manifesto, by which they bound themselves to suppress abuses and maintain public order, under the penalty of bringing on their heads the curses of God, of the prophet, of all angels, and of all true believers.

Murad had need of acts as well as of words, and the work of death speedily began. Energetic and trusty emissaries were sent through Constantinople, who slew the leaders of the late insurrection and all whom Murad marked for destruction. The troops, deprived of their chiefs and suspicious of each other, trembled and obeyed. The same measures were taken in the provinces, and for many months the sword and the bow-string were incessantly active. But it was in the capital, and under Murad's own eye, that the revenge of royalty for its long humiliation reaped the bloodiest harvest. Every morning the Bosporus threw up on its shores the corpses of those who had been executed during the preceding night, and in them the anxious spectators recognised janissaries and spahis whom they had lately seen parading the streets in all the haughtiness of military license. The personal appearance and courage of Murad, his bold and martial demeanour, confirmed the respect and awe which this strenuous ferocity inspired. He was in the twentieth year of his age, and though but little above the middle stature, his bodily frame united strength and activity in a remarkable degree. His features were regular and handsome. His aquiline nose and the jet-black beard which had begun to grace his chin gave dignity to his aspect; but the imperious lustre of his full dark eyes was marred by an habitual frown, which, however, suited well the sternness of his character. Every day he displayed his horsemanship in the hippodrome, and he won the involuntary admiration of the soldiery by his strength and skill as a cavalier and swordsman, and by his unrivalled force and dexterity in the use of the bow. He patrolled the streets in disguise at night; and often, with his own hand, struck dead the offenders against his numerous edicts in matters of police.

The insurrection in Asia Minor had been quelled in 1630 by the defeat and submission of Abaza, whom Murad had spared, principally out of sympathy with his hatred towards the janissaries, and had made pasha of Bosnia. He now employed that able and ruthless chief in Constantinople, and appointed him aga of his old enemies the janissaries. Abaza served his stern master well in that perilous station; but he at last incurred the displeasure of Murad, and was executed in 1634. The habit of bloodshedding had now grown into a second nature with the sultan. All faults, small or great, were visited by him with the same short, sharp, and final sentence; and the least shade of suspicion that crossed his restless mind was sufficient to insure its victim's doom. He struck before he censured: and, at last, the terror with which he was regarded was so general and profound that men who were summoned to the sultan's presence commonly made the death-ablution before they entered the palace.

The number of those who died by his command is reckoned at a hundred thousand. Among them were three of his brothers, and, as was generally believed, his deposed uncle Mustapha. One of his sayings is preserved by an Italian writer, who asserts that Murad's favourite book was *The Prince* of Macchiavelli, which had been translated into Turkish. The sultan's own maxim is certainly worthy of such inspiration. It is this: "Vengeance never grows decrepit, though she may grow grey." In the last years of Murad's life his ferocity of temper was fearfully aggravated by the habits of intoxication which he had acquired.

Never, however, did Murad wholly lose in habits of indulgence the vigour of either mind or body. When civil or military duty required his vigilance, none could surpass him in austere abstemiousness or in the capacity for labour. And, with all his misdeeds, he saved his country. He tolerated no crimes but his own. The worst of evils, the sway of petty local tyrants, ceased under his dominion. He was unremittingly and unrelentingly watchful in visiting the offences of all who were in authority under him, as well as those of the mass of his subjects; and the worst tyranny of the single despot was a far less grievous curse to the empire than had been the military anarchy which he quelled. Order and subordination were restored under his iron sway. There was discipline in the camps; there was pure justice in the tribunals. The revenues were fairly raised and honestly administered. The abuses of the feudal system of the ziamets and timars were extirpated; and if Murad was dreaded at home, he made himself still more feared by the foe abroad.

Expedition Against Persia

In 1638 he made his final and greatest expedition against the Persians, to reannex to the Ottoman Empire the great city of Baghdad, which had been in the power of those enemies of the house of Osman and the Sunnite creed for fifteen years, and had been repeatedly besieged in vain by Turkish armies. There is a tradition in the East that Baghdad, the ancient city of the caliphate, can only be taken by a sovereign in person. The great Suleiman had first won it for Turkey; and now, at the end of a century after that conquest, Murad IV prepared his armies for its recovery. The imperial standard of the seven horsetails was planted on the heights of Scutari on the 9th of March, 1638, and a week afterwards Murad joined the army. A proclamation was made by which the march from Scutari to Baghdad was

divided into 110 days' journey, with fixed periods for halts, and on the 8th of May the vast host moved steadily forward in unmurmuring obedience to its leader's will. Throughout this second progress of Murad (the last ever made by an Ottoman sovereign in person through any of the Asiatic provinces not immediately adjacent to Constantinople) he showed the same inquisitorial strictness and merciless severity in examining the conduct of all the provincial authorities that had been felt on his former march to Erivan. Pashas, judges, imams, and tax-collectors thronged to kiss the sultan's stirrup; and if there was the slightest taint of suspicion on the character of any functionary for probity, activity, or loyalty, the head of the unhappy homager rolled in the dust beneath the imperial charger's hoofs.

On the 15th of November, 1638, after the pre-appointed 110 days of march and 86 days of halt, the Ottoman standards appeared before Baghdad, and the last siege of this great city commenced. The fortifications were strong; the garrison amounted to thirty thousand men, twelve hundred of whom were regularly trained musketeers; and the Persian governor, Bektish Khan, was an officer of proved ability and bravery. A desperate resistance was expected and was encountered by the Turks; but their numbers, their discipline, and the resolute skill of their sultan prevailed over all. Murad gave his men an example of patient toil as well as active courage. He laboured in the trenches, and pointed the cannons with his own hands. And when, in one of the numerous sorties made by the garrison, a Persian soldier, of gigantic size and strength, challenged the best and boldest Turk to single combat, Murad stood forth in person, and after a long and doubtful conflict clove his foe from skull to chin with a sabre stroke.

On the 22nd of December the Turkish artillery had made a breach of eight hundred yards, along which the defences were so completely levelled that, in the words of an Ottoman writer, "a blind man might have galloped over them with loose bridle without his horse stumbling." The ditch had been heaped up with fascines, and the Turks rushed forward to an assault, which was for two days baffled by the number and valour of the besieged. On the evening of the second day Murad bitterly reproached his grand vizir, Tayar Muhammed Pasha, for the repulse of the troops, and accused him of want of courage. The vizir replied, "Would to God, my padisha, that it were half as easy to insure for thee the winning of Baghdad as it will be for me to lay down my life in the breach to-morrow in thy service." On the third day (Christmas eve, 1638) Tayar Muhammed led the forlorn hope in person, and was shot dead through the throat by a volley from the Persian musketeers.

But the Turks poured on with unremitting impetuosity, and at length the city was carried. Part of the garrison, which had retired to some inner defences, asked for quarter, which was at first granted; but a conflict having accidentally recommenced in the streets between some Persian musketeers and a Turkish detachment, Murad ordered a general slaughter of the Persians, and after a whole day of butchery scarcely three hundred out of the garrison, which had originally consisted of thirty thousand men, were left alive. A few days afterwards Murad was exasperated by the accidental or designed explosion of a powder magazine, by which eight hundred janissaries were killed and wounded; and he commanded a massacre of the inhabitants of the city, in which thirty thousand are computed by the Ottoman historian to have perished. In February Murad commenced his homeward march, after having repaired the city walls, and left one of his best generals with twelve thousand troops to occupy Baghdad, which has never since been wrested from the Turks.

The sultan reached Constantinople on the 10th of June, 1639, and made a triumphal entry into his capital; which is memorable not only on account of its splendour and of the importance of the conquest which it celebrated, but because it was then that Constantinople beheld for the last time the once familiar spectacle of the return of her monarch victorious from a campaign which he had conducted in person. The Ottoman writer who witnessed and described the scene says that the sultan "repaired to his palace with splendour and magnificence which no tongue can tell and no pen adequately illustrate. The balconies and roofs of the houses were everywhere thronged with people, who exclaimed with enthusiasm, 'The blessing of God be on thee, O conqueror! Welcome, Murad! May thy victories be fortunate!' The sultan was sheathed in resplendent armour of polished steel, with a leopard-skin over his shoulders, and wore in his turban a triple aigrette, placed obliquely, in the Persian mode. He rode a Nogaian charger, and was followed by seven led Arab horses with jewelled caparisons, while trumpets and cymbals resounded before him, and twenty-two Persian khans were led captives at the imperial stirrup. As he passed along, he looked proudly on each side, like a lion who has seized his prey, and saluted the people, who shouted *Barik-Allah!* and threw themselves on the ground. All the vessels of war fired constant salutes, so that the sea seemed in a blaze; and seven days and nights were devoted to constant rejoicings."

A peace with Persia, on the basis of that which Suleiman the Great had granted in 1555, was the speedy result of Murad's victories (September 15th, 1639). Erivan was restored by the Porte; but the possession of Baghdad and the adjacent territory by the Ottomans was solemnly sanctioned and confirmed. Eighty years passed away before Turkey was again obliged to struggle against her old and obstinate enemy on the line of the Euphrates. For this long cessation of exhausting hostilities, and this enduring acknowledgment of superiority by Persia, Turkey owes a deep debt of gratitude to the memory of Murad IV.

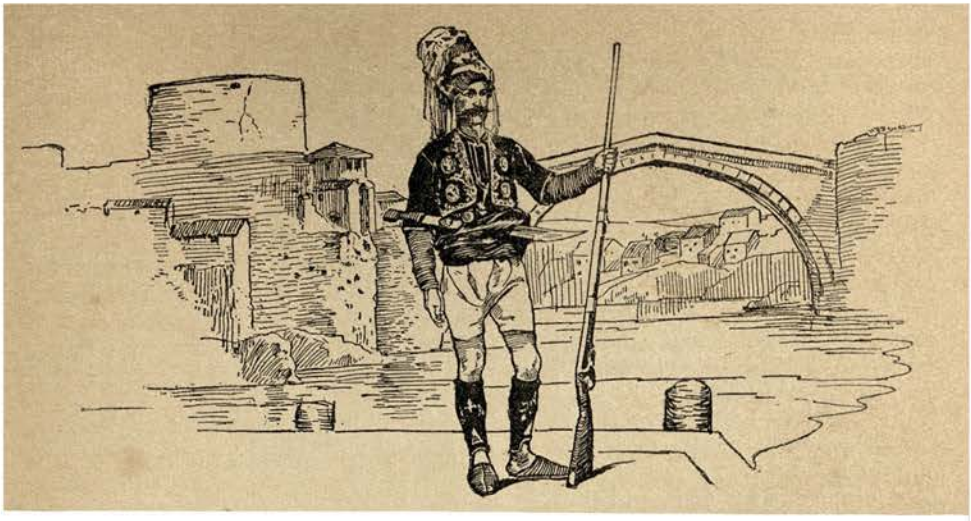
Last Years of Murad

Murad died at the age of twenty-eight, on the 9th of February, 1640. In the interval between his return from Baghdad and his last illness, he had endeavoured to restore the fallen naval power of his empire, he had quelled the spirit of insurrection that had been rife in Albania and the neighbouring districts during his absence in Asia, and he was believed to be preparing for a war with Venice. A fever, aggravated by his habits of intemperance and by his superstitious alarm at an eclipse of the sun, proved fatal to him after an illness of fifteen days.

One of his last acts was to command the execution of his sole surviving brother, Ibrahim. It may be doubted whether this mark of "the ruling spirit strong in death" was caused by the delirium of fever, or from a desire that his favourite the Silihdar Pasha should succeed to the throne on the extinction of the race of Osman, or whether Murad IV wished for the gloomy satisfaction of knowing that his house and dynasty would descend to the grave with him. The sultana validi preserved Ibrahim's life, and used the pious fraud of a false message to the sultan that his command had been fulfilled. Murad, then almost in the pangs of death, "grinned horrible a ghastly smile" in the belief that his brother was slain, and tried to rise from his bed to behold the supposed dead body. His attendants, who trembled for their own lives should the deception be detected, forcibly held him back on the couch. The

imam, who had been waiting in an adjoining room, but had hitherto feared to approach the terrible dying man, was now brought forward by the pages, and whilst the priest commenced his words of prayer, the *effera vis animi* of Murad IV departed from the world.[b]

The reign of the dissolute and profligate Ibrahim was insignificant in its results, with the exception of some advantages which he gained in a war with Venice. In 1648 a conspiracy of janissaries and ulemas dethroned and murdered him. Muhammed IV succeeded him, at the age of seven years. Intrigues in the palace and rebellions in the army were of constant occurrence. The government was in the hands of women and eunuchs, who ruled as they pleased. Never was the Ottoman court so corrupt, or in such a state of anarchy and depravity. Almost every month there was a new vizir, who was deprived of his office, and often of his life, after a few days of administration; the sea-coasts were pillaged by the Cossacks, and the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos threw off the Turkish yoke. Such was the condition of affairs when a man appeared as grand vizir whose profound sagacity and rare force of character for a time arrested the menaced ruin of the empire. This was the celebrated Muhammed Köprili.[c] With him began a short period of revival, which makes a break in the monotonous history of decline and disaster, and hence may conveniently be regarded as the beginning of a new section.[a]



CHAPTER IV

REVIVAL FOLLOWED BY RAPID DECLINE

[1656–1807 A.D.]

MUHAMMED KÖPRILI

THE court astronomer at Constantinople, on September 15th, 1656, determined that the most favourable time for the investiture of Muhammed Köprili with the grand vizirate was the hour of the midday prayer, at the instant when the cry of "God is great" resounds from the heights of the minarets.

According to a prescribed rule of Islam, the noontide prayer is repeated not at the exact moment when the sun is on the meridian, but a few seconds afterwards; because the tradition of the prophets teaches that, at the astronomical noon, the devil is wont to take the sun between his two horns, so that he may wear it as the crown of the world's dominion; and the fiend then rears himself as lord of the earth, but he lets the sun go directly he hears the words "God is great" repeated on high in the summons of the true believers to prayer. "Thus," says the Turkish historian, "the demons of cruelty, debauchery, and sedition, who had reached the meridian in the reigns of Murad and Ibrahim, and during the minority of Muhammed, were obliged to yield up their crown of domination when the voice was heard that proclaimed Köprili grand vizir of the empire."

Muhammed Köprili was the grandson of an Albanian, who had migrated to Asia Minor and settled in the town of Köpri. The ruler of the councils of the Ottoman Empire had been, in early youth, a kitchen-boy, from which situation he rose to that of a cook. After twenty-five years of service he became the steward of the grand vizir Khosru; and under Khosru's successor he was made master of the horse. That successor favoured Köprili, as being

a native of the same province as himself; and by his influence Köprili was made governor of Damascus, Tripoli, and Jerusalem, and one of the vizirs of state. Afterwards he accepted the inferior post of sandjak bey of Köstendil in Albania, where he led an armed force against some of the numerous insurgents of that region, but was defeated and taken prisoner. After he was redeemed from captivity he retired to his native town, but was persuaded by a pasha, called Muhammed with the Wry Neck, to follow him to Constantinople. His new patron became grand vizir, but soon began to regard Köprili as a dangerous rival for court favour. It does not, however, appear that Köprili used any unfair intrigues to obtain the grand vizirate.

Friends who knew the firmness of his character, his activity, and his keen common sense recommended him to the sultana validi as a man who might possibly restore some degree of tranquillity to the suffering empire; and the grand vizirate was offered to Köprili, then in the seventieth year of his age. He refused to accept it save upon certain conditions. He required that all his measures should be ratified without examination or discussion; that he should have a free hand in the distribution of all offices and preferments and in dealing out rewards and punishments, without attending to recommendations from any quarter and without any responsibility; that he should have authority superior to all influence of great men or favourites; that exclusive confidence should be placed in him, and all accusations and insinuations against him should be instantly rejected. The sultana validi, on behalf of her son, swore solemnly that all these conditions should be fulfilled, and Muhammed Köprili became grand vizir of the Ottoman Empire.[b]

His investiture with power restored vigour to the government, and revived the drooping confidence of the people. Victory again returned to the Ottoman standards. Lesbos and Tenedos were reconquered, and a successful campaign was waged in Transylvania. The two fortresses on the Dardanelles were rebuilt, and all the important fortifications were placed in an efficient condition. This great minister exercised absolute control over the sultan; and when he terminated his career of vizir, after a service of five years, the treasury, exhausted by the prodigality of preceding reigns, was again replenished. His cruelty caused the death of more than thirty thousand persons. As a dying counsel to the sultan, he warned him to distrust the influence of women; never to choose too rich a minister; to augment, by every means, the revenues of the state; not to suffer the troops to grow effeminate by too long repose, and to lead, himself, an active life. The sultan, upon his advice, intrusted the seals of state to his son, Ahmed Köprili.[c]

AHMED KÖPRILI

Sultan Muhammed IV was now advancing towards manhood, but he was of far too weak a character to govern for himself. His great delight was the chase, and to this he devoted all his energies and all his time. Fortunately for his empire, he placed the most implicit confidence in Ahmed Köprili, the new vizir, and maintained his favourite minister in power against all the numerous intrigues that were directed against him. Ahmed Köprili was the real ruler of Turkey from 1661 to his death in 1676; and he is justly eulogised both by Ottoman and Christian historians as the greatest statesman of his country. He was only twenty-six years of age when he was called on to govern the empire; but his naturally high abilities had been improved by the best education that the muderris of Constantinople could supply, and he

had learned practical statesmanship as a provincial governor and general during the ministry of his father. Ahmed Köprili could be as stern as his sire, when duty to the state required severity, and he was equally tenacious in not permitting the least encroachment on his authority. But he was usually humane and generous; and his most earnest endeavours were directed to mitigate the burdens of imperial taxation, and to protect the people from the feudal exactions of the spahis, and from the arbitrary violence of the pashas and other local functionaries.

Like his father, Ahmed Köprili commenced his administration by securing himself against any cabals of the ulema; and he gave at the same time a noble rebuke to the chief of that order, who spoke in the divan against the memory of the late grand vizir. Ahmed Köprili said to him, "Mufti, if my father sentenced men to death, he did so by the sanction of thy fetva." The mufti answered, "If I gave him my fetva, it was because I feared lest I should myself suffer under his cruelty." "Effendi," rejoined the grand vizir, "is it for thee, who art a teacher of the law of the prophet, to fear God less than his creature?" The mufti was silent. In a few days afterwards he was deposed and banished to Rhodes, and his important station given to Sanizadi, a friend on whom Ahmed Köprili could rely.

It was in the civil administration of the Turkish Empire that the genius of Ahmed Köprili found its best field of exercise; but he was soon called on to fulfil the military duties of the grand vizirate, and to head the Ottoman armies in the war with Austria, which broke out in 1663. This, like most of the other wars between the two empires, originated in the troubles and dissensions which were chronic for a century and a half in Hungary and Transylvania. After several conflicts of minor importance during 1661 and 1662 between the respective partisans of Austria and the Porte in these provinces, who were aided against each other by the neighbouring pashas and commandants, an Ottoman army was collected by the grand vizir on a scale of grandeur worthy of the victorious days of Suleiman Kanuni; and Köprili resolved not only to complete the ascendency of the Turks in Hungary and Transylvania, but to crush entirely and finally the power of Austria. Muhammed IV marched with his troops from Constantinople to Adrianople; but there he remained behind to resume his favourite hunting while his grand vizir led the army against the enemy. The sultan placed the sacred standard of the prophet in Köprili's hands at parting; and on the 8th of June, 1663, that formidable ensign of Turkish war was displayed at Belgrade. Köprili had under his command a hundred and twenty-one thousand men, a hundred and twenty-three field pieces, twelve heavy battering cannons, sixty thousand camels, and ten thousand mules.[b]

THE BATTLE OF ST. GOTTHARD; THE TREATY OF VASVAR (1664 A.D.)

Repelling the peaceful overtures of the Venetians and of the emperor, Köprili Ahmed crossed the Danube at Gran, and laid siege to Neuhäusel (August 17th, 1663); six weeks after, this place, the bulwark of Hungary, considered till then impregnable, capitulated. Hungary, Moravia, and Silesia were pitilessly ravaged, and saw eighty thousand of their inhabitants carried off prisoners. Emperor Leopold was reduced to his own forces; the pope Alexander VII, being wholly devoted to the house of Austria, conceived the project of a league of the Christian princes against the Turks; Louis XIV offered thirty thousand men of his German allies. But the emperor took

offence at this show of force, and on his advice the pope declined the offer. In the mean while Köprili Ahmed continued to advance; the pope and the emperor again demanded help of France. Finally, after negotiations that were somewhat thorny, Louis XIV promised to send six thousand French and twenty-four thousand men from the confederation of the Rhine, under the command of the count of Coligny. This army was joined by all the young nobility of France, who disputed with each other the honour of serving as volunteers, and formed a picked corps under the orders of the duke de la Feuillade.

The count of Strozzi had obtained some slight successes, but he was killed in a skirmish on the bank of the Mur and the celebrated Montecuculi took the command-in-chief. Köprili, after having taken Serinwar and Little-Kormorn, tried to pass the Raab by main force, but he was repulsed by Montecuculi and Coligny after a desperate combat; a fresh attempt likewise came to naught. Finally on July 31st, 1664, the grand vizir decided to cross the river in sight of the Austrians and to risk a battle. The Ottoman army, encamped near the abbey of St. Gotthard, made an impetuous attack; the Raab was crossed by a ford, and the Ottomans broke through the centre of the Christian army; Coligny, however, restored the balance, and the valour of his troops decided the victory.

It is said that when Köprili saw the French knights marching out, covered with ribbons and silk, and with blond wigs, he exclaimed, "Who are those girls?" He was soon undeceived; in an instant the janissaries were routed by the *furia francese*. Those who escaped the *mêlée* repeated for a long time afterwards in their military exercises the cries of *"Allons allons! tue! tue!"* uttered by those girls whom the Ottoman historians call men of iron. Ten days after the battle of St. Gotthard, Köprili Ahmed signed with Austria the Treaty of Vasvar (1664). Transylvania was to be evacuated by the two parties; Apaffi was recognised prince of this country under the suzerainty of the Porte. Of the seven Hungarian comitates between Transylvania and the Theiss three were to belong to the emperor, and the other four, taken away from Rakoczy, remained Ottoman, as well as Novigrad and Neuhäusel.[d]

CANDIA AND CRETE

At the end of the year 1666 the grand vizir took the command of the siege of Candia. The whole naval force of Venice, and numerous bands of French and Italian volunteers, attempted to force the grand vizir to raise the siege; but the skill of the Italian engineers, the valour of the French nobles, and the determined perseverance of Morosini were vain against the strict discipline and steady valour of the Ottoman troops. The works of the besiegers were pushed forward by the labours of a numerous body of Greek pioneers, and the fire of the powerful batteries at last rendered the place untenable. At this crisis Morosini proved himself a daring statesman and a sincere patriot. When he found that he must surrender the city, he resolved to make his capitulation the means of purchasing peace for the republic.

The step was a bold one, for, though the senate was convinced of the necessity of concluding a treaty as soon as possible, the extreme jealousy of the Venetian government made it dangerous for Morosini to venture on concluding a treaty without express authority. Morosini, however, seeing the peril to which his country would be exposed, if the favourable moment which

now presented itself for concluding a peace was lost, assumed all the responsibility of the act and signed the treaty. Its conditions were ratified by the senate, but the patriotic general was accused of high treason on his return to Venice. He was honourably acquitted, but remained for many years unemployed. On the 27th of September, 1669, Ahmed Köprili received the keys of Candia, and the republic of Venice resigned all right to the island of Crete, but retained possession of the three insular fortresses of Karabusa, Suda, and Spinalonga, with their valuable ports. No fortress is said to have cost so much blood and treasure, both to the besiegers and the defenders, as Candia; yet the Greeks, in whose territory it was situated, and who could have furnished an army from the inhabitants of Crete sufficiently numerous to have decided the issue of the contest, were the people on the shores of the Mediterranean who took least part in this memorable war: so utterly destitute of all national feeling was the Hellenic race at this period.[e]

THE COSSACKS; THE POLISH CAMPAIGN OF 1672 A.D.

The next scene of warlike operations on which Ahmed Köprili entered deserves especial attention, because it brings us to the rival claims of Poland, Russia, and Turkey to dominion over the Cossacks, and is intimately connected with the long and still enduring chain of hostilities between the Russian and Turkish empires. The Cossacks of the Don had become subjects of Ivan the Terrible, czar of Muscovy, in 1549; but the Cossacks of the Dnieper and the Ukraine were long independent, and their first connection was with Poland. The Poles affected to consider them as vassals, but the wisest Polish rulers were cautious in the amount of authority which they attempted to exercise over these bold and hardy tribes. The imperious tyranny of other less prudent sovereigns of Poland was met by fierce opposition on the part of the Cossacks, who called in their former constant enemies, the Tatars, to aid them against their new Polish oppressors. Deserted, after some years of warfare, by the Tatars, the Cossacks of the Ukraine appealed to the Russian czar Alexis. Many years of chequered and sanguinary hostilities followed, and at last the Cossack territory was nominally divided between Russia and Poland in 1667.

But the Cossacks who dwelt near the mouths of the rivers Bug and Dnieper, and who were called the Zaporogian Cossacks, refused to be included in the Polish dominions by virtue of that arrangement, and placed themselves under the protection of the czar. In 1670 the Cossacks of that part of the Ukraine which had been left under Poland petitioned the Polish diet for certain privileges, which were refused; and a Polish army under Sobieski was sent into the Ukraine to coerce the Cossack malcontents. The Cossacks, under their hetman Dorescensko, resisted bravely; but at last they determined to seek the protection of the Sublime Porte; and Dorescensko, in 1672, presented himself at Constantinople, and received a banner with two horsetails, as sandjak bey of the Ukraine, which was immediately enrolled among the Ottoman provinces. At the same time the khan of the Crimea was ordered to support the Cossacks, and six thousand Turkish troops were marched to the Ukraine. The Poles protested loudly against these measures. The czar added his remonstrances, and threatened to join Poland in a war against Turkey. The grand vizir haughtily replied that such threats were empty words and out of place, and that the Porte would preserve its determination with regard to Poland.

When the Polish ambassador reproached the Turks with injustice in aiding the revolted subjects of Poland, Köprili replied in a remarkable letter, written with his own hand, in which he states that "the Cossacks, a free people, placed themselves under the Poles, but being unable to endure Polish oppression any longer, they have sought protection elsewhere, and they are now under the Turkish banner and the horsetails. If the inhabitants of an oppressed country, in order to obtain deliverance, implore the aid of a mighty emperor, is it prudent to pursue them in such an asylum? When the most mighty and most glorious of all emperors is seen to deliver from their enemies and to succour those who are oppressed, and who ask him for protection, a wise man will know on which side the blame of breaking peace ought to rest. If, in order to quench the fire of discord, negotiation is wished for, so let it be. But if the solution of differences is referred to that keen and decisive judge called the Sword, the issue of the strife must be pronounced by the God who hath poised upon nothing heaven and earth, and by whose aid Islam has for a thousand years triumphed over its foes."

This avowal of the principle of intervention in behalf of an oppressed people was a bold measure for the prime minister of a nation like the Turkish, which kept so many other nations in severe bondage; it was especially bold in Köprili, who at that very time was directing the construction of fortresses in the Morea to curb the reviving spirit of independence of the Greeks.

In the Polish campaign of 1672, Sultan Muhammed IV was persuaded to accompany the powerful army which Köprili led to the siege of the important city of Kamenets-Podolski, in Podolia. Kamenets-Podolski fell after nine days' siege (August 26th, 1672), and Lemberg shared its fate on the 9th of September. The imbecile king of Poland, Michael, then made the Peace of Buczacz with the Turks, by which Poland was to cede Podolia and the Ukraine, and pay an annual tribute to the Porte of 220,000 ducats. The sultan returned in triumph to Adrianople; but the congratulations which were lavished on him as conqueror of the Poles were premature. Sobieski and the other chiefs of the Polish nobility determined to break the treaty which their king had made. They refused to pay the stipulated tribute; and in 1673 the grand vizir made preparations for renewing the war upon the Poles, and also for attacking the czar of Russia, from whom they had received assistance.

The Turks marched again into Podolia; but on the 11th of November, 1673, Sobieski, who now led the Poles, surprised the Turkish camp near Khoczim, and routed Köprili with immense slaughter. The princes of Wallachia and Moldavia had deserted from the Turkish to the Polish side with all their contingents—a transfer of strength which aided materially in obtaining Sobieski's victory. But Köprili's administrative skill had so reinvigorated the resources of Turkey that she readily sent fresh forces into the Ukraine in the following year. Sobieski with his Poles and the Russians (who now took an active part in the war) had the advantage in the campaign of 1674; and in 1675 Sobieski gained one of the most brilliant victories of the age over the Turks at Lemberg. But the superior strength and steadiness of the Porte and Köprili in maintaining the war against the discordant government of Poland were felt year after year; and in 1676 the Turkish commander in Podolia, Ibrahim the Devil, made himself completely master of Podolia, and attacked Galicia. Sobieski (who was now king of Poland) fought gallantly with far inferior forces against Ibrahim at Zurawno, but was glad to conclude a peace (October 27th, 1676) by which the Turks were to retain Kamenets-Podolski and Podolia, and by which the Ukraine, with the exception of a few specified places, was to be under the sovereignty of the sultan.

DEATH OF AHMED KÖPRILI

Three days after the Peace of Zurawno Ahmed Köprili died. Though his defeats at St. Gotthard and Khoczim had fairly given rise to an opinion among the Ottoman ranks that their vizir was not born to be a general, his military services to the empire, for which he won Candia, Neuhäusel, and Kamenets-Podolski, were considerable; and no minister ever did more than he accomplished in repressing insurrection and disorder, in maintaining justice and good government, and in restoring the financial and military strength of his country. He did all this without oppression or cruelty. He protected all ranks of the sultan's subjects; he was a liberal patron of literature and art; he was a warm friend, and a not implacable enemy; he was honourably true to his plighted word towards friend or foe, towards small or great; and there is far less than the usual amount of oriental exaggeration in the praises which the Turkish historians bestow upon him, as "the light and splendour of the nation; the conservator and governor of good laws; the vicar of the shadow of God; the thrice-learned and all-accomplished grand vizir."

THE SECOND SIEGE OF VIENNA (1683 A.D.)

The value of such a minister as Ahmed Köprili to Turkey was soon proved by the rapid deterioration in her fortunes under his successor in the vizirate, Kara Mustapha, or Black Mustapha—a man whose character was in every respect the opposite of Köprili's, and who to slender abilities united the wildest ambition and almost boundless presumption. He was son-in-law to the sultan, and by the influence which that marriage gave him he obtained the high office which he abused to the ruin of his master and the deep disaster of his country. Kara Mustapha's favourite project was a new war against Austria, in which he hoped to capture Vienna, and to make himself the nominal viceroy but real sovereign of ample provinces between the Danube and the Rhine.[b]

Since 1665 the Austrian domination had been odious to the Hungarians. The religious fanaticism of Leopold, who had put to death a number of people of high birth because they were suspected of leaning towards Protestantism; the violence and depredations of the German generals and administrators, who treated Hungary like a conquered country, brought on a general revolt. The son of one of the emperor's victims, the count Emeric Tekeli, escaped from prison and gave the signal for revolt (1676). His device, *Pro Deo et patria*, became that of the Hungarians, who defeated the Austrians everywhere. The emperor then perceived the necessity for reform, and the diet of Oldenburg gave satisfaction to the complaints of Hungary (1681). This adroit policy detached most of the magnates from the party of Tekeli, who then implored the aid of the sultan, offering in exchange to recognise the suzerainty of the Porte. The armistice concluded between Austria and Turkey had not yet expired, but without stopping for this consideration the divan ordered the pasha of Buda to march to the aid of Tekeli, and Kara Mustapha invaded Hungary at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men (1683).

Intoxicated by rapid and easy successes, the grand vizir, in spite of the advice of Tekeli, of the pasha of Buda, and of his principal officers, resolved to lay siege to Vienna. Stahremberg, intrusted with the defence of the city,

had only ten thousand men in the garrison. To complete the defence five corps of bourgeois were formed, who shared in the military service of the place. At the signal of alarm given by the great bell of St. Stephen's, the bourgeois were to assemble near the Hofburg (emperor's palace); the students were to gather on the Freyung place and the merchants and employees on the new market-place. During sixty days forty mines and ten counter-mines exploded; the Turks delivered eighteen assaults and the besieged made twenty-four sorties.

Most of the outworks had fallen into the hands of the besiegers; the ramparts were giving way on all sides. Stahremberg wrote to the duke of Lorraine: "There is not a moment to lose, monseigneur, not a moment." If Kara Mustapha had ordered a general attack it is probable that he would have succeeded, but avarice prevented him from profiting by the ardour of his troops. Convinced that Vienna contained immense treasures, he could not make up his mind to abandon them to pillage, and hence he obstinately refused to give the signal for attack. The inaction of the grand vizir gave Sobieski time to arrive.

Leopold, in his extremity, had solicited help from Europe; the pope made an appeal to the piety of the king of France. It was in vain that Louis XIV intrigued throughout Europe to compel the isolation of the emperor. He tried to prevent Sobieski from helping the Austrians, showing him that his real enemies were Austria, Brandenburg, and his Russian majesty. All was useless; he was carried away by hatred of the infidels.

After having effected a junction with the duke of Lorraine, the electors of Saxony and Bavaria, Sobieski marched against the Ottomans. On September 12th, 1683, the Polish squadrons mounted the slopes of Calenberg, where the Osmanlis were intrenched. The impetuous valour of the Polish king decided the victory; at seven o'clock in the evening Vienna was completely delivered. The booty was immense; three hundred pieces of artillery, five thousand tents, the military chests, and all the flags except the sandjak sherif fell into the hands of the victors. Ten thousand Turks remained on the battle-field. Kara Mustapha, whose ambition had aspired to the empire of Germany and to the title Sultan—Kara Mustapha, aroused from his proud dream of power, rallied the fragments of his army on the Raab and fell back upon Buda. He crossed the Danube at Parkany after a sanguinary combat in which the Poles killed eight thousand of his men and took twelve hundred prisoners. Gran opened its gates to Sobieski at the first summons. Exasperated at these reverses, the grand vizir took revenge upon his officers for his own incapacity, thinking that he could drown in blood the accusing voices of that army which he had led to butchery and defeat. He could not escape his fate; his enemies at Constantinople obtained the fatal arrest, and Muhammed IV sent the grand chamberlain to Belgrade with the command to bring back the head of the incapable general.[d]

THE DEPOSITION OF MUHAMMED IV; HIS CHARACTER

The great destruction of the Turks before Vienna was rapturously hailed throughout Christendom as the announcement of the approaching downfall of the Mohammedan Empire in Europe. The Russians and the Venetians declared war against the Porte, and Turkey was now assailed on almost every point of her European frontiers. The new grand vizir Ibrahim strove hard to recruit the armies and supply the deficiency in the magazines which

the fatal campaign of his predecessor had occasioned. But city after city was now rent rapidly away from Islam by the exulting and advancing Christians. The imperialist armies, led by the duke of Lorraine, captured Gran, Neuhäusel, Buda, Szegedin, and nearly all the strong places, except Belgrade, which the Turks had held in Hungary. The Venetians were almost equally successful on the Dalmatian frontier; and the republic of St. Mark now landed its troops in Greece, under Morosini, who rapidly made himself master of Coron, Navarino, Nauplia, Corinth, Athens, and other chief cities of that important part of the Turkish Empire. In Poland the war was waged less vigorously; nor did the Turks yet relinquish their hold on Kamenets-Podolski. But a great defeat which the main Ottoman army sustained on the 12th of August, 1687, at Mohacs (on the very scene of Suleiman's ancient glory), excited the discontents of the soldiery into insurrection against the sultan, and on the 8th day of November in that year Muhammed IV was deposed, in the forty-sixth year of his age and thirty-eighth of his reign.

It had been the good fortune of this prince to have able grand vizirs during a considerable part of his reign; but he chose his ministers from female influence or personal favouritism, not from discernment of merit, as was proved when he intrusted power to Kara Mustapha, who did more to ruin the Ottoman Empire than any other individual that is mentioned in its history. Muhammed IV reigned without ruling. His mind was entirely absorbed by his infatuation for the chase; and the common people believed that he was under a curse, laid on him by his father, Sultan Ibrahim, who had been put to death when Muhammed was placed on the throne, and who was said to have prayed in his last moments that his son might lead the wandering life of a beast of prey. Though not personally cruel, Muhammed IV as soon as heirs were born to him sought anxiously to secure himself on the throne by the customary murder of his brothers. They were saved from him by the exertions of the sultana validi and his ministers; but he often resumed the unnatural design. His mother, the sultana validi Tarkhan, was determined at even the risk of her own life to shelter her two younger sons from being slaughtered for the further security of the elder; and she took at last the precaution of placing the two young princes in an inner room of the palace, which could only be reached by passing through her own apartments.

Even there one night the sultan himself entered with a dagger in his hand, and was gliding through to the chamber where his brothers lay. Two pages watched near the sultana validi; they dared not speak in the presence of the imperial man-slayer, but one of them touched her and awakened her. The mother sprang from sleep, and clinging round the sultan implored him to strike her dead before he raised his hand to shed his brothers' blood. Muhammed, accustomed to yield to the superior spirit of the validi, renounced for the time his scheme of fratricide, and retired to his apartment; but on the morrow he put to death the two slaves who had hindered him from effecting the murderous project which he wished to have accomplished, but which he wanted nerve to renew. Timidly vindictive, and selfishly rather than constitutionally cruel, Muhammed continued to long for the death of his brothers, though he hesitated to strike. And when he was at last deposed, to make room for his brother Suleiman on the throne, he may have regretted that his infirmity of purpose had spared the fatal rival whom an adherence to the old fratricidal canon of the house of Osman would have removed forever from his path.

In the reign of Muhammed IV another innovation on the ancient stern institutions of the empire was completed, which also was probably caused

as much by weakness as by humanity. It was in 1675, in the last year of the vizirate of Ahmed Köprili, that the final levy of three thousand boys for the recruiting of the Turkish army was made on the Christian population of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. The old system of filling the ranks of the janissaries exclusively with compulsory conscripts and converts from among the children of the rayahs had been less and less rigidly enforced since the time of Murad IV. Admission into the corps of janissaries now conferred many civil as well as military advantages, so that it was eagerly sought by men who were of Turkish origin and born to the Mohammedan faith.

The first measure of relaxation of the old rule was to treat those who were the children of janissaries as eligible candidates for enrolment. Other Mussulman volunteers were soon received, and the levies of the tribute of children from the Christians grew less frequent and less severe, though they were still occasionally resorted to in order to supply the thousands of pages who were required to people the vast chambers of the serai, and who were in case of emergency drafted into the army of the state. But ever since the year 1675 the rayahs of the empire have been entirely free from the terrible tax of flesh and blood by which the Ottoman military force was sustained during its early centuries of conquest. With this change in the constitution of the corps of janissaries, the numbers of that force were greatly increased; large bodies of them were now settled with their families in the chief cities of the empire, where they engaged in different trades and occupations. The exclusively monastic and martial character of the "new soldiery" of Hadji Bektash had long ago disappeared.

TWO RELIGIOUS IMPOSTORS

The contests between the Greeks and the Christians of the Latin Church in Jerusalem raged furiously during Muhammed IV's reign. But the Ottomans of that age watched with far stronger interest the agitation caused among the Jewish nation by the celebrated Sabbatai-zevi, who in 1666 came forward at Jerusalem and asserted that he was the Messiah. Under that title he sent circular letters to all the Jewish synagogues of the Ottoman Empire; and such was his dexterous audacity in imposition, so eagerly were the legends respecting his miraculous powers received, that thousands of his countrymen flocked together at his bidding not only from Constantinople, Smyrna, and other Turkish cities, but from Germany, Leghorn, Venice, and Amsterdam. Some of the rabbis opposed him; and the most violent tumults were raised at Jerusalem, Cairo, Smyrna, and other cities of the East, where Sabbatai proclaimed his pretended mission.

The Ottomans observed his progress with religious anxiety; not from any belief in his alleged character, but, on the contrary, from the fear that he was the *dedjal*, or antichrist, who, according to the Mohammedan creed, is to appear among mankind in the last days of the world. They believe also that the speedy advent of the day of judgment is to be announced by the reappearance on earth of the prophet Mahdi. And as at the same time at which Sabbatai came forward in Palestine another religious impostor arose in Kurdistan, who called himself the prophet Mahdi, and excited thousands of Kurds to follow him, the alarm of many orthodox Moslems at these combined signs of the end of the world was extreme. The vizir Ahmed Köprili, in order to check the troubles caused by Sabbatai, seized and imprisoned him; but his fanatic followers only saw in this the certain prelude to their

Messiah's triumph. They said that according to an ancient prophecy Messiah was to disappear for nine months, and was then to return mounted on a lioness, which he was to guide with a bridle made of seven-headed serpents, and then he was to be lord of the world. But one of Sabbatai's countrymen, who was jealous of his influence, denounced him before the sultan's ministers as endeavouring to raise a revolt among the people.

Sabbatai was brought before the sultan for examination, and Muhammed then made him the characteristic offer of an opportunity of proving by a miracle his right to be acknowledged the Messiah. One of the sultan's best archers was called forward, and Sabbatai was invited to stand steady as a mark for the arrows, which of course could do no harm to a personage gifted with miraculous powers; only the sultan wished to see them bound back from off his body. At these words, and the sight of the bended bow, Sabbatai's courage failed him. He fell prostrate, and owned that he was nothing but a poor rabbi, and no whit different from other men. The sultan then offered to allow him to embrace the Mohammedan faith, and so make some amends for the scandal which he had caused, and for the crime of high treason which he had committed by assuming the title of Messiah of Palestine, which was one of the sandjaks of the Sublime Porte. Sabbatai eagerly accepted the proposal. He became a Moslem, and instead of being worshipped as Messiah or dreaded as antichrist, he filled for ten years the respectable but prosaic station of a door-keeper in the sultan's palace. He, however, still made himself conspicuous by his religious zeal; but that zeal was now directed to winning converts from Judaism to Mohammedanism, in which he was singularly successful. He was ultimately banished to the Morea, where he died.

The Kurdish spiritual pretender, the self-styled Mahdi, was captured and sent before the sultan a few months after Sabbatai had owned his imposture in the royal presence. The young Kurd abandoned the character of "precursor of the last judgment" as soon as he was led before his sovereign. He answered his interrogators with sense and spirit, and his life also was spared. The Jewish antichrist was serving the sultan as a door-keeper, and the Kurdish Madhi was made his fellow-servant, in the capacity of one of the pages of the treasure-chamber of the palace.

Although his immoderate fondness for hunting made Muhammed IV habitually neglect the duties of government, he was never indifferent to literary pursuits, and he showed a hereditary fondness for the society of learned men. His patronage of the chase and his patronage of letters were sometimes strangely blended. He was liberal in his encouragement of historical writers, especially of such as professed to record the current history of his own reign. He loved to see them at his court; he corrected their works with his own pen; but he expected that each royal hunting should be chronicled by them with sportsmanlike minuteness, and that the death of each wild beast which was slain by the sultan's hand should be portrayed with poetic fervour. A despotic patron is dangerous to the life of an author, as well as to the vitality of his works. The Turkish historian Abdi was one whom Sultan Muhammed IV delighted to honour. The sultan kept him always near his person, and charged him with the special duty of writing the annals of his reign. One evening Muhammed asked of him, "What hast thou written to-day?" Abdi incautiously answered that nothing remarkable to write about had happened that day. The sultan darted a hunting-spear at the unobservant companion of royalty, wounded him sharply, and exclaimed, "Now thou hast something to write about."

THE REIGN OF SULEIMAN II

Suleiman II, when raised to the throne of the Ottoman Empire in 1687, had lived for forty-five years in compulsory seclusion, and in almost daily peril of death. Yet, as sovereign, he showed more capacity and courage than the brother whom he succeeded; and perhaps if he had been made sultan at an earlier period Turkey might have escaped that shipwreck of her state which came on her after the death of her great minister Ahmed Köprili, through the weakness of Sultan Muhammed IV and the misconduct of his favourite vizir Kara Mustapha, the originator of the fatal march upon Vienna.

Suleiman despised the idle sports and debasing sensuality of his predecessors, and earnestly devoted himself to the task of reorganising the military power of his empire, and of stemming, if possible, the progress of defeat and disaster. But he was unable to control the excesses of the mutinous janissaries, who, throughout the winter which followed Suleiman's accession, filled Constantinople with riot and slaughter, and compelled the appointment and displacement of ministers according to their lawless will. At length this savage soldiery resolved to pillage the palaces of the grand vizir and the other chief dignitaries. The vizir, Siavush Pasha, defended his house bravely against the brigands, who were joined by the worst rabble of the capital, Jewish and Christian, as well as Mohammedan. On the second day of the insurrection they forced the gate of the house, and rushed in, slaying and spoiling all that they met with. Siavush Pasha, with a few of his surviving servants round him, made a last attempt to defend the entrance to the harem, that sanctuary of Moslems, which the rebels now assailed, regardless alike of every restraint of law, of creed, of national and of private honour. More than a hundred of the wretches were slain before the resistance of the brave man of the house was overcome, and Siavush fell dead on the threshold of his harem, fighting bravely to the last gasp.

The worst outrages and abominations were now practised by the rebels; and the sister of the slain vizir, and his wife (the daughter of Muhammed Köprili), were cruelly mutilated and dragged naked through the streets of Constantinople. The horror and indignation which these atrocities inspired, and the instinct of self-preservation, roused the mass of the inhabitants to resist the brigands, who were proceeding to the sack of other mansions, and to the plunder of the shops and bazaars. The chief preacher of the mosque of the Great Suleiman, and other members of the ulema, exerted themselves with energy and success to animate the well-affected citizens, and to raise a feeling of shame among the ranks of the janissaries, many of whom had been led away by temporary excitement and the evil example of the ruffians who had joined them from out of the very dregs of the populace. The sacred standard of the prophet was displayed over the centre gate of the sultan's palace, and the true believers hastened to rally round the holy symbol of loyalty to their prophet's vicar on earth. The chief pillagers and assassins in the late riot were seized and executed. The mufti and three other principal ulemas, who had shown a disposition to obey the mutinous janissaries, were deposed, and men of more integrity and spirit were appointed in their places. Some degree of order was thus restored to the capital; but the spirit of insubordination and violence was ever ready to break out, and the provinces were convulsed with revolt and tumult. It was not until the end of June, 1688, that the sultan was able to complete the equipment of an army, which then marched towards the Hungarian frontier.

The Austrians and their allies had profited vigorously by the disorders of the Turkish state, and had continued to deal blow after blow with fatal effect. Three generals of the highest military renown, Charles of Lorraine, Louis of Baden, and Prince Eugene, now directed the imperialist armies against the discouraged and discordant Ottomans. The important city of Erlau in Hungary surrendered on the 14th of December, 1687, and came again into the dominion of its ancient rulers, after having been for a century under Mohammedan sway. Gradiska, on the Bosnian frontier, was captured by Prince Louis of Baden. Stuhlweissenburg was invested; and, as the Turks had abandoned Illock and Peterwardein, the route to Belgrade lay open to the Austrian armies. A Turkish general named Yegen Osman was ordered to protect Belgrade; but he was cowardly or treacherous, and, as the imperialists advanced, he retreated from Belgrade, after setting fire to the city. The Austrian troops, following close upon the retiring Turks, extinguished the flames, and laid siege to the citadel, which surrendered after a bombardment of twenty-one days, on the 20th of August, 1688. Stuhlweissenburg was stormed on the 6th of September; and Yegen Osman fired Semendria, and abandoned it to the advancing Christians. Prince Louis destroyed a Turkish army in Bosnia, and city after city yielded to the various Austrian generals who commanded in that province and in Transylvania, and to the Venetian leaders in Dalmatia.

COSTUME OF THE WIFE OF SULEIMAN II

The campaign of the next year in these regions was almost equally disastrous to Turkey. The sultan announced his intention of leading the Ottoman armies in person, and proceeded as far as the city of Sofia. Part of the Turkish forces were posted in advance at the city of Nish, and were attacked there and utterly defeated by the imperialists under Prince Louis of Baden. Nish, evacuated by the Turks, was occupied by the conquerors. On the tidings of this defeat reaching the Turkish headquarters at Sofia, the sultan, in alarm, retreated within the mountain range of the Balkan to the city of Philippopolis. Before the close of the year 1689 Peterwardein and Temesvar were all that the Ottomans retained of their late extensive provinces north of the Danube; while even to the south of that river the best portions of Bosnia and Servia were occupied by the victorious Austrians.

In the southern parts of European Turkey the fortune of the war was equally unfavourable to Sultan Suleiman. Morosini, one of the greatest generals that the republic of St. Mark ever produced, completed the conquest of the Morea, which he divided into four Venetian provinces. It was only against the Poles and the Russians that the Turks and their Tatar allies obtained any advantages. A large Tatar force from the Crimea, led by Ahmed Girai, overran part of Poland in 1688, reinforced the Tatar garrison in Kamenets-Podolski,

and defeated the Poles on the Sereth. The Russian general Galitzin attempted to invade the Crimea. He obtained some advantages over part of the Tatar forces, but when he advanced towards the isthmus of Perekop, in the autumn of 1688, he found that the retreating Tatars had set fire to the dry grass of the steppes, and reduced the country to a desert, from which he was obliged to retire. And in 1689, when the Russians again advanced to the isthmus, they were completely defeated by the Ottoman troops that had taken post there to guard the Crimea.

But these gleams of success could not dissipate the terror which the disasters in Hungary and Greece had spread among the Turkish nation. Only seven years had passed away since their magnificent host, under the fatal guidance of Kara Mustapha, had marched forth across the then far-extended north-western frontier, with the proud boast that it would sack Vienna and blot out Austria from among the kingdoms of the earth. Now the Austrians, and their confederates, the lately despised Venetians, the conquered of Candia, held victorious possession of half the European empire of the house of Osman. For the first time since the days of Hunyady, the Balkan was menaced by Christian invaders; and at sea the Turkish flag, the flag of Khair-ad-din, Piali, and Kilidj Ali, was now swept from the Mediterranean. Seldom had there been a war in which the effect that can be produced on the destinies of nations by the appearance or the absence of individual great men was more signally proved. On the Christian side, Sobieski, Eugene, Louis of Baden, the prince of Lorraine, and Morosini had commanded fortune; while among the Turks no single man of mark had either headed armies or directed councils. Yet the Ottoman nation was not exhausted of brave and able spirits, and at length adversity cleared the path of dignity for merit.

In November of 1689 the sultan convened an extraordinary divan at Adrianople, and besought his councillors to advise him as to what hands he should intrust with the management of the state. In the hour of extreme peril the jealous spirit of intrigue and self-advancement was silent; and all around Suleiman II advised him to send for Köprili Zade Mustapha, brother of the great Ahmed Köprili, and to give the seals of office to him as grand vizir of the empire.

KÖPRILI ZADE MUSTAPHA

Köprili Zade Mustapha at the time when he assumed this high dignity was fifty-two years of age. He had been trained in statesmanship during the vizirates of his father and brother, Muhammed and Ahmed Köprili; and it was expected and hoped, on the death of Ahmed in 1676, that Sultan Muhammed IV would place the seals in the hands of Köprili Zade. Unhappily for the Ottoman nation, that sultan's partiality for his own son-in-law prevailed; nor was it until after thirteen years of misgovernment and calamity had nearly destroyed the empire that the third Köprili succeeded his father and brother as director of the councils and leader of the armies of Turkey.

His authority was greatly increased by the deserved reputation which he enjoyed of being a strict observer of the Mohammedan law, and an uncompromising enemy to profligacy and corruption. After having paid homage to the sultan on his appointment, he summoned to the divan all the great dignitaries of the empire, and addressed them on the state of the country. He reminded them in severe terms of their duties as Moslems, of their sins, and he told them that they were now undergoing the deserved chastisement of God.

But the highest merit of Köprili Zade Mustapha is that he had the wisdom to recognise the necessity of the Sublime Porte's strengthening itself by winning the loyal affections of its Christian subjects. Although he was so earnest a believer in Islam and so exemplary in his obedience to its precepts that he was venerated by his contemporaries as a saint, he did not suffer bigotry to blind him to the fact that cruelty to the rayahs must hasten the downfall of the Ottoman Empire. He saw that the Christian invaders of Turkey found everywhere sympathy and recruits among the populations of the land. The Christian Albanians were enrolling themselves under the banner of Venice; the Servians were rising to aid the emperor of Austria; and in Greece the victorious progress of Morosini had been aided by the readiness with which the village municipalities and the mountain tribes placed themselves under his authority, and by the strenuous support which bands of Christian volunteers gave him in beleaguering the fortresses held by the Turks.

Köprili Zade was not content with judging correctly; he took prompt practical measures to check the evils which he was swift to discern. One of the first acts of his vizirate was to despatch the most explicit and imperative orders to all the pashas that no Turkish officer should exercise or permit any kind of oppression towards the rayahs, and that no payment should be required of them except the capitation tax. For the purposes of this tax Köprili divided the rayahs into three classes, according to their incomes. The first or wealthiest paid four ducats, the middle class two ducats, and the lowest one ducat a head. This institution was called the *nizami djidid* (the "new order"), a denomination which we shall see applied to more recent reforms. Köprili also took the bold and sagacious step of making a Mainote Greek bey of Maina. This was Liberius Geratschari, who had passed seven years as a Turkish galley-slave. He was now set at liberty, and sent to the Morea to support the Turkish interest among his countrymen against that of the Venetians, who had begun to alienate the Greek rayahs from their side by impolitic government.

Von Hammer remarks that Köprili Zade showed himself in this measure to be superior as a politician both to his brother Ahmed, who had sought in the former Venetian war to curb the rising disaffection in the Morea by fortified posts and garrisons, and also to the subsequent grand vizirs, who, when it was proposed to make the Morea a principality like Moldavia and Wallachia, and govern it by native Christians, rejected the scheme as derogatory to the dignity of the Sublime Porte. Köprili had even the enlightened spirit to despise the old dogmas of Turkish muftis and judges, according to which the rayahs were allowed only to repair such churches as they already possessed, but were strictly forbidden to enlarge them or to build new places of worship. Köprili sanctioned the foundation of a Greek church wherever it was desired, and thereby became the founder of thriving villages, which sprang up in districts where there had been previously only scanty bands of suffering and disaffected outcasts.

Once, in passing through part of Servia, Köprili halted for the night in a wretched hamlet of rayahs, who had neither edifice nor minister of religion. Köprili ordered that a church should be built there, and that a Christian priest should be sent for to serve it. In return for this boon, which filled the poor peasants with rapturous gratitude, Köprili required of them that each head of a family should bring him a fowl whenever he passed through the village. Fifty-three fowls were immediately brought to him, that being the number of families. In the next (and, unhappily for the rayahs, the last) year of his vizirate Köprili passed through the same place. He received

a hundred and twenty-five fowls from the heads of the happy population, which flocked together with their Greek priest at their head to welcome the benevolent vizir. "Look," said Köprili to the staff of Turkish officers round him, "look at the fruits of toleration. I have increased the sultan's power, and I have brought blessings on his government from those who were wont to curse it." The Greeks of the empire used to say that Köprili founded more churches than Justinian. Had subsequent Turkish ministers imitated Köprili Zade Mustapha in their policy towards the Christian population of Turkey, the Ottoman Empire would now command far ampler resources than it can derive from the unaided valour and loyalty of its Moslem inhabitants, and the most serious sources of its internal weakness would long ago have been removed.

Besides the glory of having, while sincerely religious, practised religious toleration, the third Köprili deserves honourable mention for his recognition of the great principle of political economy, that (with very few and very peculiar exceptions) trade between man and man ought to be free from all state interference. When pressed by one of his advisers to frame regulations for purchases and sales, Köprili Zade replied, "The *Koran* prescribes nothing on the subject. Purchase and sale ought to be left to the free will of the contracting parties."

Köprili Zade Mustapha is termed by Ottoman historians Köprili Fazyl, which means Köprili the Virtuous. They say of him, as his highest praise, that he never committed a crime, and that he never used an unnecessary word. They record as an instance of his eminence in taciturnity that once, while grand vizir, he received a ceremonial visit from three ulemas who had formerly held the offices of army judges. Köprili let them depart without having addressed a syllable to them. His old master of requests, Nigahi Effendi, said to him, "My gracious lord, you should have spoken something to them." "I am not a hypocrite," answered Köprili. He was austerely simple in all his habits. In his campaigns he generally marched on foot, like the rank and file of the infantry. He disliked military music. He seldom moved his quarters before sunset. Amid the pomp and splendour of the Turkish court and camp the grand vizir was distinguishable by the plainness of his dress. He was an indefatigable student, and read diligently in his tent when on active service, as well as in his palace when at Constantinople.

Such are some of the praises by which his country's historians signalise Köprili Zade Mustapha. The renown for statesmanship acquired by him, which Christian writers have concurred with Mohammedan in bestowing, is the more remarkable, by reason of the shortness of the period permitted to him for the display of his administrative genius. He was killed in battle within two years from the time when the seals of office were placed in his hands. His contemporaries judged of him, as of his brother Ahmed, that he shone more in the council than in the field. But the military career of Köprili Zade was highly honourable to his abilities as well as to his courage; and, though ultimately defeated, he gained a respite of infinite importance for the Ottoman Empire by the successes which he at first obtained.

When he was made grand vizir, one of the invading armies of the enemy had advanced as far as Uskup, in northern Macedonia, where it was actively aided by the Christian Albanians and their patriarch. A chieftain of those regions, named Karpos, had accepted a diploma of investiture from the Austrian emperor, and, assuming the old title Kral, had fortified himself in Egri Palanka. It was indispensable to relieve Turkey at once from the foes who thus struck at the very heart of her power in Europe. Köprili held a

council of war at Adrianople, at which Selim Girai, the khan of the Crimea, and Tekeli, the Hungarian refugee, were present. Khoja Khalid Pasha, the serasker of the Morea, a native of Uskup, was sent with all the regular Turkish troops that could be collected against that place. The Crimean khan, at the head of a large Tatar force, co-operated with him. They gained two victories over the combined bodies of Germans, Hungarians, and Albanians, who had assumed the old mediæval badge of the cross. The chieftain Karpos was seized by the Tatars and executed on the bridge of Uskup. Nearly all the important posts which the invaders and their insurgent confederates had occupied in those districts were recovered by the sultan's troops, and the pressure on this vital part of the empire was almost entirely removed. Encouraged by these successes, Köprili pushed forward with the greatest vigour his armaments for the next campaign.

Louis XIV, who was at war with the German Empire, sent in the winter of 1680 a new ambassador, the marquis de Châteauneuf, to Constantinople, to encourage the Turks to persevere in hostilities against Austria. Châteauneuf was also ordered to negotiate, if possible, a peace between Turkey and Poland, to prevent the recognition by the Sublime Porte of William of Orange as king of England, and to regain for the Catholics in Palestine the custody of the Holy Sepulchre, which the Greek patriarch had lately won from them. Châteauneuf obtained the last object, and he found in the new vizir a zealous ally against Austria. But the Turks refused to suspend hostilities with Poland; and with regard to the prince of Orange and the English crown, Köprili answered that he should recognise the king whom the English people had proclaimed. He added that it would ill become the Turks, who had so often dethroned their own sovereigns, to dispute the rights of other nations to change their masters.

In August, 1690, Köprili Zade Mustapha took, in person, the command of the Ottoman armies that advanced from Bulgaria and upper Albania through Servia against the imperialists. After a murderous fight of two days, Köprili drove the Austrian general, Schenkendorf, from his lines at Dragoman, between the cities of Sofia and Nish. The vizir then formed the siege of Nish, which capitulated in three weeks. The Austrian generals were prevented from concentrating their forces for its relief by a well-planned irruption into Transylvania by the Hungarian refugee Tekeli at the head of a Turkish army. Tekeli defeated the imperialists in that province, and proclaimed the sultan as sovereign lord, and himself as prince of Transylvania.

After the capture of Nish the grand vizir marched upon Semendria, which was stormed after resisting desperately for four days. Widdin was also regained, and Köprili then undertook the recovery of Belgrade. On the twelfth day of the siege a shell from the Turkish batteries pierced the roof of the principal powder magazine of the city, and a destructive explosion ensued, which gave the Turks an easy conquest. Having placed a strong garrison in this important city, and completed the expulsion of the Austrians from Servia, Köprili returned to Constantinople. He was received there with deserved honours after his short but brilliant campaign, in which he had compelled the invading giaours to recede from the banks of the Morava and the Nish to those of the Danube and the Save.

On the 10th of May, 1691, Köprili the Virtuous received a second time the sacred standard from the hands of his sovereign, Sultan Suleiman, who died before the campaign was opened. Suleiman II was succeeded by his brother Ahmed II, who was girt with the sabre of Osman on July 13th, 1691. The new sultan confirmed Köprili in his dignity, and the vizir proceeded to

concentrate his forces at Belgrade and to throw a bridge over the Save. He then marched up the right bank of the Danube to encounter the imperialists, who, under the command of Louis of Baden, descended from Peterwardein. The two hosts approached each other on the 19th of August, near Slankamen. At the same time the Christian and Mussulman flotillas, which accompanied their respective armies along the Danube, encountered on the river. The Turkish flotilla was victorious; but on the land the day proved a disastrous one for the house of Köprili and for the house of Osman.

Contrary to the advice of the oldest pashas in the army, the vizir refused to await behind the lines the attack of the imperialists. The veteran warrior Khoja Khalid censured this impetuosity. Köprili said to him, "I invited thee to follow me that thou mightest show thyself like a man, and not like a phantom." Khalid, touching the thin hairs of his grey beard, replied, "I have but a few days to live. It matters little whether I die to-day or to-morrow; but I would fain not have been present at a scene in which the empire can meet with nought but calamity and shame." "Advance the cannon!" cried Köprili, and himself formed the spahis for the fight. Kemankesh Pasha began the battle by rushing, with six thousand Kurdish and Turkoman irregular cavalry, upon the Christian lines. "Courage, my heroes!" cried Kemankesh, "the houris are waiting for you!" They galloped forward with shouts of "*Allah!*" but were received by the Christians with a steady fire, which drove them back in discomfited and diminished masses. Again they charged impetuously; again they broke, fell, or fled. The Austrians now pressed forward to where the sacred standard was reared in the Mohammedan ranks. Ismail, the pasha of Karamania, dashed against them with the troops of Asia. His squadrons were entangled in an abattis of felled trees, by which the prince of Baden had protected his right wing. The Asiatics wavered and were repulsed. Köprili saw his best men shot down round him by the superior musketry of the imperialists. "What is to be done?" he cried to the officers of his guards. They answered, "Let us close, and fight sword in hand." Köprili, arrayed in a black vest, invoked the name of God, and threw himself, with drawn sabre, against the enemy. His guards rushed onward with him.

A TURKISH OFFICER
(Seventeenth Century)

An obstinate and sanguinary struggle followed, which was decided against Turkey by the bullet that struck Köprili, while cleaving his way desperately through the Austrian ranks. His guards lost courage when they saw him fall, and the fatal tidings that their great vizir was slain soon spread disorder and panic throughout the Ottoman army. The prince of Baden's triumph was complete, and the Turkish camp with a hundred and fifty cannon fell

into the conqueror's power. But the victory was dearly purchased, and the Austrian loss in men and officers was almost equal to that of the Turks. The battle of Slankamen drove the Ottomans again from Hungary; Tekeli was defeated by the imperialists and expelled from Transylvania; and throughout the four years of the disastrous reign of Ahmed II the current of defeat was unabated. Besides the curse of the victorious sword of the foreigners, and the usual miseries of domestic insurrection, the fearful visitations of pestilence and famine came upon the devoted empire. A great earthquake threw down part of Smyrna, and a still more destructive conflagration ravaged Constantinople in September, 1693. Heartbroken at the sufferings and shame of the state, and worn by disease, Ahmed II expired February 6th, 1695.

ACCESSION OF MUSTAPHA II

Mustapha II, the son of the deposed Muhammed IV, now came to the throne, and showed himself worthy of having reigned in happier times. On the third day after his accession he issued a hatti-sherif, in which he threw the blame of the recent misfortunes upon the sultans, and announced his intention of restoring the ancient usages, and of heading his armies in person. As von Hammer *f* observes, this document is too remarkable not to deserve citation. Sultan Mustapha II thus announced his royal will:

"God, the supreme distributer of all good, has granted unto us, miserable sinner, the caliphate of the entire world. Under monarchs who are the slaves of pleasure, or who resign themselves to indolent slumber, never do the servants of God enjoy peace or repose. Henceforth, voluptuousness, idle pastime, and sloth are banished from this court. While the padishas, who have ruled since the death of our sublime father Muhammed, have heeded naught but their fondness for pleasure and for ease, the unbelievers, the unclean beings, have invaded with their armies the four frontiers of Islam. They have subdued our provinces. They have pillaged the goods of the people of Mohammed. They have dragged away into slavery the faithful, with their wives and little ones. This is known to all, as it is known to us.

"I therefore have resolved, with the help of the Lord, to take a signal revenge upon the unbelievers, that brood of hell, and I will myself begin the holy war against them. Our noble ancestor the sultan Suleiman (may his tomb exhale unceasingly the odour of incense!), during the forty-eight years of his reign, not only sent his vizirs against the unclean Christians, but placed himself at the head of the champions of the holy war, and so took upon the infidels the vengeance which God commands. I also, I, have resolved to combat them in person. Do thou, my grand vizir, and ye others, my vizirs, my ulemas, my lieutenants and agas of my armies, do ye all of you assemble round my person, and meditate well on this my imperial hatti-sherif. Take counsel, and inform me if I ought to open hostilities in person against the emperor, or to remain at Adrianople. Of these two measures choose that which will be most profitable to the faith, to the empire, and to the servants of God. Let your answer be the truth, and let it be submitted to me before the imperial stirrup. I wish you health."

The deliberation of the divan on this summons lasted for three days. Many thought that the presence of the sultan in the camp was undesirable. Others feared that he had only addressed them with a view of learning their thoughts. Finally, they all resolved that the departure of the padisha to assume the command-in-chief of the army would not only expose the sacred

person to too much risk and fatigue, but would involve excessive expense. Consequently, the divan represented to the sultan that his majesty ought not to commit his imperial person to the chances of a campaign, but ought to leave the care of war to the grand vizir. To this address the sultan returned a laconic hatti-sherif, "I persist in marching." The most active measures then were taken to hasten the preparations for the campaign; and the gallantry of the young sultan was at first rewarded by important success.[b]

Mezzomorto, the old pirate of Tunis, twice defeated the Venetian fleet in the straits of Chios and reconquered the island of that name. The khan of the Tatars invaded Poland and was stopped only by the firm resistance of Lemberg; the Russians had to raise the siege of Azov after having lost thirty thousand men (October, 1695); finally the sultan penetrated into Hungary and took Lippa by assault. General Veterani with six thousand men tried to stop the Osmanlis at Lugos. Surrounded by superior forces, he was defeated, but not until he had inflicted severe losses on the enemy, who left fifteen thousand dead on the field. Veterani, being wounded and made prisoner, was decapitated (September 22nd, 1695). At these successes, to which they had become unaccustomed, the ardour of the Osmanlis reawoke; voluntary gifts provided for the pay of the army. Wealthy private persons equipped corps of volunteers. The victory of Olasch, which the sultan gained over the elector of Saxony, increased the enthusiasm (1696) and caused the taking of Azov by the czar Peter I to pass unnoticed by the masses. But fortune was soon to abandon the arms of the Osmanlis; the celebrated Prince Eugene of Savoy had just taken command of the imperial army. After well-planned marches and counter-marches he surprised the Ottomans at the passage of the Theiss near Zenta; ten thousand were drowned in the river; the grand vizir was killed, the sultan fled, and Bosnia was invaded (1697).

The empire was again in peril. For the fourth time a Köprili was called to restore it. Köprili Hussein, a nephew of the old Köprili, received the seal and the standard. The treasury was empty; Köprili remedied this penury by skilful expedients; he improvised an army which, being confided to Daltaban Pasha, arrested the triumphant progress of the imperial troops, and forced them to recross the Save. Louis XIV had just signed the Treaty of Ryswick; he had offered to include the Porte in the negotiations. The divan refused, but accepted the mediation of the English ambassador. The French ambassador, Marquis de Fériol, tried in vain to fight against the gold of William of Orange and to show the Turks the error they were committing in signing the peace. He promised in the name of his sovereign, who was preparing to recommence the war, that France would not lay down her arms until Turkey had recovered Hungary and all the lost provinces. All was useless. "The divan ended," says Cantemir,[g] "by asking France not to give herself useless trouble; peace was desired and peace would be made." It was soon signed at Karlowitz (January 26th, 1699).

THE PEACE OF KARLOWITZ (1699 A.D.)

Austria and the Porte agreed to a truce of twenty-five years. Turkey ceded Hungary and Transylvania to Leopold; it preserved only the territory between the Theiss and the Maros. The boundary line between the two empires in Syrmia was a conventional line, drawn from the confluence of the Theiss and Danube to the emptying of the Bosna into the Save and from that point along the course of the Save and that of the Unna. Poland recovered

Kamenets-Podolski, Podolia, and Ukraine; Russia kept Azov, etc. All the tributes hitherto paid by Christian powers were abolished.[d]

Regarded from a higher standpoint than that of territorial gain, the Peace of Karlowitz is the most noteworthy of all treaties hitherto concluded between Turkey and the European powers, because it ends the humiliation involved in levies of money, in the tribute of Transylvania, in the pension of Zante, and in the tribute to the Tatar khan; for the first time the intervention of European powers for the common interest, in the form of mediation, was recognised by the Porte as an international right. When the tide of power of the Ottoman Empire was at its height the topmost wave reached the gates of Vienna, then, rolling back, it kept Hungary and Transylvania a hundred and seventy years under the waters of tyranny. The waters now receded a second time from the walls of Vienna, and not from there alone but also from Hungary and Transylvania, from Podolia and the Ukraine, from Dalmatia and the Morea; and the Peace of Karlowitz made of Poland and Hungary a great dam behind the boundary of the Dniester, the Save, and the Unna. The Peace of Karlowitz proclaimed loudly the decadence of the Ottoman Empire, which, although the vigorous policy of Murad IV in the preceding period and that of the old Köprili in the next had kept it stationary for a while, could neither be held in check by the statesmanship of the later Köprilis nor concealed from the world by the clouds of plundering armies.

The cruel oppression of the Hungarian as a rayah under the yoke of Turkish tyranny continued for a century until the wise and virtuous Köprili, in a document called the "New Order" (*nizami jedid*), advocated the alleviation of the oppression of the rayah; and yet another century passed before this new legislation, which had been suggested in order to secure a better treatment of the Christians, attained a sphere of influence, and, under Selim III, ushered in a new order of things. Had Köprili's humane treatment of Christian subjects been observed by the grand vizirs, his successors, and had the new order he planned, which aimed at greater organisation and at an improvement of the state administration, been carried out, the Greek rebellion might easily have been prevented. The following period of Ottoman history—for which the way was prepared by revolutionary ideas and by European mediation in the Peace of Karlowitz, which sounded the trumpet of the decadence of the Ottoman Empire—initiates an epoch of European intervention. This intervention has been growing more continual and more audacious up to the present day.[f]

THE REFORMS OF KÖPRILI HUSSEIN

Disorganisation affected all branches of the administration; rebellion broke out on all the frontiers of Persia, in the Crimea, in Africa, in Egypt, and in Arabia. The rebels, being vigorously pursued, were forced to submission, and Köprili Hussein could devote himself to the reforms which he was meditating. Walking in the footsteps of Köprili the Virtuous, he granted to the inhabitants of Bosnia and of the Banat exemption from capitation for the current year; he exempted the rayahs of Rumelia from a million and a half of taxes in arrear; in Syria he granted free pasturage. Through the mufti he addressed to the magistrates of the empire detailed instructions prescribing a thorough acquaintance with the *Koran*, with dogma and the formulæ of prayer, and enjoining a strict discipline on the directors of schools. At the same time that he was relieving the situation of the Christians and trying to recall the Moslems to study and to the observance of their religion, the grand vizir re-established

order in the administration, discipline in the army, economy in the finances; he codified the maritime legislation, and gave a great impulse to works of public utility. Mosques, schools, markets, barracks arose on all sides; Belgrade, Temesvar, Nish saw their fortifications repaired and enlarged and provided with ammunition.

The death of the kapudan pasha Mezzomorto deprived Köprili Hussein of one of his most faithful auxiliaries and left the field open to the hostile designs of the mufti. The latter grouped about him those who had won their livelihood by means of crimes and who could not pardon the grand vizir for his virtues and talents. Under the intrigues of this coterie the most devoted adherents of Köprili, the kaimakam, and the tchaush bashi Mustapha aga fell successively. Finally the execution of Zibbeli Zade Ali Bey, a nephew of the minister accused of loving a sultana, warned the vizir of the lot which awaited him. Loaded down with grief and affected by an incurable malady, he returned to the sultan the seal of the empire (September 5th, 1702) and died seventeen days afterwards.

The death of Köprili revived disorder. His successor, Daltaban Pasha, a soldier whose only passion was war, sought to break the Treaty of Karlowitz; he fell a victim to the intrigues of the mufti and was strangled. Turning to his assassins, he exclaimed, "Infidel Moslems, kill him whom the *giaours* could not kill!" The reis effendi Nami Muhammed succeeded him; a partisan of peace, he tried to complete the work of Köprili. But by his efforts to do away with abuses he roused against himself the ulemas and the janissaries; the troops sent against the rebels made peace with them, and Mustapha, being deposed, ceded the throne without resistance to his brother Ahmed III (August 22nd, 1703).[d]

THE INFLUENCES OF EUROPEAN INTERCOURSE

The close of the seventeenth century, rendered memorable by the Treaty of Karlowitz, constitutes an epoch in the Ottoman annals. Its history commences to grow humane, and no longer breathes that spirit of cruelty which had hitherto animated it. It is true the throne was, on two occasions, subverted by insurrections; but its occupants were neither deposed nor put to death. Several bloody wars crimsoned the annals of this epoch; but the sombre night of barbarism gradually broke, and such acts of unnatural cruelty as those of the tyrant Murad IV, the military anarchy under Muhammed IV, and the political assassinations of Köprili the elder were not again renewed. The rude severity of the Turkish character was mitigated by contact with Europeans, and more civilised principles of action were adopted; the art of printing opened also to the Ottomans a new era. The fundamental columns of the edifice of Ottoman law, the military organisation of Orkhan, and the kanun-name of Muhammed II yet existed; but from this epoch important innovations and changes in the domestic and foreign policy of the empire were introduced, which the exigencies of its condition and the spirit of the age required, novel and radical as they were.

The ambassadors of Austria, Poland, Venice, and Russia were received at Constantinople with great pomp when they visited that capital, six months after the negotiation of the treaty, for its formal signature and ratification. Before sunrise, on the day of their entrance into the city, the emirs, vizirs, and other high functionaries, with the sultan on horseback, assembled at the gate of the seraglio. The mufti, the two supreme judges of the nation, the chief of the relatives of the prophet, and the ulemas also united to do honour to the

representatives of the foreign powers. The spahis and janissaries met them on their landing, and conducted them to the august presence of the sovereign of the empire, with an imposing military parade.

In order to cement the peace, and to impress Europe with an idea of his riches and magnificence as a prince, the sultan despatched Ibrahim pasha to Vienna, with a numerous suite. He was charged with the honour of presenting the emperor with a number of costly gifts; among others, a rich tent, the exterior of which was decorated with golden apples, and lined with parti-coloured satin, embroidered with flowers of the liveliest hues; an aigrette garnished with fifty-two diamonds; a complete set of horse trappings, enriched with five hundred and twenty-one diamonds and thirty-eight rubies, the bridle being composed of a double chain of gold; a pair of gold stirrups ornamented with one hundred and twenty-eight brilliants and two hundred and four rubies; a saddle-cloth worked with gold and pearls; together with a glittering mace of rubies and emeralds, and a large number of other precious objects. The imperial ambassador was soon after sent to Constantinople, to convey the thanks of his sovereign to the sultan, and to proffer to him, in return, some magnificent presents.

TURKISH SWORD-BEARER

In the first half of the reign of Ahmed III the grand vizirs succeeded each other so rapidly that history has little else to do than to register their names, for the administration of but few of them was marked by any memorable act. In 1709 Charles XII, king of Sweden, after his defeat at Pultowa by the czar Peter the Great, sought an asylum in Turkey. The favourable manner in which he had been received encouraged him in his efforts to persuade the sultan to form an alliance with him against their common enemy, Peter the Great. Yielding to his arguments and entreaties, the sultan declared war against Poland and the czar. Upon hearing of the advance of the Ottoman army, under the command of the grand vizir Bultadji Muhammed, the czar crossed the Pruth, and intrenched himself between that river and a marshy plain dominated by heights occupied by the Turks.

In this disadvantageous position the Russians, surrounded on all sides, valiantly resisted the attacks of the enemy; but they were soon reduced to a close blockade. Peter I would have inevitably been lost but for the admirable devotion and sagacity of his wife, the celebrated Catherine. While the czar, oppressed with grief, had retired to his tent, Catherine, far from abandoning herself to despair, took counsel with the general officers and the chancellor Schavirov. It was decided to ask peace of the sultan; the czarina collected all her diamonds and precious jewels, and sent them as a present to Osman Aga, kiahia of the vizir, by means of Schavirov, who was charged with the delivery of a letter to the first minister. The vizir took into consideration the propositions of peace, and notwithstanding the protestations of Poniatowski and the khan of Crimea, peace was concluded with Russia upon most advantageous terms for the Porte. The czar was obliged, among other clauses, to

restore Azov, to demolish the fortresses of the sea of that name, and to deliver to the Ottomans all the artillery they contained. A special article secured permission for Charles XII to return to his kingdom. The sultan, at the instigation of Charles, declared the treaty null and void, exiled the vizir, and executed the instigators of the peace, who were convicted of having received the bribe of the czarina. In 1712 peace, however, was again renewed with Russia for twenty-five years. This, in its turn, was violated by the sultan, and the ambassadors of the czar were imprisoned in the seven towers.

The sultan, annoyed at the intrigues of his troublesome guest, sent King Charles a large amount of money, and ordered him to leave the country. This monarch, upon the receipt of this command, adopted the strangest proceeding known in history. With three hundred Swedes, some officers, and his domestics, he sustained the attack of twenty thousand Tatars and six thousand Ottomans; when he saw his brave countrymen enveloped by the enemy, he barricaded himself in his house, with sixty persons in all, defended himself with an insane, desperate fury, and killed two hundred of his assailants; he was finally taken, on making a sortie to escape from his burning house. Some months subsequently, on account of a letter from his sister pressing his return to Sweden, he left Turkey under an escort of honour, after a residence of two years within its hospitable limits. Peace was then definitely signed with Russia, at Adrianople, for twenty-five years. The sultan, determined upon the reconquest of the Morea, intrusted the invasion of that peninsula to his son-in-law, the grand vizir [Ali Kumurji], who in a few months wrested it, as well as all their possessions in the Archipelago, from the Venetians.

THE PEACE OF PASSAROWITZ (1718 A.D.)

This striking sign of a reviving martial spirit alarmed the emperor Charles VI into a declaration of war against Turkey. Prince Eugene, at the head of the imperial forces, met the vizir at Peterwardein, and cut his army to pieces. Temesvar and the whole Banat fell into his hands. He then advanced on the fortress of Belgrade; but the grand vizir, with 150,000 men, hastened to the succour of the town. After a battle of extraordinary ferocity the Turks were obliged to retire, and Belgrade surrendered. An immense booty fell into the hands of the imperials, including, among other articles, 131 bronze cannon, six hundred barrels of powder, thirty-five mortars, and fifty thousand projectiles.

The Porte, recognising its weakness, accepted the offers of mediation which were made to it some weeks subsequently, and concluded a peace at Passarowitz, by which it ceded to the emperor Belgrade, Temesvar, Wallachia to the Aluta, and a portion of Servia; the Morea was restored to the sultan. This treaty established more intimate relations between the Sublime Porte and the Christian states of Europe. A Turkish ambassador was sent to Paris, and a Prussian *chargé d'affaires* to Constantinople.

THE REBELLION OF THE JANISSARIES

The passion for war was not extinguished; for, taking advantage of civil war in Persia, the sultan marched into that country, a portion of which he dismembered, and divided with the czar, his colleague in this spoliating invasion. In 1730 the Persian conquests were in a great part recovered by the valour of

Nadir Efchar [Kouli Khan], who replaced the legitimate sovereign on the throne.

These disasters provoked a rebellion of the janissaries, who obliged Sultan Ahmed III to descend from the throne. The reign of this monarch was one of the happiest in the Ottoman annals. He added the Morea, a part of Persia, and the fortress of Azov to the empire, and by the aid of his illustrious vizir, Ibrahim Pasha, endowed the country with many useful institutions. He repressed, by sumptuary laws, the immoderate luxury in female dress and ornaments, introduced the art of printing, and established four libraries.[c]

THE ORIGIN OF THE CIRCASSIANS

The abilities of Sultan Ahmed's grand vizir Ibrahim, who directed the government from 1718 to 1730, preserved an unusual degree of internal peace in the empire, though the frontier provinces were often the scenes of disorder and revolt. This was repeatedly the case in Egypt and Arabia, and still more frequently in the districts northward and eastward of the Euxine, especially among the fierce Nogai tribes of the Kuban. The state of the countries between the Black Sea and the Caspian was rendered still more unsettled by the rival claims of Russia and the Porte; for it was difficult to define a boundary between the two empires in pursuance of the partition treaty of 1723; and a serious dispute arose early in the reign of Ahmed's successor, in 1731, as to the right of dominion over the Circassians of the Kabarda, a region about half-way between the Euxine and the Caspian, near the course of the river Terek.

The Russians claimed the Kabarda as lands of Russian subjects. They asserted that the Circassians were originally Cossacks of the Ukraine, who migrated thence to the neighbourhood of a city of Russia called Terki, from which they took their name of Tcherkesses, or Circassians. Thence (according to the memorial drawn up by the czar's ministers) the Circassians removed to the neighbourhood of Kuban, still, however, retaining their Christian creed and their allegiance to the czar. The continuation of the story told that the tyranny of the Crim Tatars forced the Circassians to become Mohammedans, and to migrate further eastward to the Kabarda; but it was insisted on that the Circassians were still to be regarded as genuine subjects of their original earthly sovereign, and that the land which they occupied became the czar's territory. This strange political ethnology had but little influence upon the Turks, especially as the czar had in a letter, written nine years previously, acknowledged the sovereignty of the sultan over the Circassians.[b]

The chief of the janissary rebellion, Patrona Khalil, was master of the capital; when he appeared before the prince whom he had placed on the throne, he said to him: "I know the lot which is reserved for me, since none of those who have dared to depose padishas has ever escaped death; but I am none the less content to see thee seated on the throne of Osman and to have delivered the empire from its oppressors." The sultan in surprise replied: "I swear by the manes of my ancestors never to make an attempt on thy life; much more, ask what thou wilt, thou shalt have it." Patrona contented himself with asking for the abolition of a tax which was vexatious to the people. But popularity had awakened ambition in the simple janissary; he wanted to dominate. He wished the populace to have a share in the presents distributed at the sultan's accession, and he stabbed the *segban bashi* for daring to oppose his wishes: he obtained from the sultan the order to demolish the houses built

by the pashas and beys on the banks of the Sweet Waters; and finally he gave the principality of Moldavia to a butcher to whom he was in debt.

The grand vizir tried to save the empire from humiliation by screening himself behind the orders of the sultan: "Go to find his highness," one of the chiefs of the rebels said to him, "but think above all of obeying Patrona Khalil." The tyranny of this man, who was supported by the populace, grew unbearable; the kislar aga, Beshir, the kapudan pasha, Jamun Hodja, and the khan of the Crimea, Kaplan Girai, resolved to relieve their ruler from such a despicable and odious bondage. The superior officers of the janissaries, irritated at the audacity of the parvenu who dared to aspire to the supreme command of their select corps, entered into the conspiracy. Patrona having gone to the serai to force Mahmud to declare war upon Russia, the conspirators seized that moment for getting rid of him. Scarcely was the padisha seated when the grand vizir clapped his hands together; at this signal, Khalil Pehlevan, colonel of the seventh regiment of janissaries, entered at the head of thirty-two devoted soldiers. "Who is the wretch sufficiently bold," he said, addressing Patrona, "to aspire to the office of aga of the janissaries?" Patrona Khalil made no other answer to this unforeseen attack than to throw himself with naked poniard on the person who opposed him. But he was at once surrounded and murdered; his escort shared his fate. His partisans arose, but the revolt, deprived of its leader, was easily repressed, and seven thousand corpses were security for the re-establishment of order.

THE DISASTROUS WAR WITH PERSIA

When the capital was pacified, the Porte took up the war against Persia. Shah Tamasp was defeated and sued for peace. By a treaty concluded on January 10th, 1723, Persia recovered Tabriz, Ardahan, Hamadan, and all of Luristan; she ceded to Turkey Daghestan, Georgia, Kakhti, Nakhitchevan, Erivan, and Tiflis; the Aras became the frontier of the two empires on the side of Azerbaijan.

The peace was not of long duration. Nadir, after having re-established Shah Tamasp upon the throne, had received in recompense the title of sultan and the government of Seistan, Azerbaijan, Mazanderan, and of Khorasan. In order to rouse no envy, he contented himself with the title Tahmas Kouli Khan (khan slave of Tahmas) and worked in secret for his own elevation. He protested loudly against the treaty of peace, marched upon Ispahan, dethroned Shah Tamasp, and declared himself regent of the realm during the minority of the deposed monarch's son, Shah Abbas III. The first act of the regent was to denounce the treaty; he invaded the Ottoman territory, defeated the Osmanlis near the bridge of Adana, and laid siege to Baghdad. Topal Osman Pasha hastened with eighty thousand men to relieve the city; a terrible battle took place on the banks of the Tigris at Djouldjeilik; Tahmas Kouli Khan was seriously wounded, and was carried away by the rout of his troops (July 19th, 1733).

The Persians, defeated a second time at Leithan, did not wait long before taking a brilliant revenge; the Turkish army was crushed and the serasker perished in the struggle. The death of Topal Osman was a public misfortune for the empire. The Turks lost in him not only a virtuous and honourable minister and an enlightened and capable administrator, but also an able general and an energetic chief. Reverses then succeeded one another without interruption; finally, after the serasker Köprili Abdallah, the son of Köprili

Mustapha, was defeated and killed, the divan decided to sue for peace. The plenipotentiaries which he sent to Tiflis were present at the coronation of Nadir Shah and signed a treaty which took away from the Ottomans their last conquests; the frontiers were re-established in accordance with the treaty concluded in 1639 with Murad IV.

WAR WITH RUSSIA AND AUSTRIA

The Porte had to hasten to make peace with Persia because war had just broken out with Russia. Poland, which had been rent with anarchy for a century, was a prey marked in advance for the ambition of its neighbours; France alone took a friendly interest in its fate. In order to paralyse its action, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, in 1732, had concluded a secret compact, which may be regarded as a prologue to the dismemberment of Poland. At the death of August the national party elected Stanislaus Leczinski (1733); immediately Russian and Austrian armies invaded Polish territory. France declared war on Austria, and her ambassador at Constantinople begged the Porte to take up arms to avenge the injury committed by Russia in intervening in the country after the treaties of Falksen and Constantinople had placed its independence under the guarantee of the sultan. The Ottoman ministers remained deaf to the exhortations of the marquis of Villeneuve. The khan of the Tatars, at the instigation of Baron de Toth, prepared to invade the Ukraine; the Porte forbade him to move; the gold of August II ran like water in the serai.

In the mean time Stanislaus had succumbed, crushed under the weight of superior numbers; the Russians were masters of Poland; France, engaged against Austria, again tried to open the eyes of Turkey to its real interests, and in order to succeed turned to the famous count of Bonneval. Bonneval was born in 1675; he first served in the marine; but an affair of honour obliged him to leave, and he entered the French guards. In 1701 he bought a regiment and distinguished himself at the battle of Luzzara. In 1706 the count left the army, went over to the enemy, and became one of Eugene's best lieutenants.

In 1716 he covered himself with glory in the war against the Turks. Returning to France, he married, and left his wife on the very day of the wedding. He then returned to Germany, and took a very large part in the victory of Belgrade. Before long he quarrelled with Prince Eugene, and in consequence of his disagreement with the marquis of Prié, governor of Belgium, he provoked Prince Eugene to a duel (1724). He was thrown into prison, but escaped, and fled to Turkey, where he adopted the turban in order to escape extradition. He was now become a Moslem, a general of bombardiers, a pasha with two horses' tails, and he was the friend and counseller of the grand vizir. An implacable enemy of the house of Austria, he thought the moment had come to give to the Franco-Ottoman alliance the same character it had had under Francis I, and he presented to the court of Versailles a proposition for an offensive and defensive alliance by which the two powers should engage not to make peace separately but to act in concert.

The timid Cardinal Fleury rejected the alliance, at the same time demanding a diversion of the Turks in Hungary. Emperor Charles II, to whom an alliance between France and Turkey would have been detrimental, hastened to sign the Treaty of Vienna (1735). Scarcely was it signed when Russia attacked the Porte, which was still at war with Nadir Shah. A violation of the Russian frontiers by the Tatars of Crimea served as a pretext (March, 1736); the Russians immediately invaded the Crimea. Austria, England,

and Holland offered their mediation to the divan, where the peace party was still in control. In vain did Bonneval warn the minister, saying: "The emperor has no other design than to amuse the people until he has had time to reorganise the armies which are returning from Italy in a disordered condition."

The intrigues of the Fanariots in Russian pay disturbed his judgment, and the mediation of Austria was accepted. While interminable conferences kept the Turks' attention occupied, an Austrian army was massed on the frontiers and prepared to give aid to the Russians. The marquis of Villeneuve advised the Porte to buy peace at the price of ceding Azov, for it was too late now to make war successfully; the campaign should have opened three years before, at the time when Austria was fighting the armies of France, Spain, and Sardinia, and when Russia's attention was still directed to Poland.

During this time the imperials, raising the mask, invaded Servia, Bosnia, and Wallachia. Disagreements between the Austrian generals caused the defeat of their army. Beaten at Banyaluka and at Valievo, the Austrians had to evacuate Bosnia precipitately. The prince of Hildburghausen was no more fortunate in Servia and was obliged to recross the Danube (1737). The emperor sued for peace; England and Holland again offered their mediation. The Porte refused, declaring that it would accept proposals of peace only through France. Immediately Villeneuve went to the grand vizir's camp and opened negotiations. The talents of the negotiants were powerfully seconded by the Ottoman successes. In spite of a defeat near Konieh, the Ottomans retook Semendria, Mehadia, and Orsova; Willis was put to flight at Krotzka, after a desperate struggle lasting fifteen hours (July 23rd, 1739), and if the grand vizir Al-Haji Muhammed had known how to profit by his victory it would have been the end of the whole Austrian army. Belgrade was invested three days later.

THE TREATY OF BELGRADE (1739 A.D.)

Fortune had not been so favourable to the Osmanlis in their struggle against the Russians. Münnich, it is true, had been defeated on the banks of the Dniester and the Muscovite fleet burned by the kapudan pasha, Suleiman; but the Russians had soon taken revenge. Münnich had seized Chotin and Jassy and had conquered all of Moldavia. Through the efforts of Villeneuve a separate peace was finally signed with Austria and Russia under the guarantee of France (September, 1739). Austria gave back Belgrade and Shabatz minus artillery and munitions, also Servia, Austrian Wallachia, and the island and fortress of Orsova. The treaty was to last twenty-seven years. The convention with the czarina stipulated the demolition of Azov, and the prohibition of Russian vessels in the Black Sea or the sea of Azov. Finally Russia restored all her conquests.

The Treaty of Belgrade, concluded under the mediation and guarantee of France, annihilated the Treaty of Karlowitz and effaced its shame. "The influence of France on Ottoman affairs was never so decisive either before or after, and the mission of Villeneuve is assuredly the most memorable in the diplomatic relations between France and Turkey. Villeneuve, clothed with the title of ambassador extraordinary, was at once the soul, the counsel, and the guide of all the negotiations carried on at this time at the Porte with the different European cabinets."

THE TREATY OF 1740 A.D.

The marquis of Villeneuve at once made use of the influence he had won, to induce the Porte to conclude a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with Sweden; the two powers were to lend each other mutual support against Russia (1740). The capitulations of 1673 received all the modification demanded by France, and the treaty of 1740 has controlled the relations of France with the Ottoman Empire to this day.

Muhammed Said, with the title of ambassador extraordinary, went to Versailles to present the capitulations to Louis XV, where he was received with the highest honours. He returned to Constantinople with two ships of war and a small corps of French gunners, who were to serve as a nucleus to the count of Bonneval in remodelling the Ottoman artillery.[d]

THE RISE OF THE WAHHABEES

The latter part of the reign of Sultan Mahmud I is made not only memorable in Turkish history but in the general history of Mohammedanism, by the rise and rapid increase of the sect of the Wahhabees in Arabia. These Puritans of Islam (of which they claimed to be the predestined reformers and sole true disciples) were so named after their founder, Abdul-Wahhab, which means "the servant of the All-Disposer." Abdul-Wahhab was born in Arabia, near the end of the seventeenth century of the Christian era, and about the beginning of the twelfth century after the Hejira. His father was sheikh of his village, and young Abdul-Wahhab was educated in the divinity schools at Basra, where he made rapid progress in Mohammedan learning, and at the same time grew convinced that the creed of the prophet had been overlaid by a foul heap of superstition, and that he himself was called on to become its reformer. He returned to Arabia, where, fearless of danger, and undeterred by temporary failure, he proclaimed his stern denunciations of the prevalent tenets and practices of the mosque and state. He inveighed particularly against the worship of saints which had grown up among the Mohammedans, against their pilgrimages to supposed holy places, and against their indulgence in several pleasures which the *Koran* prohibited, especially that foul form of profligacy which had become almost nationalised among the Turks and other chief peoples of the East.

He at first met with ridicule and persecution from those to whom he preached; but he gradually made converts, and at length his doctrines were adopted by Muhammed Ben Su'ud, the sheikh of the powerful tribe of the Messalikhs, who at the same time married Abdul-Wahhab's daughter. The new sect now became a formidable political and military body, Abdul-Wahhab continuing to be its spiritual chief, but the active duties of military command being committed to Ben Su'ud, who enforced the new faith by the sword, as had been done previously by the prophet and the early caliphs. Aziz, the son, and Su'ud, the grandson of Muhammed Ben Su'ud, continued the same career of armed proselytism with increased fervour, and the Wahhabite sect spread through every region of Arabia. The attempts of successive sultans and pashas to quell this heresy and rebellion were vain, until the late pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, undertook the task. He overthrew the temporal empire of the Wahhabees, and sent their last emir in chains to Constantinople, where he was beheaded in 1818. But the Wahhabite doctrines are said still to prevail among many of the Bedouin tribes.

RELATIONS WITH EUROPE (1740–1757 A.D.)

The pacific policy maintained by Turkey towards Austria upon the death of the emperor Charles VI in 1740 is the more honourable to the Ottoman nation by reason of the contrast between it and the lawless rapacity which was shown by nearly all the Christian neighbours of the dominions of the young Austrian sovereign, Maria Theresa. The king of Prussia, the elector of Bavaria, the elector of Saxony, and the kings of France, Spain, and Sardinia, agreed to dismember the Austrian Empire, and began the war of spoliation (called the War of the Austrian Succession) which was terminated by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748. Sultan Mahmud not only scrupulously abstained from taking any part against Austria, the old enemy of his house, but he offered his mediation to terminate the hostilities which raged between the powers of Christendom. With equal justice and prudence the Turks took care not to become entangled in the other great European contest which followed that of the Austrian Succession after no very long interval; and which, from the period of its duration (1756–1763) is known in history as the Seven Years' War.

Sultan Mahmud I had died (1754) before the outbreak of this last-mentioned conflict; but his brother and successor, Osman III, adhered to the same system of moderation and non-interference which his predecessor had established, and he thus preserved peace for the Ottoman Empire during his three years' reign, from 1754 to 1757. He was succeeded by Sultan Mustapha III, the son of Sultan Ahmed III. The name of Mustapha has always been accompanied in Turkish history by calamity and defeat; and we now approach the time when, under the third sultan of that inauspicious designation, the struggle between the Porte and Russia was resumed, with even heavier disasters to Turkey than those which she endured when she strove against Austria and Prince Eugene in the reign of Sultan Mustapha II.

THE REIGN OF MUSTAPHA III (1757–1773 A.D.)

The first years, however, of Mustapha III were not unpromising or unprosperous. The administration of the affairs of the empire was directed by the grand vizir Raghib Pasha, a minister not perhaps equal to the great Ottoman statesmen Sokolli and the second and third Köprilis, but a man of sterling integrity and of high diplomatic abilities. He turned the attention of the sultan (who showed a perilous restlessness of spirit) to the construction of public works of utility and splendour. The most important of these undertakings was the project, so often formed and so often abandoned, of making a canal which should give a communication between the Black Sea and the gulf of Nicomedia (Ismid) in the sea of Marmora, without passing through the Bosporus.

For this purpose it was proposed to dig a channel from the eastern extremity of the gulf of Nicomedia to the lake of Sabandja, and to form another from the lake of Sabandja to the river Sakaria, which flows into the Black Sea. The commercial advantages of such a canal would be great; and the Turks would be enabled to use the lake of Sabandja as a naval depot of complete security, and of ample capacity for fleets of the greatest magnitude, which could rapidly issue thence as emergencies required either into the Euxine or the Propontis. This mode of uniting the two seas had been attempted before the commencement of the Ottoman Empire, twice

by the kings of Bithynia and once by the emperor Trajan. Three sultans, Suleiman the Great, Murad III, and Muhammed IV, had commenced the same enterprise before Mustapha III. But it had never been completed, though the distances to be trenched through are inconsiderable, and the engineering difficulties presented by the character and elevations of the soil are said to be few and trivial. Sultan Mustapha abandoned the project in 1759, after having caused great interest and excitement among the French and English residents at Constantinople, who were anxious for the accomplishment of the design, and who in vain urged the Turks to persevere.

The chief efforts of Raghib Pasha himself were directed to the strengthening of Turkey against the inveterate hostility of the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg, by alliances with other states of Christendom. The results of the War of Succession and of the Seven Years' War had been to bring Prussia forward as a new power of the first magnitude in Europe. Prussia, from her geographical position, had nothing to gain by any losses which might befall Turkey; and both Austria and Russia had been bitter and almost deadly foes to the great sovereign of the house of Brandenburg, Frederick II. A treaty, therefore, between Prussia and Turkey seemed desirable for the interests of both states, and many attempts had been made to effect one, before Raghib Pasha held the seals as grand vizir. At length, in 1761, the envoy of Frederick II to Constantinople signed a treaty of amity between Prussia and the Porte, similar to treaties which the Turkish court had already concluded with Sweden, Naples, and Denmark. But Raghib Pasha's design was to convert these preliminary articles into a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance. The English ambassador strove earnestly to forward this scheme, while the ministers of Austria and Russia endeavoured to retard and baffle it. Considerable progress had been made in the negotiations, when the death of Raghib Pasha in 1763 put an end to a project which, if successful, would certainly have been followed by a new war with Austria. In that war the Prussians would have co-operated with the Turks, and it might have materially varied the whole current of subsequent Ottoman history.

COSTUME WORN BY A TURKISH PRINCE

After the death of Raghib Pasha in 1763, Sultan Mustapha III governed for himself. He was a prince of considerable industry and talent, and honestly desirous of promoting the interests of the Ottoman Empire; but he was hasty and headstrong, and he often proved unfortunate during the latter part of his reign in his selection of councillors and of commanders. And the sceptre of the power most inimical and most formidable to Turkey was now grasped by one of the most ambitious, the most unscrupulous, and also the ablest sovereigns that ever swayed the vast resources of the Russian Empire. Catherine II (who has been termed with such terrible accuracy, both as to her public and private character, the Semiramis of the North) reigned at St. Petersburg.

The Porte watched with anxiety and alarm the aggressive but insidious policy which was pursued towards every weak state that was within the sphere of Russian influence. Frederick II no longer sought the alliance of Turkey against his old enemies at Vienna and St. Petersburg, but concluded, in 1764, a treaty with Catherine, by which the two parties pledged themselves to maintain each other in possession of their respective territories, and agreed that, if either power were attacked, the other should supply an auxiliary force of ten thousand foot and one thousand horse. But it was expressly provided that if Russia were assailed by the Turks, or Prussia by the French, the aid should be sent in money. There was also a secret article to this treaty, which was directed against Polish independence, and which has earned for this confederacy between Russia and Prussia the name of "the Unholy Alliance of 1764, whence, as from a Pandora's box, have sprung all the evils that have afflicted and desolated Europe from that time until the present day."

The Ottoman court protested continually but vainly against the occupation of Poland by Russian and Prussian troops, against the disgraceful circumstances of fraud and oppression under which the election of Catherine's favourite, Stanislaus Poniatowski, as king, was forced upon the Poles, and against the dictatorship which the Russian general Repnin exercised at Warsaw. The Turkish remonstrances were eluded with excuses so shallow as to show the contempt with which the Russians must now have learned to regard their Ottoman neighbours, both in diplomatic and warlike capacities.

WAR BETWEEN TURKEY AND RUSSIA

Sultan Mustapha and his vizirs at last felt that they were treated as dupes and fools, and the indignation raised at Constantinople against Russia was violent. This was augmented by the attacks made by the Russian troops on the fugitive Poles of the independent party, who had taken refuge within the Turkish frontier, and who, sallying thence, carried on a desultory warfare against their enemies, which the Russians retaliated at every opportunity, without heeding whether they overtook the Polish bands beyond or within the Ottoman dominions. At last the Russian general Weissmann followed a body of the confederated Poles into the town of Balta, on the confines of Bessarabia, which belonged to the sultan's vassal, the Tatar khan of the Crimea. The Russians besieged the town, took it by storm, plundered, and laid it in ashes. Turkey had received proofs of Russian hostility in other regions. There had been revolts in Montenegro and in Georgia, and there had been troubles in the Crimea, all of which were aggravated, if not created, by Russian agency. The divan resolved, on the 4th of October, 1768, that Russia had broken the peace between the two empires, and that a war against her would be just and holy.

The general feeling of Europe was favourable to the empress. England in particular, though she offered her mediation to prevent the Turkish war, was, at this period and for many years afterwards, desirous of seeing the power of Russia augmented, and of uniting her with Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and England herself, in a great northern alliance in opposition to the combination of France and Spain under the house of Bourbon. This design had been formed by Lord Chatham (then Mr. Pitt) during the Seven Years' War, and it continued to be a favourite project of English statesmen. The French minister Choiseul naturally regarded Russia with very different feelings. But that great statesman also discerned how necessary it was to watch jealously

the growth of the Muscovite power, not only for the sake of French interests but for the sake of the general commonweal of Europe. Choiseul now, at the outbreak of the war between Russia and Turkey in 1763, laboured anxiously to make the English ministry understand the true character of Russian power and ambition.

However just their cause, the Turks began the war too soon. When Sultan Mustapha issued his declaration of hostilities against Russia in the autumn of 1768, his anger had got the mastery over his judgment. He should have endured the affronts offered to him a little longer, and not taken up arms before the summer of the following year; he might then have had the full force of his empire in readiness to make good his threats. But it was impossible to bring his Asiatic troops together during the winter, and the opening of the campaign on the Dniester and Danube was thus delayed till the spring of 1769 —a delay which enabled the Russians to make ample preparations for assailing Turkey on almost every part of her northern frontier, both in Europe and Asia. Neither were the Turkish fortresses in a proper state of repair, or sufficiently stored, when the war was proclaimed at Constantinople. The Ottoman government endeavoured to make good these defects during the winter; but the spring found the Turkish equipments still far from a due state of efficiency.

One bold leader, on the side of the Moslems, and almost the only one who displayed any warlike abilities in support of the Crescent during the first years of this disastrous war, made a vigorous onslaught on the southern provinces of the czarina's empire long before the other generals on either side thought it possible to bring troops into the field. This was the Tatar khan of the Crimea, Krim Girai. Before the end of January, 1769, the Tatar chief collected at the ruins of Balta, which the Russians had destroyed in the preceding summer, a hundred thousand cavalry. With this vast force of hardy marauders Krim Girai crossed the river Bug, and then sent one detachment towards the Doneck and another towards Orel, while the main body under his own command swept over the Russian province of New Servia.

Khan Girai was accompanied in this expedition by Baron de Tott, one of the ablest (though not the least vaunting) of the numerous officers and agents whom the French minister, Choiseul, had sent into Turkey to encourage and assist the Ottomans. De Tott has minutely described the predatory activity and adroitness of the wild host which he marched with, and the stern discipline under which they were kept, amid all the seeming license of the campaign, by the military genius of their chief. For fourteen days Krim Girai rode at his will through southern Russia, with drums beating and colours flying, while his wild horsemen swept the land with an ever-widening torrent of devastation. The khan and his guest, the baron, fared like the rest of the Tatars. Their food was meat, sodden and bruised between the saddle and the horses' backs, a mess of fermented mares' milk, smoked horse-hams, caviare, boutargue, and other Tatar aliments; but wine of Tokay was served to the guest in vessels of gold. The khan camped and marched in the middle of his army, which was arranged in twenty columns. Before him waved, together with the Turkish and Tatar standards, the colours of the Ynad Cossacks, who had abandoned the Russian Empire in the time of Peter the Great, under the guidance of the Cossack Ignatius, and who had since been called Ygnad, or Ynad, which means "the mutineers." By their influence Krim Girai prevailed on the Zaporogian Cossacks to revolt against the authority of the commandant of the fortress of Elizabethgrad. A prince of the Lezghis also joined the Crimean khan, and offered a reinforcement of thirty thousand men to the sultan's armies, on condition that certain honours should be paid him by the sultan and the grand

vizir, and that he should retain at the peace all the territories out of which he could drive the Russians. Had Krim Girai lived a few years, or even months, longer, it is probable that his ascendency over the wild warriors of these regions and his marvellous skill in handling irregular troops would have changed materially the course of the war. De Tott admired the severe discipline which he maintained, while he permitted and encouraged his followers to develop against the enemy to the utmost their astonishing talent both for acquiring booty and for preserving it when taken. But woe to the Tatar who pillaged without the khan's permission, or who offered any outrage against the khan's command! Some Nogai Tatars in the army, having insulted a crucifix, received each a hundred blows of the stick in front of the church where they committed this offence; and de Tott saw others, who had plundered a Polish village without orders, tied to the tails of their own horses and dragged along till they expired.

Krim Girai died within a month after his return from this expedition against Russia. It was believed that he was poisoned by a Greek physician named Siropulo, an agent of the prince of Wallachia, against whom he had been vainly cautioned by de Tott. The Porte appointed, as the khan's successor, Dewlet Girai, a prince without spirit or capacity. These were deficiencies in which he too closely resembled the grand vizir and the other leaders of the sultan's forces. Meanwhile the empress Catherine and her generals had been preparing for the war with their characteristic energy. One Russian army, sixty-five thousand strong, was collected in Podolia, under the command of Prince Alexander Mikhailovitch Galitzin, who was directed to besiege and capture the city of Chotin, and then to occupy Moldavia. The second, under General Count Peter Alexandrevitch Romanzov, was to protect the frontiers of Russia between the Dnieper and the sea of Azov, and to reconstruct the fortresses of Azov and Taganrog, which had been razed in pursuance of the Treaty of Belgrade. A third army of from ten thousand to eleven thousand men was to occupy Poland, and prevent the Poles from giving any assistance to Turkey. A fourth army, under Major-General Medem, advanced from Tsaritsin into the Kabarda and the Kuban; and a fifth, under General Todleben, was directed upon Tiflis, in order to attack Erzerum and Trebizond in concert with the Georgian princes of Karthli, Mingrelia, Guriel, and Imeritia, who had submitted themselves to the sovereignty of Russia. At the same time money, arms, ammunition, and officers were sent to the Montenegrins, and those warlike mountaineers were set in action against the Turkish forces in Bosnia.

While the grand vizir was slowly moving with the sultan's main army from Constantinople to the Danube, Galitzin passed the Dniester, and made an unsuccessful attempt upon Chotin, after which he retreated across the Dniester. Indeed, so far as Galitzin was concerned, the sarcasm of Frederick II of Prussia, on the conduct of this war, was well deserved. He called it a triumph of the one-eyed over the blind. But among the other Russian commanders and generals of division were Romanzov, Weissmann, Bauer, Kamenski, and, above all, Suvarov, in whom Frederick himself would have found formidable antagonists.[b]

Emin Pasha took the offensive and was completely defeated. The Russians again invested Chotin, where Potocki, one of the leaders in the confederation of the Bar, had intrenched himself with a few thousand men. His energetic resistance gave Emin Pasha time to come to his assistance.[d] The sultan, the only one who took a real interest in the success of his armies, had just sent to his vizir an order for a new manœuvre. Emin Pasha dared to incur the responsibility of disobedience; his policy failed, his army was defeated and

dispersed. Consequently, an order, more punctiliously obeyed, soon placed his head at the gate of the serai.[h]

He was succeeded by Moldowandji. The new vizir showed himself more active but not more fortunate. Crossing the Dniester by two bridges, he attacked the intrenched camp of the Russians. A sudden rising of the river shook the bridges; the soldiers, afraid of having their retreat cut off, rushed immediately to regain the other bank; the bridges gave way under the weight of this disordered multitude and all were swallowed up in the stream. Six thousand men, placed at the end of the bridge to guard the retreat, remained isolated on the right bank and were destroyed by the fire of the Russians. The Ottoman army fell back upon the Danube, evacuating Chotin, while Galitzin invaded Moldavia and Wallachia (1769). At the same time a Russian fleet entered the Mediterranean and attempted to arouse the Morea to revolt.

COSTUME OF A TURKISH SAILOR

The French ambassador had warned the divan of the Russian designs upon Greece, but his warnings had been received with the most marked incredulity. Depending on the absence of communication between the Baltic Sea and the Archipelago, the ministers obstinately refused to believe the reports of the capture of Coron, of the rising in the Morea, and of the appearance of twelve of the enemy's ships. The insurrection in the Morea came to nothing, and the Russian fleet joined battle with the Ottomans in the narrow channel which separates the isle of Chios from the Asiatic coast. The combat lasted four hours; then the ships of the two admirals were blown up. The Turks, frightened at the explosion, retired in the greatest disorder to the port of Tchesme, although the loss of the Russians was greater than theirs.

Admiral Elphinstone, taking advantage of this retreat, appeared before the port and sent in two fire-ships. The sight of these two little ships advancing towards the port rekindled in the Turks the idea of conquest. Taking them for renegades, far from trying to sink them, they made vows for their safe arrival. They determined to put the crews in irons, as they enjoyed the prospect of leading them in triumph to Constantinople. However, the pretended deserters, having entered without difficulty, threw out their grappling-hooks and soon vomited forth whirlwinds of flame which burned up the whole fleet. The port of Tchesme, filled with vessels, powder, and cannon, presented the appearance of a volcano, which engulfed all the Turkish marine (July 7th, 1770).

The Dardanelles were not defended. The Russians could reach Constantinople without hindrance. Elphinstone wished to force the straits at once, but Orlov, who was the commander-in-chief, refused and laid siege to Lemnos. During this time Baron de Tott was charged with the fortification of the Dardanelles and with preserving the capital. In a few days he had improvised

a complete system of defence; batteries were constructed and mounted with cannon, and trading vessels were transformed into fire-ships; thirty thousand men manned the works, and soon the passage was impracticable.

On land also the Ottomans met only with disaster. However, the cabinet of Versailles, on the appearance of a Russian fleet in the Mediterranean, had proposed a maritime co-operation to the Porte; it offered her fifteen vessels of the line on condition that she would ask for this support directly and would provide for the support of the ships. In addition it promised her the assistance of Spain in return for a treaty of commerce with that power. But the sultan was alone in his wish to have recourse to France. All the divan was sold to England; the ministers desired peace at any price; they asked the mediation of Austria. The French ambassador, the count of Saint-Priest, aided by Baron de Tott, who had the sultan's confidence, neglected nothing in the attempt to open the eyes of the ministers and to remedy the vices of the Ottoman organisation.

The Death of Mustapha

The campaign of 1771 opened more favourably for the Osmanlis. Hassan Bey, "the crocodile of the sea of battles," had conceived the project of lifting the siege of Lemnos with four thousand volunteers in boats, and without any artillery. The enterprise succeeded by the very excess of its daring; the besieged had neglected the most elementary precautions for protecting themselves; being attacked unexpectedly, they thought only of fleeing upon their ships. The title Kapudan Pasha rewarded the hero of this exploit. The Russians were equally unsuccessful in their attempts on Trebizond and in Georgia, but in the Crimea the Ottoman domination was destroyed. In three weeks the prince Dolgoruki conquered the whole peninsula, proclaimed its independence under Muscovite sovereignty, and installed Sherim Bey as khan.

Austria, while deceiving the Porte with feigned negotiations, had concluded a secret treaty with Prussia and Russia, assuring the dismemberment of Poland. Acting in concert with Prussia, she caused an armistice to be concluded at Giurgevo, and a congress opened at Focsani in Moldavia. Russia's extreme demands broke off negotiations and the war recommenced. The sultan Mustapha, who desired peace only on honourable conditions, pushed hostilities vigorously, and the chief effort of the struggle was concentrated upon the Danube. The Russians, beaten at Rustchuk, were again defeated before Silistria; they took a base revenge for their defeat at Bazardjik, an open city, by massacring women, old men, and children, whom they dashed against the walls. The kapudan pasha, no longer having a fleet to command, at the head of a corps of spahis chased the Russians beyond the Danube and took their artillery and ammunition (1773).

In Syria and in Egypt likewise the Ottomans had the advantage. Ali Bey, defeated under the walls of Cairo by Abu Shel, had taken refuge with the pasha of Acre, Tahir, to whom the Russian fleet furnished armies and ammunition. Osman Pasha was defeated by the rebels, who took possession of Jaffa, and Ali Bey returned to Cairo; but, betrayed by his adopted son, Muhammed Bey, he fell into the power of Abu Shel, who sent his head to Constantinople in token of fidelity.

Death surprised the sultan in the midst of these unexpected triumphs just as he was starting to join his army on the Danube (September 21st, 1774). By his activity, his constancy, his enlightened spirit of reform, his desire to instruct, and his zeal to supplement the incapacity or the laziness of his min-

isters, Mustapha III deserved the regrets of his people. That he could not repair the faults of his predecessors must be attributed to circumstances, to the venality and corruption of his entourage. One fact alone testifies to his enterprising spirit—he had resolved to cut through the isthmus of Suez, and had charged Baron de Tott to prepare a treatise on that important subject. Lastly, the honour and glory of Mustapha is to have understood the necessity of reforms, to have inaugurated them, and to have pointed out the road of salvation to Selim II and to Mahmud II.[d]

THE TREATY OF KUTCHUK-KAINARDJI HASTENS THE FALL OF TURKEY

He was followed by his brother Abdul-Hamid (1774–1789), who was at this time forty-eight years of age; forty-three years of his life he had passed in prison. It may naturally be supposed that he had no great experience in war, and although he did not reject the proposals of peace offered by the Russians, the ulema violently opposed them, as the delivery of Turkish fortresses to the enemy was in contradiction to the fundamental principles of Islam. However, after the Turkish troops had suffered several defeats, and the army was even surrounded by the Russians at Shumla, the objections of the ulema were neglected, and the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji was signed with the Russians on the 17th of July, 1774. By this treaty the Porte gave up to Russia the fortresses of Kinburn (on the mouths of the Dnieper), Kertch and Yenikale (on the peninsula of the Crimea), yielded its sway over the Tatars in the Crimea, Budjak (or Bessarabia), and Kuban (now the country of the Tchernomori Cossacks), permitted the Russians to navigate all the Turkish seas, and conceded to the czar the protectorate over all the Turkish subjects who belonged to the Greek confession.

Although these concessions may appear unimportant, they contained the germ of future immense advantages; the independence of the Crimea more especially guaranteed to the Russians an influence over this beautiful and well-cultivated country, which at length entailed its subjection.[i]

The whole treaty was drawn up and concluded without the insertion of a syllable relating to Poland, although the treatment of Poland by Russia had been one of the primary causes of the war. It was considered that this implied negation of all right in Turkey to interfere in Polish affairs, and also the circumstance that the treaty was concluded without any third power being allowed to be party to it as mediator between the Russian empress and her defeated enemy, was not the least of the triumphs which were achieved for Catherine in the close of this contest.

Such in substance was the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji; in which one of the ablest diplomatists of the age saw not only the preparation of the destruction of the Mohammedan Empire of the East, but also the source of evil and troubles without end for all the other states of Europe. The German historian of the house of Osman considers that treaty to have delivered up the Ottoman Empire to the mercy of Russia, and to have marked the commencement of the dissolution of that empire, at least in Europe.

The literary men of western Europe and the ulemas of Turkey alike regarded the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji as consummating the glory of Russia and the degradation of the house of Osman. The Encyclopædists of Paris wrote felicitations to the empress Catherine, and to her generalissimo Count Romanzov, which were echoed by all pretenders to enlightened opinions in other parts of Europe which recognised the centralisation of literary authority amid the circles of the French metropolis.

In Constantinople devout followers of Islam looked wistfully to Asia as their refuge from the great infidels, as they termed the Russians, and sorrowfully recalled the old tradition that the City abounding in faith is destined to be taken by the Sons of Yellowness. But still many among the Ottomans were superior to the torpor of despairing fatalism. They understood better both their duty to their empire and the precepts of their prophet, who bade his followers not to lose heart at reverses in warfare, but to view them as visitations of Allah, designed to prove true believers, and who gave them the great maxims: "Fortitude in adversity and self-control in prosperity"; "Despond not, neither exult; so shall ye prevail"; "God loveth those who persevere patiently"; "He turned you to flight before them that he might make trial of you"; "God giveth life and causeth to die; and God seeth that which ye do"; "O, true believers, be patient and strive to excel in patience, and be constant-minded and fear God, that ye may be happy."

PASHA HASSAN

Foremost among these better spirits was the kapudan pasha Hassan of Algiers, now commonly styled Gazi Hassan, for his glorious conflicts against the Giaours. Sultan Abdul Hamid placed almost unlimited authority in his hands; and Hassan strove to reorganise the military and naval forces of Turkey, and to prepare her for the recurrence of the struggle against Russia, which all knew to be inevitable. He endeavoured to discipline the troops; but finding that all attempts to introduce improved weapons and drill or to restore subordination among the janissaries and spahis were fruitless, he gave up these schemes, but proposed a new order of battle, by which more effect was to be given to the Turkish onset. "He would have divided," says Eton, "an army of one hundred thousand men into ten different corps, which were to attack separately, and so arranged that the retreat of the repulsed corps should not overwhelm and put in disorder those which had not attacked. He affirmed that though the artillery of a European army would make great slaughter, yet no army could withstand ten Turkish attacks, which are furious but short if they do not succeed, and the attack of ten thousand is as dangerous as of one hundred thousand in one body, for, the first repulsed, the rest on whom they fall back immediately take to flight."

This system of attacking in detail was never found practicable; and probably the kapudan pasha, in proposing it, was judging more from his experience of the capacities of squadrons of ships than from any sound knowledge of the possible evolutions of troops in face of an enemy. The navy was a force which Hassan understood far better, and his efforts to improve the Turkish marine were spirited and judicious, though some of his practical measures showed the true ruthless severity of the old Algerine sea-rover. Hassan possessed little science himself, but he respected it in others; and his great natural abilities and strong common sense taught him how to make use of European skill, and of the most serviceable qualities which the various seafaring populations of the sultan's dominions were known to possess.

The repairs and improvements which he sought to effect in the Turkish navy extended to the construction of the vessels, the education of the officers, and the supply of seamen. Aided by an English shipbuilder, Hassan entirely altered the cumbrous rigging of the Turkish ships, and equipped them after the English system. He lowered their high and unwieldy sterns, and he gave them regular tiers of guns. He collected all the good sailors that he could engage from Algiers and the other Barbaresque states, and also from seaports

on the eastern coasts of the Adriatic; though he was still obliged to depend chiefly on Greek crews for the navigation of his fleets, as the Turks refused to do any duty on shipboard beyond working the guns. He compelled the commanders of vessels to attend personally to the good order and efficiency of their ships and crews; and, by a still more important measure, he endeavoured to keep a sufficient body of able seamen always ready at Constantinople to man the fleet in case of emergency.

In 1778 he recovered the Morea, and destroyed or expelled the rebellious Albanians, who had been led into that peninsula in 1770 to fight against Orlov and the Greek insurgents, and who had after the departure of the Russians established themselves there in lawless independence, oppressing, plundering, and slaughtering both the Greek and Turkish residents with ferocious impartiality.

After relieving the Peloponnesus from this worst of all scourges, the tyranny of a wild soldiery, which had killed or deposed its officers, which had never known the restraint of civil law, and had shaken off all bonds of military discipline, Hassan was made governor of the liberated province, and exerted himself vigorously and wisely in the restoration of social order, and the revival of agriculture and commerce. Subsequently to this he led a large force to Egypt against the rebellious mamelukes. He had made himself master of Cairo, and had effected much towards the re-establishment of the sultan's authority in that important province, when he was recalled to oppose the Russians in the fatal war of 1787–1792; a contest still more disastrous than that which had terminated in the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji.

CATHERINE'S "ORIENTAL PROJECT"

The interval of fourteen years between the two wars had been marked by measures on the part of Russia as ambitious and as inimical towards the Turks as any of her acts during open hostilities. Even the writers who are the most unscrupulous in their eulogies of the empress Catherine and the most bitter against the Ottoman nation avow that the empress from the very beginning of her reign had constantly in view the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and that the vast design which she sought to accomplish was the same which Peter the Great first entertained, and which the cabinet of St. Petersburg has never lost sight of during the succeeding reigns to this day. A temporary peace was necessary for Russia in 1774; but after Pugatchev's rebellion was quelled, and the Russian grasp on the provinces which she had rent from Poland was firmly planted, Catherine scarcely sought to disguise how fully she was bent on the realisation of the "oriental project." [b]

After throwing the Crimea into confusion by her intrigues, she put herself at the head of an army of two hundred thousand, and invaded it. Upon a triumphal arch thrown over the road leading to the west she inscribed the prophetic words, "Route to Constantinople." Austria, with her characteristic policy, took advantage of the embarrassments of the Porte, and conquered the Bukowina. In her sanguine ambition, Catherine already believed in the destruction of the Turkish Empire. When, in the spring of 1787, she concluded a secret alliance with the emperor Joseph, in his visit to her camp on the shores of the Black Sea, she seriously proposed to him the partition of the Ottoman dominions, or the restoration of the Greek Empire. The emperor, in his astonishment, exclaimed, "But what shall we do with Constantinople?"—a question which has since been repeated by more than one crowned head.

THE PORTE DECLARES WAR; SELIM III

In 1787 the sultan deemed himself sufficiently strong to take the field. He declared war against Russia, and sent an army of eighty thousand men to the Danube. The fleet entered the Black Sea. Austria allied herself with Russia, and sent an army to Moldavia, which, after having victoriously traversed Transylvania, repulsed a part of the Turkish forces. The Ottoman expedition in the Black Sea was unsuccessful. The campaign closed in 1788. Abdul-Hamid died in 1789. Under his reign Russia succeeded in opening her way to the Bosporus.

This triumph was due not only to the address and intrigues of Catherine II, but also to the great progress of the Muscovite nation in the art of war, while

RUINS OF KHADIFA CASTLE, TURKEY

the Ottomans remained stationary in the midst of the general movement. For, notwithstanding the efforts of Sultan Abdul-Hamid and the assistance afforded to him by the French officers called to Constantinople, the Mussulman soldiers could not adapt themselves to European discipline and tactics. The repugnance of the janissaries to these innovations was so strong that they enforced their abandonment by an armed rebellion. To this blind adherence of the followers of Mohammed to the customs and maxims of their ancestors must be attributed the numerous and grave disasters under the last sultans, and the loss of that superiority which they had obtained over the Christian nations by their religious fanaticism, brilliant courage, and surpassing skill and prowess in arms.

Selim III succeeded to the throne, and immediately raised a new army for the resumption of hostilities. The Austrians were already on the point of occupying Belgrade, when the Turks arrived before that place; the two imperial armies, Austrian and Russian, effecting a junction, after a protracted conflict defeated the Ottoman forces. In 1791 a general peace was agreed upon

rather from the force of circumstances than from any disposition on the part of the Turks to yield.[c]

Although Selim had been confined in the seraglio by his uncle, he had been in other respects well treated. His love of information and his natural talents had induced him to carry on an active correspondence with several servants of his father and his uncle. Their information had, however, in no way satisfied him, and he had commenced a correspondence with Choiseul, the French envoy at Constantinople in 1786, and had also sent his intimate friend Isaac Bey to France, to inquire into the state measures and administrative organisation of that country. Selim had also entered into correspondence with Louis XVI, and this lasted till 1789, when the French revolution broke out simultaneously with Selim's ascension of the throne.

All this throws a clear light upon Selim's eventual exertions to cause reforms, which at last cost him both his throne and his life. His thirst for knowledge leads us to presume that he was not deficient in natural and sound talent. The old Turkish statesmen, to whom his position directed him to apply, could not satisfy his curiosity, from the simple fact that they knew nothing themselves; but it was a mistake that, in his pursuit of knowledge and desire to improve the institutions of Turkey and the habits and character of its inhabitants, Selim should have applied to France and to Frenchmen. That country was then on the eve of her great revolution. Theories of all kinds were afloat. The ancient system of her government was passing away, and neither Louis XVI nor his friends and ministers possessed the talent or energy requisite to control the enthusiasm of the advocates of the new system—who, instead of repairing, thought only of destroying.

Louis was incapable of guiding the storm which was rapidly enveloping him. Unable to improve his own institutions, he was utterly unfit to assist Selim in improving those of Turkey.

Selim would certainly have acted more wisely had he sought help from his own sensible mind; he would have easily perceived the palpable fact that things which were suited for Christian nations were utterly inapplicable to the rude, uncivilised Turks, at any rate until they laid aside their hatred for everything new or that pertained to Christianity. Had he in the first instance tried to ameliorate the condition of the schools, to introduce impartiality in the system of administration and to restore discipline among the troops, and to keep continually before the nation the blessings of civilisation, the latter would have gradually felt the necessity of comprehensive reform, and all the peculiarities attaching to the Turks would have been eventually modified.

Unfortunately, he set about the task with very different ideas, and listened to the suggestions of the sciolists who surrounded him. The first thing to which they drew his attention was the formation of a council of state, which not only restricted the power of the grand vizir but that of the sultan very materially. The *reis effendi*, Rashid, was the soul of the council and the boldest of these sciolists, and he had perfect liberty to carry on the work of reform. He set again in activity the printing-presses which had been introduced in a preceding reign, sent for French officers, who founded an engineer academy, built arsenals and foundries, and openly stated that he took science under his protection.

But his chief care was to form an army after the European fashion, in order by their assistance to gain the mastery over the janissaries, in whom old customs and traditions found their most zealous guardians. He took several steps, therefore, to call into life the new military organisation, called the *nizami djedid;* and as money was required for the purpose, he laid a tax

on articles of consumption. This was quite sufficient to cause the popular discontent to burst into a flame. The ulema declared themselves hostile to the *nizami djedid*, and Pashwan Oglu, pasha of Widdin, who placed himself at the head of the janissaries, openly rebelled against the Porte, which could not effect anything to check him, but acquiesced in all that was demanded.

The extraordinary conquests of Napoleon diverted attention from Turkey, and instead of seeking to divide the dominions of a weak neighbour, the great powers of the continent were trembling for their own safety. Egypt became the battle-field between England and France, and its invasion by Napoleon obliged the Turks to unite with the allied powers against France. When the French were expelled from Egypt, that province was restored to Turkey, and peace concluded between the two powers. Selim, under the influence of General Sebastiani, who was then French ambassador at Constantinople, seized what was considered by him a favourable opportunity for renewing the war with Russia, in which, however, the Turks were defeated both by land and sea. These misfortunes the janissaries attributed to the new troops or *seymens*, and their hostility to them increased.

At the end of May, 1807, the chiefs of the janissaries and the ulema had already formed their plans for the overthrow of the sultan, when Selim accelerated the outbreak by going to the mosque on Friday, accompanied by a body of *seymens* and the French ambassador, Sebastiani. The janissaries, aroused by this, broke out in open revolt, which soon grew of such a menacing nature by the co-operation of the mufti that Selim was compelled to promise the abolition of the *nizam*, and the heads of those of his advisers who had promoted the measure. But the insurgents were not satisfied with this; they demanded the abdication of the sultan, and marched to the seraglio to carry their designs into effect. But when the mufti and the ulema entered it they found a new sultan. Selim had retired to the harem, where his nephew, Mustapha, was confined, and led him to the throne; he had then attempted to destroy his own life by a cup of poisoned sherbet, but had been prevented by Mustapha.

On the same afternoon Sultan Mustapha IV (who reigned from May 31st, 1807, to July 28th, 1808) rode in solemn procession for the first time to the great mosque, was invested in the traditional manner with the sabre of Mohammed, then immediately did away with the *nizami djedid*, and restored the old customs. But among the pashas in the provinces there were several devoted partisans of reform. The most influential of these was Mustapha Bairaktar, pasha of Rustchuk, who set out in July, 1808, at the head of eighteen thousand men, to restore Selim to the throne. He succeeded in taking possession of the capital, and keeping the sultan so long in ignorance of his designs, until he sent him orders to resign the throne in favour of Selim.

As the sultan had only one hour allowed him for consideration, he was so helpless that he followed the advice of the mufti and had Selim cruelly murdered. As the gates of the seraglio were not opened at the appointed time, and Bairaktar hurried up to enforce his authority, Selim's lifeless body was thrown over the wall. Upon this the pasha ordered the seraglio to be stormed, seized the sultan, destroyed all those who had advised the abolition of the plans of reform, and placed Mustapha's younger brother [to be known in future as Mahmud II] on the throne.[i]

TURKEY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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In the course of a residence of several years in the house of Aifaat Pasha, formerly Turkish minister for foreign affairs, I happened in 1858 to make the acquaintance of a Turk of high rank who had long been in the household of the sultan Mahmud II, the famous reformer of the Ottoman Empire. From the conversation of this effendi, who had been intimately acquainted with the court intrigues and the political occurrences of that troubled period, I gathered many interesting details concerning the mind, character, and aims of Mahmud II. It is from such side-lights on the individuality of the Turkish reformer that the early history of the innovations inaugurated at the beginning of the nineteenth century can best be judged.

The sultan Mahmud II, who succeeded to the throne of his ancestors in the twenty-third year of his age, was endowed by nature with many of the brilliant qualities requisite for the difficult task of infusing fresh life into the Ottoman body politic, which was at that time convulsed in every quarter and diseased in every joint and limb. His spirit and personal courage had proved equal to every occasion, and long before he assumed the supreme power he had arrived at the conviction that the annihilation of the janissaries, the unruly Prætorians of Turkey, was a necessary step towards restoring order and placing the empire on a sound basis. "Not unless the field of the future is watered with the blood of these rebels," he was wont to say, "and not until then, can the shoot of reform be planted with good hope of prosperous increase." How he kept his word is known to all men. In the massacre of the 15th of June, 1826, the fire of the rebellious janissaries was quenched in blood; and from that time forward the *nizami djedid* (regular army), which took their place, gave practical support to the innovations

introduced by Mahmud II, however unpopular they might be, and brought about an extraordinary revolution in the political no less than in the social life of Turkey.

But brave and resolute as he was, the sultan reformer lacked, in the first place, the culture necessary for the work of reconstruction. His knowledge of the civilisation of the West, which served as his model, was deficient in the extreme; it extended to externals only, and was far less thorough than that of Peter the Great, who was hampered by similar difficulties at the outset, but who had previously acquired a profound insight into the essential character of modern civilisation, and could therefore advance with greater assurance towards the goal he had set before himself.

Secondly, the sultan was aided by none of the forces which proved of service to the great Romanov; for whilst the latter found capable assistants abroad, *i.e.* in Germans, Frenchmen, and Englishmen, Mahmud II was obliged to rely on his own Mohammedan subjects, and they, as Moslems *pur sang*, were at that time incapable of enthusiasm for the civilisation and political institutions of the West. They applied themselves to the work of reform with secret ill-will and repugnance, moved only by blind obedience to the caliph and padisha.

Thirdly, the motley ethnological elements which go to make up the Ottoman Empire offered enormous—I had almost said insuperable—obstacles to the introduction of reforms. The Mohammedans of that day, brought up in the rigidly exclusive spirit of Islam, regarding every innovation with abhorrence, and believing that in the *Koran* they had the quintessence of all knowledge, the source of all earthly wisdom, and an infallible rule for human thought and action, could not bring themselves, by any stretch of self-control or self-denial, to take the Giaours, the offscouring of abomination in their eyes, for their teachers, and seek for intellectual nourishment in the books of the unbelievers. Nor did the Christian subjects of the Porte display any particular enthusiasm in the cause of reform. Independence of the yoke of Turkish sovereignty was and is their ideal; any gift from the hands of the oppressor, no matter how good in itself, was tabooed in their eyes; and there were instances in which Christians attached themselves to the anti-reform party and, grossly mistaking their own interests, withstood the instrument of their deliverance.

Fourthly, the unbroken succession of political disorders and wars placed the most serious hindrances in the way of Mahmud II's aspirations after reform and paralysed his vigour and energy, in spite of the persistence with which he perpetually took up the struggle afresh. Not Russia alone, which took up an attitude of open hostility and regarded the destruction of the Ottoman Empire as the great object of her existence, but the other and more amicably disposed nations of Europe too often acted the part of a suspicious and malevolent physician towards the sick man who sought to be healed, and administered medicines which tended to aggravate rather than remove the evil, as I shall proceed to show.

Under these circumstances we may well ask why the sultan Mahmud II, receiving no tokens of peculiar good-will from the powers of Christendom, and weakened in every quarter of his empire by the ascendency of the West, nevertheless perseveringly persisted in the task of Europeanising his dominions, and even went so far as to attack certain oriental institutions in a manner prejudicial to the essential character of the hierarchical Asiatic empire. The answer to this question was supplied by the authority previously referred to. According to him, the sultan was profoundly convinced of the superiority of

European civilisation. A modern form of government appeared to him to be the best guarantee for the future of the Ottoman Empire, and, above all, he saw in a regular army the best expedient for consolidating his power and carrying out his projected reforms for the modernisation of the state. Like Peter the Great, he began with the army—a course which almost all Asiatic potentates have likewise adopted. Had the reform of other departments of social and political life proceeded, or been able to proceed, at the same pace as the reform of the army, as has been done in Japan, for example, and as is now being done in Siam, his first experiments would have been attended with far greater success than was actually the case.

But in the East everything is calculated with a view to appearances. The first thing the sultan aimed at was the possession of a military establishment adequate for defensive purposes, in the hope that Turkey might then be able to enter the lists on equal terms with any opponent; and he also hoped, by the open display of his good intentions, to satisfy the insistence of the western powers which were perpetually urging him along the path of modern civilisation, and thus, it might be, deprive them of an ever-ready pretext for hostile action. Only, as it happened, his attempts at the reformation of the Turkish government and Turkish society were ill-conceived and ill-directed from the very outset, and so came into the world as an abortion—nay, brought with them the germs of that disintegration, anarchy, and economic and political decay which run, like a black thread of misfortune, through the whole history of this unhappy country in the nineteenth century. After the loss of her old defensive force, Turkey—sorely tried by the miseries incident to a period of transition—found the strength of her newly created regular army insufficient to repel the Russian attack of 1829 or prevent the establishment of Greek independence. The sultan Mahmud's power sufficed to subdue the refractory derebeys of the provinces, but the proud Osmanid was forced to acquiesce in the independent position taken by Muhammed Ali in Egypt; and when he died, in July, 1839, this sovereign, animated as he was by genuine zeal for his country's welfare, left the empire enfeebled and in no less disorder and peril than he had found it on his accession.

In the person of his son, Abdul-Mejid, his throne passed to a successor whose feeble constitution and mild temper formed a strong contrast to his own spirit and energy, and one who was of all men the least fitted to make head against the ever-increasing difficulties of the situation and continue the work his father had begun. The diffident and timorous disposition of Abdul-Mejid was of advantage in one way only—he had no desire both to reign and rule, as his father had done, but left the management of public affairs to his ministers, himself content merely to occupy the throne. He preferred the pursuit of his personal gratifications; and in the magnificent palace of Dolma Baghtche, which he had built at enormous expense, the worthy man spent his days as in a dream, watching the delightful play of the waters of the Bosporus, while his empire was struggling desperately for bare existence, waking to new life as it seemed, but in reality tending step by step towards dissolution.

The present ruler of Turkey, the sultan Abdul-Hamid, once said to me in conversation, "The stars are less propitious to me than to my father." And he was right, for the lot of Abdul-Mejid was a happy one. The most notable feature of his reign was the rise of some capable Turkish statesmen, who had grown up under the shelter of the western civilisation then gradually permeating the effendi class, and so were qualified to serve as a link between East and West, and worthy in many respects, particularly in the matter of external polish, to rank with the first statesmen in Europe. The dreamy temperament

of the sovereign, who cared for nothing so much as the *dolce far niente* of life, gave these modernised Turkish ministers the further advantage of a wide field for activity, in which they could act as they pleased without let or hindrance, as long as they did not intermeddle in the affairs of the palace. Amongst them the following names are specially worthy of note:

Reshid Pasha, unquestionably the ablest and most upright statesman whom Turkey has produced in modern days, a man of attainments and force of character fully sufficient to cope with the task he had undertaken; one who, under happier circumstances, might have played the part of regenerator of the Ottoman Empire, and who can fitly be compared only with such men as the emir-i-nizam of Persia [Mirza Taki], Sir Salar Jung of Hyderabad, and the late emir Abdurrahman of Afghanistan.

Next in order of merit come Ali and Fuhad Pasha. Both were pupils and disciples of Reshid, both—though Ali more particularly—were thoroughly conversant with European culture; but the effective action of both was greatly hampered by intrigue and party quarrels, with the result that their reputation fell far short of their master's.

Muterjim Rushid and Muhammed Kibristi Pasha were no less able to grapple with the situation; they had the ability and patriotism requisite for the conduct of public affairs, while their integrity was beyond reproach. Unfortunately, amid the machinations of intrigue at home and abroad, they too often lost heart, and failed to display that resolution in dealing with the supreme power which the absolutist and autocratic temper of oriental sovereigns renders imperatively necessary.

Safvet, Serwar, and Arifi, who to some extent belonged to the school of Reshid, were likewise imbued with the modern spirit, but none of them had energy or credit enough to work any lasting good, and few traces of their influence survived them.

As grand vizirs and as ministers for foreign affairs, these pashas controlled the fortunes of Turkey for more than forty years; the contemplative life in vogue at court prevented their sphere of action from being frequently invaded; and yet, if we examine the result of their labours to-day, we are forced to the melancholy conclusion that they one and all failed to grasp the fundamental idea of the reform movement and had no adequate conception of what was required. It must be owned that these high personages were not alone to blame. They were confronted with a twofold problem. In the first place, they had to apply the necessary remedies to a body politic diseased in every joint; in the second, to satisfy the friendly powers of Europe which were pressing for reform. Had the West shown a fuller comprehension of the means whereby Turkey could be regenerated, had the cloak of friendly advice not been so often used to cover the unfriendly purpose of adding to the weakness of Turkey, many things would have fallen out quite otherwise than they actually did. But political ambition and territorial greed were the mainsprings of European policy, and the first duty of Turkish statesmen was to take these latent purposes into account. It was imperatively necessary to give the insistent West manifest proof of their honest desire and intention to introduce reforms, and to treat the advice of each one of the friendly powers with respect.

The reform movement was thereby condemned to proceed by way of externals and specious appearances. The course of historic development and the need of a gradual advance beyond ancient Asiatic—and not merely Asiatic, but Moslem—theories of life and society were left quite out of account, and Turkey adopted institutions, manners, and customs which were wholly foreign

to the motley mosaic of races in the empire, and which, in view of the rigidly conservative temper of the population, could not fail to arouse disgust and abhorrence.

The Turks bowed to the will of the higher powers; they did violence to their own feelings and mechanically aped the Europe they at heart abhorred, but under the mask Turkey remained as oriental as before. The administration was divided into ministerial departments, communications with Europe were modelled after the pattern of western diplomacy, governors and prefects were appointed; but the spirit of the government remained Asiatic. As reasonably might one expect the donning of European garb to transform the turbaned Turk into a European. I myself had the opportunity of observing this process of metamorphosis at first hand; and from the outset I was fully aware that the whole thing was a farce, that the parties concerned were perforce either deceivers or deceived, and that this first act of the reform movement could breed nothing but mischief and disappointment.

So, unhappily, the event proved. The consequences of the cheat were disastrous to both parties. Europe, ignorantly or wilfully blind, went into raptures over the mock reforms, admired the sultan Abdul-Mejid in the faultless elegance of European clothes made by Desetoy, his Parisian tailor, and clapped hands in applause when the caliph honoured French literature by presenting Lamartine, the poet, with a Tusculum near Brusa. To such lengths was faith in the reforming zeal of the Osmanli carried, that Christian powers thought it worth while to wage the Crimean War and sacrifice many millions of money and hundreds of thousands of Christian lives in order to insure the stability of the Moslem world. To laud and magnify the Turks, to glorify Islam, was the fashion of the hour, and men indulged in the hope that the ancient spectre of the Eastern Question would presently be laid forever.

The Turks themselves were deceived by these demonstrations. With minds set wholly at ease by their admission into the European concert and the recognition of the principle of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, the government and society in general abandoned themselves without misgivings to the enjoyment of the financial help obtained from Europe. The way in which the various loans were squandered on luxuries and lawsuits is almost without parallel. The imperial palace took the lead in this wild extravagance, and the money received from Europe for the purpose of carrying through the projected reforms was dissipated in the most reckless fashion. All that history has to tell of the luxury of ancient Rome, and of the court of France before the Revolution, pales before the refinements of luxury in the harems of Abdul-Mejid and some of the great officers of state. It was commonly said that the old oriental mode of life must be discarded out of consideration for foreign powers, if for no other reason. Everyone tried to live *à la franca*; clothes, carriages, furniture, and so forth, were ordered from Paris and London, and the jewels for the ladies of the imperial harem alone swallowed millions. In order to throw dust in the eyes of Europe a fictitious budget was drawn up and inserted into an annual account of the public revenue and expenditure, which, of course, was kept by nobody. No minister kept any record of his receipts and disbursements, and the sultan helped himself to as much as he pleased from the public treasury. Nay, when Hassib Pasha, the minister of finance, was brought to book by his colleagues on one occasion on account of the enormous sums with which he had supplied the palace, he actually replied, "The banknote press was at work, and I supposed that a few millions more or less would make no difference, since the sultan had just asked for the sums in question." This senseless prodigality naturally soon upset the financial balance of the em-

pire; and when the friendly powers, becoming aware of the confusion, counselled economy and proposed to remedy the evil by the appointment of a board of finance, consisting of delegates from the various nations, the minister above referred to remarked to one of the said delegates, "Sir, you have brought us much good advice, but it could only be of service if you had brought us some money at the same time." In fact, the steady growth of financial embarrassment was the poison which hastened the dissolution of that "sick man" of long standing, the Turkish body politic. Europe lent the money at exorbitant interest, but the reckless Porte took it readily, forgetful of the Turkish proverb which says, "He who drinks wine on credit is twice drunken: once when he drinks, and the second time when he has to pay his debts."

A MERCHANT OF KALUGA, TURKEY

Had Turkey spent the very considerable sums borrowed from Europe in the development of commerce and industry, the construction of roads and railways, and the establishment of schools—in a word, had the government not mistakenly devoted its attention merely to specious appearances, the gallant Osmanli nation, the best, most docile, and finest of Asiatic races, might very well have been saved. As it was, however, the evils of mismanagement and confusion increased apace. The old home administration, which, with all its faults, corresponded in a measure to the genius of the people, was abandoned; the new government which was to take its place existed only on paper. The administration of justice became much worse than before; the pressure of taxation more grievous, especially upon the classes engaged in agriculture and cattle-rearing, which were reduced to beggary. Under such circumstances we cannot be astonished that the kindly but inexperienced Turk should have attributed his ruin to the introduction of godless innovations, or at the generally received opinion that this misery was a retribution for sinful imitation of the ways of unbelievers. By the opening of the second half of the nineteenth century the country was in a ferment of discontent, but there was as yet no talk of an outbreak. The Osmanli displays a lamb-like patience in all matters that concern his padisha, whose divine character he holds in the utmost reverence; and in Turkey all projects subversive of the government have proceeded not from the people, but from the highest ranks of society.

When the sultan Abdul-Mejid died, in 1861, after a reign of twenty-two years, the country was in a far worse plight than at his accession. Apart from the gigantic increase of the national debt, the prestige of Turkey was weakened at home and abroad, the authority of the Porte was visibly on the decline, and the Christian subjects of the empire, whose perpetual yearning after deliverance from Moslem dominion had been held in check by awe of the

imperial power, drew freer breath and began gradually to lift up their heads. For was it not an open secret that Turkey was living on the pittance granted by the Christian West, and that a large proportion of the *rayahs* had now become independent and were ruled by their native Christian princes? It was with a view to checking these longings after autonomy, and removing the grounds of perpetual complaints and grievances, that shortly after his accession Abdul-Mejid had issued the imperial irade of Gulhane, which, besides promising great administrative reforms, proclaimed the principle of the equality of all subjects of the empire, without distinction of creed or nationality, and according to which Christians in Turkey were thenceforth to fare as well as under Christian rule.

A Dragoman Guide

Needless to say, this edict of toleration, which was designed to show Europe the liberal and enlightened spirit of the Ottoman government, remained a dead letter, as all the other edicts had done, and consequently deceived none but those who chose to be deceived or whose ignorance of the real state of the case rendered them easy victims of the cheat. Among national elements separated by the furious animosity bred of religious fanaticism and race hatred, and where for centuries the ruling class has made its vanquished adversaries taste all the pains and tribulations of oppression, there can hardly be any question of conciliation or cordial unity. The Mussulman feels that he would be false to his religion if he offered the right hand of fellowship to the Giaour as to an equal; while the Christian, for his part no less fanatical, curses the ancient foe of his faith and race from the depths of his heart, and strains every nerve to cast off his yoke. The sultan and his enlightened compatriots were probably sincere in their good intentions, but it is a far cry from the letter of the law to its practical application, and experience has shown that no amount of edicts and charters suffice to bridge over the deep gulf between the Christians and Mohammedans of Turkey, to establish the wished-for concord between the followers of Christ and of the prophet, or to weld the mixed ethnological elements of the empire into a homogeneous whole. The failure of the attempt was not due solely to the incapacity of the Turkish bureaucracy; European interference must bear a large share of the blame. On the other hand, whenever the smallest reform was mooted with a view to the amelioration of the situation the representatives of the European cabinets on the Golden Horn set in motion the whole machinery of personal rivalry and particular interests; each one had different advice to offer, and the pressure perpetually brought to bear from this quarter and

that ended by completely disconcerting the vague and vacillating Porte. On the other hand, many of her neighbours and *soi-disant* friends had no desire whatever to see a strong Turkey, and the lower the empire sank the more hopeful was the prospect of a speedy division of the spoil.

Unhappily for Turkey, Abdul-Mejid was succeeded by his brother, Abdul-Aziz, a harsh, uncultivated, and fanatical prince, infatuated with the notion of his own greatness; one who cared for nothing but his personal importance, and took a keen interest in public affairs only so far as they could be made to subserve the security of the throne and the gratification of his own passions. He was even more prodigal than his successor, and moreover piqued himself so greatly upon his sagacity that he wished to have the government entirely in his own hands. The highest officers of the state were obnoxious to him, and fear was the only motive which induced him to tolerate for a while—that is, as long as Fuhad and Ali were still living—the interference of these old public servants.

The whims of this half-insane being, and the insatiable mania for building which drove him to erect palaces and barracks for no reason or object, cost the country millions of precious money. No one dared to offer any remonstrance, and the sultan, who gave himself the airs of a demigod, would have proceeded to the most monstrous schemes, had not the nation, awakened to self-consciousness under the stress of the impending catastrophe, manifested its opposition to the crazy tyrant, timidly indeed, but by unmistakable tokens. In Turkey, as has already been observed, revolutionary movements take their rise in the upper strata of society, not in the lower—a fact which we can explain the more readily in this particular instance if we consider that the rising sun of western civilisation first illumined the topmost peaks, and from thence alone was able to penetrate to lower levels. The spirit of modern civilisation had knocked so loudly at the gates of Asiatic life that it had roused some of the younger generation of Turks from sleep, and even in the reign of Abdul-Mejid faint signs of the revolutionary movement had come to the surface. The study of European languages, and of French and English in particular, became more and more popular among young men of the effendi class, the productions of European literature found eager readers, and, whilst the court adhered to the old aristocratic and absolutist régime, what is commonly called good society began to talk of liberty and constitutional government. Nay, the more hot-headed patriots had already found it necessary to seek refuge in foreign lands, there to publish revolutionary newspapers and pamphlets under the ægis of a free press.

The first publications of this character, the journals *Muchbir* (*The Reporter*) and *Hurriet* (*Liberty*), exercised little influence. But even in Turkey itself literature presently adopted a freer tone, and when certain poets, such as Kemal Effendi, aroused the spirit of patriotism and began to censure the despotic government the consequences of the agitation were not slow in making themselves felt. The tyrannical sultan took fright, and, instead of yielding, had recourse to expedients which only fanned the flame of rebellion. On the grand vizir Mahmud Medim Pasha, an old-fashioned Turk of the purest water, devolved the unenviable task of hastening the ruin of his country. Acting in concert with the sultan, who had been drawn into the current of Russian politics, and on the advice of Ignatiev, the Russian ambassador, he declared the government bankrupt, and thus drove the whole of Europe into the hostile camp. The world does not understand jesting in money matters. Many thousands of people lost their small savings through the insolvency of Turkey, and the Turkish nation forfeited the little sympathy still felt for it

in Europe. The astute and watchful policy of Russia promptly took advantage of the indignation of Christendom against the Crescent; for the year 1876 witnessed the outbreak of the last Russo-Turkish war, which inflicted on the Ottoman Empire the severest wounds it had ever suffered; for that war rendered Turkish dominion in Europe an impossibility, and made it a matter of far greater difficulty than before even on Asiatic soil.

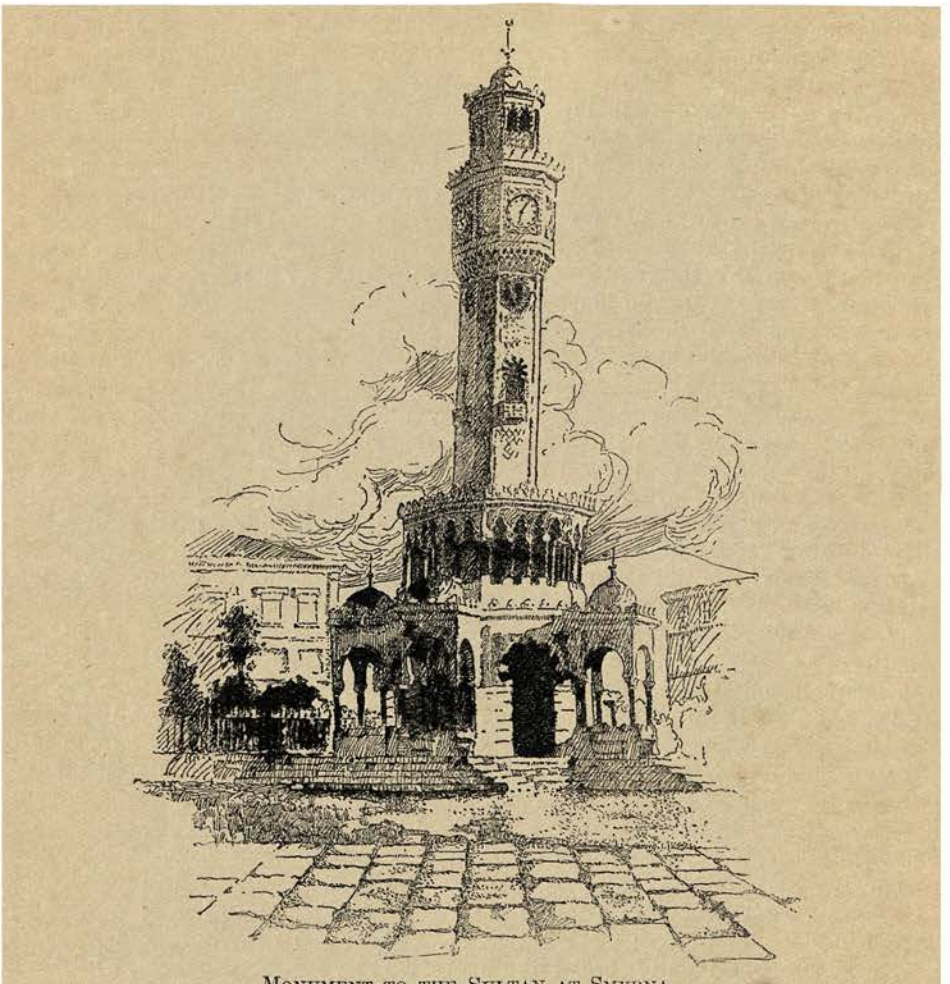
Before the war broke out the sultan Abdul-Aziz had paid for his many follies by the forfeit of his throne and life. He perished by his own hand, and his successor, Murad, an enlightened and liberal-minded prince, proving incapable of holding the reins of government by reason of physical infirmities, was deposed in favour of the eldest member of the Osman family, Prince Abdul-Hamid, who has piloted Turkey through the transition from the nineteenth century to the twentieth.

In the sultan Abdul-Hamid Turkey unquestionably possesses one of the ablest rulers who have ever occupied the throne of the Ottoman Empire. His intellectual capacity, his enormous power of work, and his restless energy might have done good service to his country under any circumstances whatever, had they not been neutralised to a great extent by his personal qualities. What the present sultan of Turkey chiefly lacks is personal courage, and, as a result of this defect, he reposes no confidence in the persons who surround him nor in his officers of state. This is the cause of the vacillation patent in his actions and of his constant terror of secret attacks upon his life and throne. In the hope of obviating these dangers his rule has assumed the character of most rigid autocracy and absolutism; he desires to be the sole authority in all affairs of political and social life, to settle single-handed the most trivial matters and the weightiest political questions of the hour; and by attempting to control and despatch the details of the administration of his still extensive dominions and of Turkish foreign policy, he has naturally deprived the chief organs of government of all initiative and executive authority and the Sublime Porte of any prestige it possessed.

It is obvious that the melancholy consequences of such centralisation and rigid autocracy must soon make themselves felt in every branch of the administration and of public life. Such a herculean task is too heavy a burden for the shoulders of any man. Confusion and disorder have assumed gigantic proportions, and financial embarrassment, that old source of evil in Turkey, has greatly increased. Thus we can easily understand how the civil magistrates and the army have been left unpaid for months together, how the fleet has gone utterly to wrack and ruin, how trade and commerce have stagnated, whilst poverty, misery, and despair gained ground among all classes of the population. Never has the outlook in Turkey been so gloomy and deplorable as to-day. In the capital a garrison of some few thousand men is kept in good condition to serve as a show-piece, but in the provinces the army is miserably neglected, and betrays its disaffection by insubordination, whilst the civil officials can only eke out a scanty livelihood by corruption and peculation. Of all these evils the sultan, who never leaves his palace, is either wholly ignorant or imperfectly informed, and the rivalry of the great powers of Europe is solely responsible for the fact that, amidst these frightful symptoms of anarchy, the catastrophe predicted centuries ago has not yet overtaken the Ottoman Empire.

This melancholy state of things has come to pass, as all the world knows, by successive degrees in the course of the nineteenth century, and as the disorder of the home government increased the various outlying provinces, which had been held within the empire only by the prestige of its past, have grad-

ually broken away from it. Some of them have become autonomous states under the protection of the western powers, others have passed under the ostensible suzerainty or into the occupation of neighbouring states. Greece took the lead, and was followed by Moldavia and Wallachia, now united under the name of Rumania, and the kingdom of Servia. Then came the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the creation of the principality of Bulgaria, the occupation of Egypt by the English, and finally the



MONUMENT TO THE SULTAN AT SMYRNA

cession of large tracts of territory to Russia, Greece, and Montenegro. In the course of the nineteenth century Turkey lost more than half of her possessions, and the process of attrition has not yet come to an end. The Armenians, encouraged by the success of their co-religionists, are now bent on securing the independence of their country, and whilst internecine quarrels in Macedonia and among the Albanians bid fair to put an end to Ottoman rule in European Turkey, the Arabs are disposed to make an attempt to rid themselves of the obnoxious Turk. Thus danger looms large from all quar-

ters, everywhere the sword of Damocles hangs over Ottoman rule, and if, at the opening of the twentieth century, we endeavour to draw inferences as to the future continuance of the Ottoman Empire from a consideration of the causes of this deplorable decline, we shall find ourselves forced, as impartial observers, to the following conclusions.

Religious and racial animosity—from which the Christian West is no more exempt than Moslem or Buddhist Asia—have ascribed the decay of Turkey partly to the Mohammedan religion and partly to the characteristics of the Ural-Altaic race. This assumption is radically false, and anyone who seriously studies the reform movement in Turkey will presently arrive at the conclusion that the fault lies elsewhere altogether. The history of the Middle Ages sufficiently proves that Islam does not take up a hostile attitude towards intellectual aspirations, learning, or enlightenment, and Gibbon, Draper, and others have borne witness to the fact. Islam says, "Seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave," and "Seek learning, though it were far hence in China," and there are many other pithy sayings which show that the teaching of Mohammed is far more favourable than Christianity to scientific inquiry. No less erroneous is the statement that Islam promotes absolutism, autocracy, and the arbitrary exercise of the sovereign power; there is no other religion so democratic in character, nor has the sovereign power ever been circumscribed to the same extent as by the maxims of the teaching of Mohammed. Again, with regard to the capacity of the Turkish race, western criticism is grossly mistaken. I have known Turkey from personal observation for half a century, and the pamphlet, *La Turquie d'aujourdhui et d'avant quarante ans*, which I published at Paris in 1898, can leave the reader in no doubt as to the aptitude and desire of the Turkish nation for reform. In the matter of general education the Turks have made extraordinary progress of late. The number of illiterate persons has vastly decreased, the Turkish language has laid aside the clumsiness which used to constitute a barrier to the appreciation of literary productions by the general public, and both *belles-lettres* and scientific literature have adapted themselves, in form and substance, to the occidental spirit in a fashion without parallel in Moslem countries. At the present day the press is influential in Turkey, though unhappily too often gagged by the censorship, and not novels alone, but scientific works are translated from European languages. The system of education, in particular, has been greatly improved, the number of primary and secondary schools grows larger every year, and the public service draws its supply of officials, engineers, and medical men from native sources. The government would fain check the rapid advance of the country on the lines of European manners and customs, but brisk and constant intercourse with the West is a force stronger than all the irades and firmans of a court that looks back regretfully to the good old times.

It is not the religion nor the character of the people, but wholly and solely the absolutist and rigidly autocratic form of government, which is to blame for the backward state of the nation up to this time and for its present decline. What profit is there in the culture of the few, when the vast majority, fast bound in the fetters of Asiatic conservatism, are incapable of challenging the prerogatives of a sovereign they reverence as divine? If the Turks were allowed time and leisure to emancipate themselves, under the protection of the growing enlightenment, from the bonds of despotic government, the wholesome rays of the sun of liberty could more readily and rapidly bring about the change from the old world to the new. But such a metamorphosis by no means suits the greed and lust of gain of the western powers, and

therefore the cabinets of Europe have never extended to the sorely tried people of Turkey the help demanded by the dictates of humanity. We espouse the cause of the Christians, forgetting that the Moslems have to suffer even more from the yoke of tyranny.

Nothing would be simpler than to force the sultan to introduce reforms by a joint fiat from the powers. Unfortunately nothing of the sort has yet been done. The worse confusion grows confounded in Turkey, the keener are the hopes of her greedy neighbours. The regeneration of Turkey is not yet utterly beyond hope, if Europe were seriously disposed to prevent the outbreak of the great war which would be likely to follow on the heels of a collapse of the Ottoman Empire. All that Turkey would have to do would be to concentrate her forces, by casting off the foreign elements in Europe and establishing a new centre in Asia Minor, where she commands more than twelve millions of Turks. The twentieth century would then witness the rise of a power in the near East which could act as the fittest agent of European civilisation in Mohammedan countries, in virtue of its inherent aptitude for government and the prestige of its spiritual headship of the greater part of the Islamite world. In this way, and in this way alone, can the spectre of the "Eastern Question," which has kept Europe busy for centuries, be successfully laid.

THE TURKISH EMPIRE

BRIEF REFERENCE-LIST OF AUTHORITIES BY CHAPTERS

[The letter *a* is reserved for Editorial Matter]

CHAPTER I. THE ANTECEDENTS OF THE TURKS.

b E. LAVISSE and A. RAMBAUD, *Histoire générale du IVème siècle à nos jours.*—*c* O. WOLFF, *Geschichte der Mongolen oder Tartaren.*

CHAPTER II. PERIOD OF AGGRANDISEMENT (1200–1520 A.D.)

b E. S. CREASY, *History of the Ottoman Turks.*—*c* E. LAVISSE and A. RAMBAUD, *Histoire générale.*—*d* G. LARPENT, *History of the Turkish Empire.*—*e* A. DE LA JONQUIÈRE, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman.*—*f* J. VON HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches.*—*g* C. D'OHSSON, *Tableau de l'empire ottoman.*—*h* DESPIES, *Les peuples de la Turquie.*—*i* A. DE LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Turquie.*

CHAPTER III. MERIDIAN AND BEGINNING OF DECLINE (1520–1656 A.D.)

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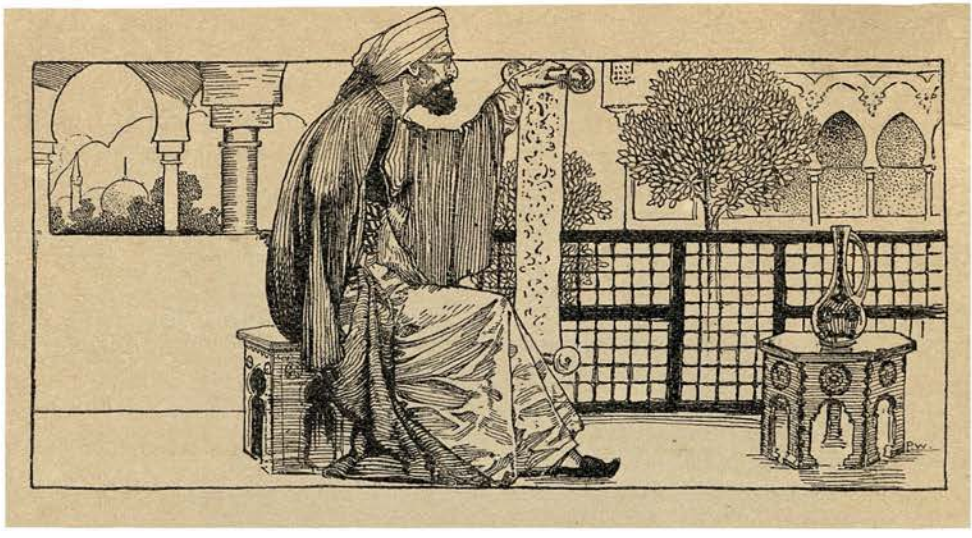


A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF TURKEY

PERIOD OF AGGRANDISEMENT

Early in the thirteenth century A.D. a little Turkish tribe, being driven from its home in central Asia, enters Armenia under Suleiman Shah. His son Ertoghrul helps Seljuk against Mongols, and in return is given land on the Byzantine frontier.

A.D.

1258 Osman, the son of Ertoghrul and the prince who gave his name to the Ottoman dynasty, is born. Whilst young he wins territory from the Greeks, of which Seljuk Sultan gives him the title of bey or prince.

1288 Ertoghrul dies, and is succeeded by **Osman.**

1300 Seljuk Empire falls before Mongols. The Turkish dynasties arise on its ruins, which principalities eventually become merged in that of Osman.

1301 Osman coins money and causes public prayer to be read in his name. This marks birth of Ottoman Empire. Osman establishes his capital at Yenisher and proceeds to extend his dominions.

1326 Brusa capitulates to Orkhan, son of Osman, after a siege of eight years.

1328 Osman dies, and is succeeded by **Orkhan,** who conquers many towns from the Greeks.

1330 Nicæa surrenders.

1336 Pergamum, capital of Mysia, is added to Ottoman dominions. For twenty years there is peace, in which military and civil organisation is completed. Janissary corps is instituted at this time.

1358 Suleiman, son of Orkhan, occupies first Ottoman stronghold in Europe (Tzympe). He dies in the same year.

1359 Orkhan dies, and is succeeded by **Murad I.** He extends his dominions in Europe.

1364 Murad defeats king of Hungary and Poland and princes of Bosnia, Servia, and Wallachia on banks of Maritza.

1389 Battle of Kosovo. Murad defeats united forces of Servia, Bosnia, Hungary, Albania, and Wallachia. After the battle, Murad is assassinated by a Servian. His son, **Bayazid I,** succeeds and immediately kills his brother.

1392 Mircea of Wallachia submits to Turks.

1396 Battle of Nikopoli. Christian forces under Sigismund of Hungary, with French and German knights, are again completely defeated by Sultan Bayazid.

1400 Bayazid is called away from an attack upon Constantinople by advance of Timur the Tatar.

1402 Battle of Angora. Bayazid is defeated and taken captive by Tatars.

1403 Bayazid dies in captivity. His four sons fight for what is left of his kingdom; after ten years **Muhammed I** is finally successful. He makes peace with his northern neighbors and restores internal organisation of country.

1421 Muhammed I dies, and is succeeded by his son **Murad II.**

1442 Hunyady defeats a Turkish army at Hermannstadt.

1443 Battle of Nish. Turks are completely routed by Christian allies under Hunyady, who crosses Balkans in pursuit. Murad signs treaty for ten years, and abdicates in favour of his son **Muhammed II.**
1444 Christians break treaty. Murad returns and defeats them at Varna. Murad again resigns, but returns on account of revolt of janissaries and spahis.
1451 Murad dies, and Muhammed II ascends throne for third time.
1453 Muhammed captures Constantinople. He also overthrows Wallachian ruler, Vlad the Impaler, and reduces Servia and Bosnia.
1454 Knights of Rhodes refuse to pay tribute, and expedition against them is unsuccessful.
1456 Siege of Belgrade. Muhammed is repulsed by Hunyady and Giovanni di Capistrano.
1460 Muhammed conquers Morea and annexes Athens.
1461 After repeated battles, Muhammed is obliged to recognise Scanderbeg as prince of Epirus and Albania.
1463 War breaks out with Venice.
1475 Crimea is taken by Ottomans.
1479 Venice concludes treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with Turkey. Greece and islands of Ægean are mainly in power of Turks.
1480 Ottomans storm Otranto and are defeated at Rhodes.
1481 Muhammed II dies, and is succeeded by his son **Bayazid II.** His younger brother Jem revolts, is defeated, and escapes to knights of Rhodes. He furnishes material for various intrigues, and finally dies in captivity after thirteen years, probably poisoned by Alexander Borgia.
1492 Bayazid is repulsed at Belgrade. Jews are expelled from Spain. Many seek refuge in Turkey.
1499 Turks fight with Venetians. Ottoman fleet first begins to be formidable.
1500 Turks take Lepanto, Modon, Coron, and Durazzo from Venetians.
1502 Venice makes peace with Turkey.
1512 Bayazid is forced by janissaries to abdicate in favour of his third son **Selim I,** who kills his brother and nephews. Moldavia becomes tributary to him.
1514 Selim marches against Persians and defeats them.
1516 Selim subjugates Syria and Palestine. Wallachia pays tribute of children.
1517 Egyptian campaign. Selim conquers mameluke sultans, occupies Cairo, and assumes title of Caliph.

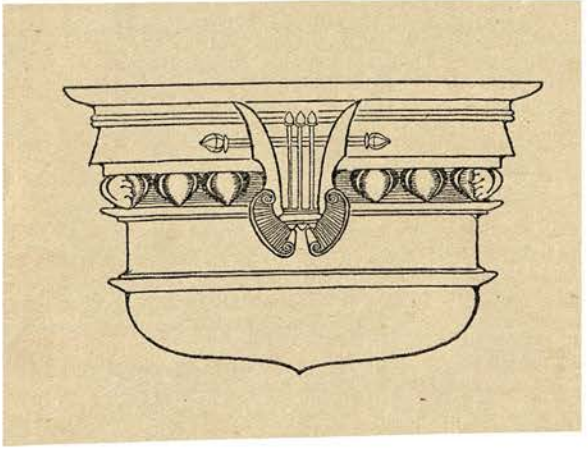
TURKEY AT ZENITH OF POWER

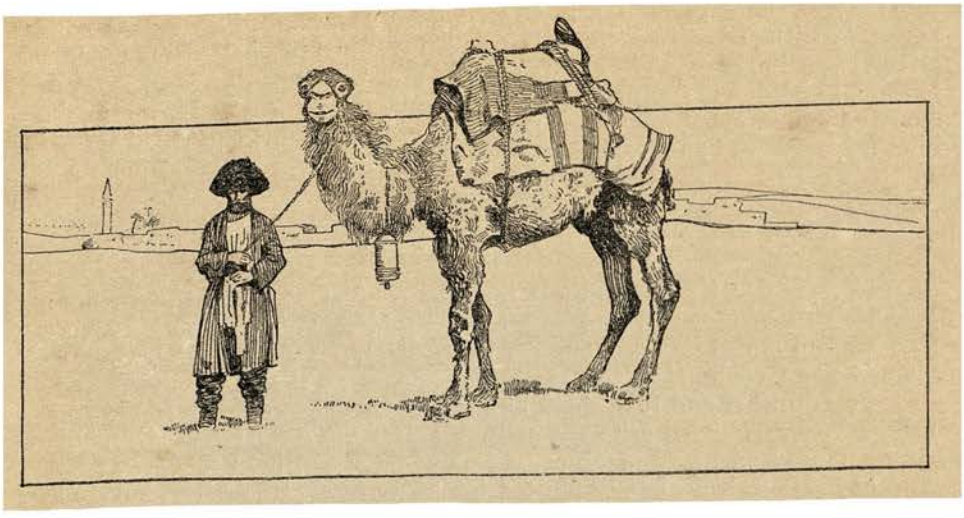
1520 Selim dies, and is succeeded by his son **Suleiman I,** called the Magnificent, under whom the Ottoman Empire reaches summit of its grandeur.
1521 Belgrade conquered by Turks.
1522 Rhodes is besieged and taken by Suleiman.
1526 Battle of Mohacs, in which king of Hungary is defeated. Hungary becomes Ottoman province.
1529 Suleiman appears before Vienna, but is repulsed after protracted siege.
1532 Suleiman returns to Vienna, but does not care to risk a battle with Charles V.
1533 Peace is made at Constantinople.
1535 Treaty is made between Franks and Turkey. Turkish navy is supreme in Mediterranean.
1540 Suleiman concludes treaty of peace with Vienna.
1541 Suleiman leads ninth campaign into Hungary.
1547 Truce is declared for five years.
1565 Suleiman repulsed at Malta.
1566 Suleiman dies while aiding his vassal in Hungary. He is succeeded by his son **Selim II.** In his reign occurs first conflict between Turks and Russians.
1569 Turks are repulsed before Astrakhan.
1570 Arabia is reduced by Sinan Pasha. Sultan is prayed for in Mecca.
1571 Turks capture Cyprus; battle of Lepanto, in which Turks are beaten by Christians.
1573 Don John of Austria takes Tunis.
1574 Tunis is won for Turks by Sinan Pasha. In the same year Selim dies, and is succeeded by his son **Murad III.** His reign is marked by internal corruption, the conquest of Azerbaijan and Georgia, and revolt in the Balkans.
1593 War breaks out between Turkey and Austria. First commercial treaty between Turkey and England.
1594 War resumed with Persia. Murad dies, and is succeeded by his son **Muhammed III.**
1596 Battle of Keresztes. Turks defeat allied forces of Austria and Transylvania.
1603 Muhammed dies, and is succeeded by his son **Ahmed I.**
1606 Peace of Sitavorok between Turkey and Austria.

1617 Ahmed dies, and is succeeded by his brother **Mustapha I,** who is an imbecile, and who is deposed after three months. He is succeeded by **Osman II,** son of Ahmed.
1619 Peace is concluded with shah of Persia. Janissaries revolt.
1622 Osman is murdered, and Mustapha is again raised to the throne, but only for fifteen months.
1623 **Murad IV,** son of Osman II, succeeds to throne. He introduces reforms and marches against Persians.
1635 Murad conquers Erivan.
1638 Murad recaptures Baghdad. Peace is made with Persia, in which Erivan is restored to the latter; Turkey retains Baghdad.
1640 Murad dies, aged only twenty-eight, and is succeeded by **Ibrahim I.** In his reign Azov is captured and Crete occupied.
1648 Ibrahim is forcibly deposed, and succeeded by his son **Muhammed IV.**
1656 Köprili Muhammed is made grand vizir.
1661 Muhammed dies, and is succeeded as vizir by his son Köprili Ahmed, who is virtually sultan.
1664 Turks are defeated by Austrians; truce of twenty years follows.
1669 Candia (Crete) surrenders to Turkish arms. Treaty of peace between Turkey and Vienna. Foundation of official power of Fanariots.
1670 Maina is subjugated.
1672 Michael of Poland surrenders Podolia and Ukraine to Turkey.
1673 Poles under Sobieski defeat Turks.
1676 Treaty of Zurawno with Poland. Sultan retains his possessions.
1683 Siege of Vienna by Kara Mustapha. After two months city is relieved by Sobieski.
1684 War breaks out with Venice.
1686 Buda is retaken by Austrians.
1687 Athens is taken by Venetians. Parthenon is destroyed by explosion. Turks are defeated at Mohacs and Muhammed IV is deposed. He is succeeded by his brother **Suleiman II.**
1689 Austrians take Belgrade. Nearly all Turkish possessions north of Danube have been lost. Venetians are defeated at Negropont. Köprili Mustapha is made grand vizir. He drives Austrians out of Servia and retakes Belgrade.
1691 Suleiman dies, and is succeeded by his brother, **Ahmed II.**
1695 Ahmed dies, and is succeeded by **Mustapha II,** son of Muhammed IV. He at first defeats Austrians.
1697 Battle of Zenta. Prince Eugene at head of Austrians defeats Ottomans.
1699 Peace of Karlowitz. Turkey makes peace with Russia, Austria, Venice, and Poland.
1703 Mustapha abdicates in favour of his brother **Ahmed III.**
1711 War breaks out with Russia, in which Turks are successful. Treaty of the Pruth.
1715 Vizir Ali Pasha wins back Morea from Venice.
1716 Fanariot rule in Wallachia is begun.
1718 Treaty of Passarowitz, after Prince Eugene has captured Belgrade. Austria acquires the rest of Hungary and large portions of Servia and Wallachia.
1720 Treaty of perpetual peace with Russia.
1730 Ahmed abdicates in consequence of an insurrection, and is succeeded by his nephew, **Mahmud I.**
1736 War with Persia comes to an end, in a peace disadvantageous to Turkey. War with Russia begins. Austria joins Russia. Marshal Munich's campaigns.
1739 Treaty of Belgrade restores to Turkey territory in Servia and Wallachia lost in 1718. Russia also makes peace on moderate terms.
1754 Mahmud dies, and is followed by his brother, **Osman III.**
1757 Mahmud's son **Mustapha III** comes to the throne.
1761 First treaty between Turkey and Prussia.
1767 War is declared upon Russia.
1770 Russians conquer Moldavia and Wallachia and land troops in the Morea. Greeks revolt. Turkish fleet is burned at Tchesme by Russians.
1771 Russians conquer Crimea.
1773 Mustapha IV is succeeded by his brother **Abdul-Hamid.**
1774 Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji is signed with Russia under unfavourable conditions to Turkey. From this time dates Russia's claim to protect Christian subjects of the Porte.
1783 Russia annexes the Crimea.
1788 Porte again declares war on Russia. Austria joins Russia. The latter is successful at Otchakov.
1789 Turkish armies are defeated by Russians in Moldavia and by Austrians south of Danube. Abdul-Hamid dies, and is succeeded by his nephew.
1792 War concluded by Treaty of Jassy.
1798 Napoleon's invasion of Egypt leads Porte to join coalition against France.
1799 Turkish army is destroyed by Napoleon at Abukir.

1800 Turks are defeated by French general, Kleber, at Heliopolis. Egypt is eventually taken from French by English and restored to Turkey. Russia, in fear of France, joins Turkey to reconquer Ionian Islands. Establishment of Ionian republics.
1804 Servians drive the janissaries out of the country and demand Servian troops for garrisons.
1805 Napoleon's envoy prevails on sultan to dismiss rulers in Wallachia and Moldavia, and in consequence Russia occupies these principalities.
1807 Selim, who has given dissatisfaction to janissaries by his reforms, by his new troops modelled on European plan, and by his French sympathies, is dethroned and succeeded by his nephew, **Mustapha IV.** Truce between armies on the Danube follows Treaty of Tilsit.
1808 Mustapha is deposed, and succeeded by his younger brother, **Mahmud II.** He is forced to submit to demands of janissaries.
1809 War again breaks out with Russia.
1812 Treaty of Bukharest is signed with Russia, chiefly through intervention of England. Bessarabia is ceded to Russia.
1820 Mahmud attacks Ali Pasha of Janina, who has revolted in Albania. This gives signal for insurrection in the Morea.
1821 Greek war breaks out. Greeks are at first everywhere successful.
1822 Independence of Greece is proclaimed. Turks take vengeance for damage to their fleet by massacring the inhabitants of Chios.
1824 Mehemet Ali of Egypt sends army to the Peloponnesus under his son Ibrahim in response to call of sultan. He is generally successful.
1827 Turks capture Athens in June. In July, England, Russia, and France sign a treaty at London to stop war in the East. Turkey rejects mediation of powers, and in consequence battle of Navarino is fought in October. Turco-Egyptian fleet is destroyed.
1828 Russia declares war on Turkey.
1829 Treaty of Adrianople between Russia and Turkey. Mahmud is induced by false information to surrender.
1831 Egyptian army under Ibrahim begins conquest of Syria. Turks routed on Orontes, and at pass of Beilan.
1832 Greece becomes independent under King Otto of Bavaria. Ibrahim conquers last Turkish army at Konieh.
1833 Peace made with Mehemet Ali through mediation of France. Egypt receives Syria. Treaty of alliance is signed between Turkey and Russia. Western powers refuse to recognise it, and both France and England try to break Russian influence. France becomes patron of Mehemet Ali.
1839 Mahmud marches against Ibrahim and is defeated at Nizib. Turkish fleet surrenders to Mehemet Ali at Alexandria. Mahmud dies in same year, and is succeeded by his son **Abdul-Mejid.** On November 3rd he issues an organic statute of government, called the hatti-sherif of Gulhane.
1841 Four European powers without sanction of France sign treaty confining Mehemet Ali to his Egyptian possession under suzerainty of sultan. Anglo-Austrian fleet is sent to aid Turkey in reducing Mehemet to submission. He is now recognised as hereditary ruler of Egypt.
1843 Remodelling of military force of empire is completed.
1848 Revolution breaks out in Wallachia and Moldavia, and Russian troops occupy country until 1850.
1849 Sultan refuses to give up defeated Hungarian chiefs who have sought refuge with him.
1853 War with Russia breaks out. Russian armies occupy Wallachia and Moldavia. Porte declares war.
1854 Siege of Silistria. Russians are repeatedly repulsed. In September occurs expedition to Crimea. Turkey is supported by England and France.
1855 Allies capture Sebastopol after nearly a year's siege.
1856 March 30th, Treaty of Paris is signed by ministers of France, England, Russia, Turkey, Sardinia, Austria, and Prussia. This treaty recognises the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire; regulates military status of Bosporus, Dardanelles, and Black Sea; provides for Christian subjects of sultan. Porte publishes hatti-humayun.
1860 Disturbances break out in Syria. French army restores order.
1861 Abdul-Mejid dies, and is succeeded by his son, **Abdul-Aziz.** This sultan visits London and Paris in company with his two nephews.
1870 Russia repudiates neutrality of Black Sea as declared in Treaty of Paris, and England acquiesces.
1875 Bosnia and Herzegovina revolt. Turkish treasury is declared insolvent.
1876 Abdul-Aziz is deposed, and dies, probably by his own hand. **Murad V,** son of Abdul-Mejid, is raised to the throne; but he is incapable of ruling, and after three months is succeeded by his brother, **Abdul-Hamid II.** Bulgaria revolts; massacres perpetrated by Turkish soldiers arouse Christian nations. Servia and Montenegro take up arms,

1877 Conference of powers is held at Constantinople. Porte rejects its proposals and promulgates a liberal constitution. In April, Russia declares war. In December, Plevna falls, after brave defence by Osman Pasha.
1878 Russian general, Gourko, crosses Balkans and occupies Sofia. Sultan prorogues parliament and suspends constitution. Peace is concluded in March, at San Stefano: England refuses her assent, and in June treaty is revised at Berlin. Turkey loses large part of her European possessions.
1885 By a popular movement, Eastern Rumelia is united with Bulgaria. Said Pasha, grand vizir for over six years, resigns, and Kiamil Pasha takes his place.
1890 First Armenian manifestation takes place. Sultan uses this pretext for abrogating privileges of Armenians.
1893 Kiamil's ministry falls and Djevad Pasha becomes grand vizir. Policy towards England is changed to coolness; Kiamil's friendly policy towards Germany is continued.
1894 Armenian massacres occur at Sasun. England, France, and Russia insist on international commission of inquiry.
1895 Powers present identical note demanding reforms. Sultan refuses reforms and makes Said grand vizir. September 30th, Armenian "Huntchak" revolutionists make demonstration in Constantinople. Many Armenians are killed. Said is dismissed and Kiamil reinstated. Other massacres occur in different parts of empire. Kiamil is dismissed and Khalil Rifaat Pasha becomes vizir.
1896 Insurrection breaks out in Crete. Second Armenian massacre in Constantinople occurs. Many Armenians leave the country.
1897 War breaks out between Turkey and Greece in consequence of Cretan troubles. Turkey is victorious.
1898 France, England, Italy, and Russia, acting together, force sultan to evacuate Crete. Prince George of Greece is appointed high commissioner. William II visits Constantinople.
1899 Germany gets concession for railroad to Baghdad.
1902 Uprising in Macedonia.
1903 Massacres in Macedonia.
1904 Gendarmes in Macedonia put under foreign officers. Massacres in Armenia.
1905 International naval demonstration against Turkey.
1906. Egyptian territory in the Sinai Peninsula occupied by Turkish troops, who are subsequently withdrawn at the demand of the British government. The Porte agrees to certain financial reforms.
1907. Railway developments. Lord Cromer resigns (April) as British agent in Egypt, and is succeeded by Sir Eldon Gorst, May 16th.





BOOK IV

SOME MINOR STATES

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN EGYPT

THE dynasty of the Ayubites, founded by the great Saladin, had been overturned in 1250, and the power fell into the hands of the mamelukes (*mameluk* in Arabic means slave). From that time the chiefs of this military order bore the title of sultan (*soudan*) of Egypt. At the time of that revolution the mamelukes were recruited chiefly from Turks of Kiptchak or from slaves carried off by the Turks in southern Russia. The chiefs who rose from their ranks to the degree of royalty formed the succession of sultans called Baharites. This dynasty reigned from 1309 to 1381. It was replaced by the succession of mameluke sultans called Tcherkess (Circassians); for at that time the military order was chiefly recruited from slaves purchased in Circassia.

The mameluke army owned, governed, and exploited Egypt as if it had been its own property. The native *fellah* toiled to provide for the expenses of the court and of the royal harem, as well as for the luxury of the army. Egypt and Syria were prey to a stratocracy, as the regency of Algiers was later, with this difference, that the mamelukes were a cavalry corps. This cavalry, moreover, was the bravest in the Ottoman world, as it was also the most magnificently equipped in horses, in valuable arms, in sumptuous vestments, and in jewels. The beys or emirs who commanded the troops were twenty-four in number; the generalissimo was called *emir al-kebir*. Besides the beys of the army there were twenty-four more who governed the provinces, twelve of whom were for Egypt and the same number for Syria.

Many of the mameluke sultans were good governors; they signed advantageous treaties of commerce, and were distinguished by their taste for science, poetry, and the arts. They embellished Cairo with superb mosques, such as the Jami al-Mouïeb, founded by Sheikh al-Mahmudi (died in 1421); the Jami al-Ashrafieh, founded by Ashraf Barsebai (1423); and the mosque al-Ghurieh, founded by Kansu al-Ghuri.

WAR BETWEEN SELIM I AND THE MAMELUKES (1516 A.D.)

It was under Kansu al-Ghuri that the conflict with the Ottomans took place. This conflict had long seemed inevitable. The first war between the two Moslem states broke out under Bayazid II. Kansu at the beginning of Selim's reign committed the same imprudence as the shah, giving asylum to Prince Korkud and furnishing him support. When Selim made war upon Persia, Egypt assumed a hostile attitude; after the conquest of Mesopotamia Kansu placed an army of observation upon the northern frontier of Syria. Two of his beys had already plotted to betray him—Khair Bey, governor of Aleppo, and Berdi Ghazali, bey of the army. Kansu met the Ottomans at Marj-Dabik, near Aleppo, on August 24th, 1516. The Egyptians were defeated, thanks to the action of the artillery, which terrified them, and owing also to the defection of the *djelbans*, or mamelukes, bought in the Sudan. The resistance was so feeble that the Egyptians did not lose more than a thousand men. The rest dispersed like a flock of birds. Aleppo was surrendered by the traitor Khair Bey, and the sultan, on the "Blue Place" of the city, received the oath of allegiance. Afterwards Malatia, Behesni, Aintab, Kalat ar-Rum, and all the frontier places of the mamelukes fell into the hands of the Ottomans. Selim made his entry successively into Hamath (ancient Epiphania), Homs (Emesa), and Damascus, the holy city, the "perfume of Paradise," which preserves the tombs of the first disciples and of the wives of the prophet, of Saladin, and of many Moslem saints and heroes. Finally Gaza and Ramleh opened their gates to the enemy.

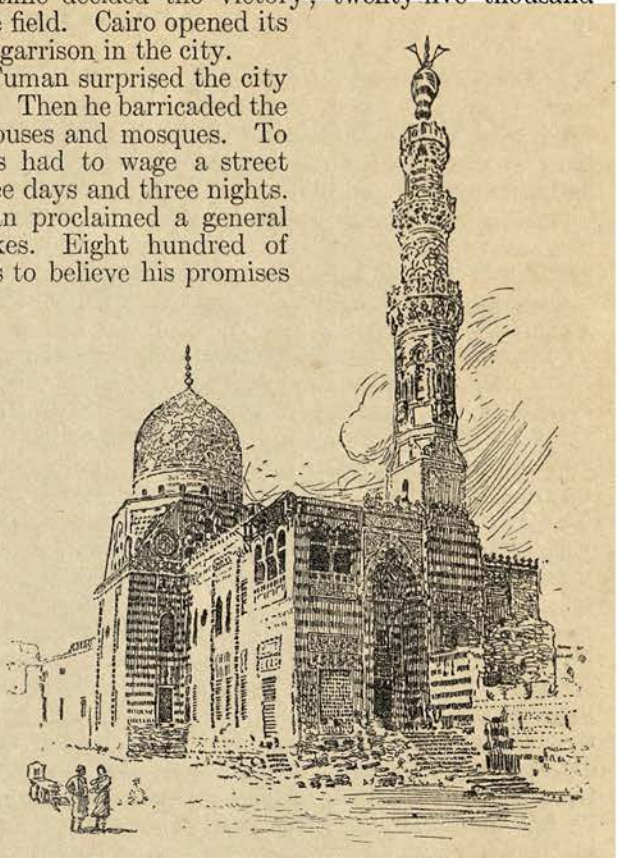
In the mean time the mamelukes had elected a successor to Kansu; this was the brave and energetic Tuman Bey. Selim I, who hesitated to cross the desert, sent ambassadors to the new Sudan with offers of peace on condition that he would recognise his suzerainty. Tuman received them with honour, but as they were leaving the audience Alan Bey fell upon them and beheaded them. Thus the anarchy which prevailed among the mamelukes did not permit them either to make war effectively or to treat for peace. A second battle was fought near Gaza (October 28th, 1516) between the Egyptians and the Turkish vanguard commanded by Sinan Pasha. The mamelukes were again crushed by the artillery. The sultan then received the chiefs of Safed, Tiberias, Naplouse, Hebron, and Jerusalem, and the submission of the sheikhs of the Arab tribes. Only Acre remained standing in Syria; Egypt was open to invasion.

THE CONQUEST OF EGYPT (1517 A.D.)

On January 22nd, 1517, Selim camped on the plain of Ridania in sight of Cairo. This time the Egyptians had some artillery, but the traitors Khair Bey and Berdi Ghazali showed the sultan a way to turn the batteries. Tuman, however, by force of pure bravery almost won the victory; he had

made an agreement with two of his beys that at the head of a number of picked mamelukes, covered with coats of mail, they should charge straight upon the sultan and take him dead or alive. Such was the impetuosity of their attack that they reached the standards of the Porte; but there they mistook the grand vizir Sinan Pasha for the sultan and killed him. The Turkish artillery for the third time decided the victory; twenty-five thousand mamelukes remained on the field. Cairo opened its gates and the sultan put a garrison in the city.

Seven days afterwards Tuman surprised the city and massacred its garrison. Then he barricaded the streets and fortified the houses and mosques. To regain Cairo the Ottomans had to wage a street battle, which lasted for three days and three nights. After the victory the sultan proclaimed a general amnesty for the mamelukes. Eight hundred of them were so imprudent as to believe his promises and were decapitated on Rumeila Place. Fifty thousand of the inhabitants were massacred. However, Tuman resisted bravely on the river above Cairo and won a naval victory on the Nile. Harassed by this war, Selim once again proposed peace, offering the same conditions as heretofore; again his envoy was massacred. Selim replied to this violation of justice by executing three thousand prisoners. The resistance might have been prolonged if Tuman had not had the imprudence to return to the Delta. He was tracked by the traitor Ghazali, abandoned by the Bedouins on whose support he had counted, surrounded by Selim and all his generals, and finally delivered up by the Arab Hassan Meri, to whose hospitality he had trusted. "God be praised!" exclaimed Selim, on learning of this capture, "now Egypt is conquered."



MOSQUE AND TOMB OF KAIT-BEY, CAIRO

Egypt preserved almost intact its old organisation, including its mameluke army and its twenty-four beys. The latter, however, were subordinated to a pasha who resided in the citadel of Cairo. The first pasha was the traitor Khair Bey. The conquest of Egypt assured to Selim the possession of its dependency Yemen. Selim then became in reality the "servitor of the holy cities." He had discovered at Cairo a sheikh, a poor devil called al-Mustansir b'Illah, who was none other than the eighteenth caliph of the second branch of the Abbassides. Selim laid hands on him and did not give him his liberty until he had signed a deed by which, in return for some money and a pension, al-Mustansir ceded to him all the rights of the caliphate. He then added

this title to his other titles; but the caliph was now no longer an old needy sheikh; he was at the head of the most powerful army Islam has ever possessed.[b] From that day Islam has had only one head, uniting under his authority all political and religious rights. This head is the sultan of Constantinople.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE COUNTRY

After this important act Selim organised the government of his new province. Egypt became a pashalik, the chief official of which was Khair Bey, whose defection at the battle of Marj-Dabik had involved the fall of the mameluke dynasty. The sultan, however, only half trusting a man who had already perjured himself, and with a view to present as well as to future interests, established beside him powers which would control and balance his. It was a see-saw government with a system of counter-weights. The pasha was intrusted with the main executive, the appointment of all superior orders, and the hierarchic pre-eminence over all officials. Beside him was a military chief, Khair ad-din, an officer in the Ottoman army who resided in the citadel and was expressly commanded never to go out of it. Under this chief, not under the pasha, were placed the six thousand horsemen and six thousand gunners who composed the entire permanent military force of Egypt. This troop was divided into six corps, or *odjaks*. The chiefs of the odjaks played an important part in the administration. Without them the pasha could decide nothing important; and when a disagreement arose between these military authorities and the political functionary, decision was suspended until Constantinople had spoken. As a mixed power there existed, moreover, the mameluke emirs, who vacillated continually, thus keeping their forces balanced.

Selim, in order to avoid internal struggles, had in the reorganisation of Egypt given a rôle to these emirs. The country was divided into twelve *sandjaks*, or districts, and had for *sandjaklis*, or beys, the chiefs of the mamelukes who had made their submission. Thus, because of the complication of the machinery, Egypt was inevitably given over to struggles between high dignitaries, whose arrogance was co-extensive with their power. Selim had foreseen the situation; he had indeed encouraged these dissensions, because he felt that their tendency was to strengthen and consolidate his authority in these distant possessions. When he had promulgated a constitution he left Cairo and returned to Rumelia. The sultan's escort on this journey is said to have consisted of a thousand camels laden with gold and silver, without counting other spoils not less precious.

The administration of Khair Bey was not a happy one for Egypt. It was one of exaction and odious meanness, and such was the hatred he inspired that he was not pardoned even when dead. Popular superstition said that in al-Medresse al-Khair Beyi, the college which the pasha had founded and in which he had been buried, a voice was heard groaning every night and that it was the voice of Khair Bey. He died in the year 1522; meanwhile Suleiman had succeeded Selim. Egypt occupied the first place in Suleiman's thoughts. The new ruler completed—to speak metaphorically—the system of counter-weights created by Selim I, and added a new wheel to the established machinery—that of two divans, one called the "great," the other the "little" Divan. These deliberative assemblies regulated almost the whole administration of the country; their sphere of influence was independent of the pasha, who was not permitted to be present at the debates except in a

barred gallery and behind a curtain. The *kiahya* and the *defterdar* of the governor consulted with the pasha before the opening of the session and delivered to him afterwards a report of the proceedings. The rôle of the pasha was thus purely executive; the Divan was the legislative power.

In all that Suleiman decreed one purpose was manifest: to reduce the authority of his first functionary in Egypt to a purely nominal value. The pasha was ordered henceforth to reside in the citadel, where he was under the hand of the aga who commanded there. The term of his office was limited to twelve months, at the end of which his functions legally ended unless through an imperial firman he was installed for a second term.[c]

If the object of the Ottoman sultans in establishing such a dualistic and complicated system of government had been to cause party strife and thus prevent any one power from becoming too strong, they certainly succeeded. The history of this period is one long succession of murder and intrigue; and governors followed one another in rapid succession; under Suleiman I there were sixteen. The mamelukes who were in authority at this time were called *ghuzz;* they continued to recruit their ranks from slaves. During the two centuries, however, following the Ottoman conquest the power of the mameluke beys gradually increased until under Ali Bey it became independent. Ali Bey had become *sheikh al-beled* or military governor of the province in 1763; in 1768, discovering that the sultan had ordered him to be deposed and beheaded, he persuaded the mamelukes to join with him in driving out the pasha appointed by the sultan and in making Egypt independent. The rebellion was successful, and Egypt enjoyed a period of prosperity under Ali Bey, who even extended his power by conquests in Syria and Arabia. Prosperity did not long continue, however; in 1771 Muhammed Bey, who had been his favourite mameluke, rebelled against him and with the aid of Ali's enemies drove him out of the country and himself became sheikh al-beled. Ali, upon trying to effect a return, was captured and poisoned by Muhammed. A turbulent period followed Muhammed's death; the position of sheikh al-beled was disputed by the three beys, Ismail, Ibrahim, and Murad, and the power was finally divided between the last two. In 1785 a Turkish force under Hassan Pasha was sent against the rebellious beys and occupied Cairo, but the war with Russia recalled this force, and the country was ruled first by Ismail and then by Ibrahim and Murad, until, in 1798, the French under Bonaparte landed in Egypt.[a]

MURAD BEY
(1750–1801)

THE FRENCH EXPEDITION TO EGYPT (1798 A.D.)

The defeats of the Turks, the increasing disorders of their administration, the independent aspirations of Greece and Servia, the incessant revolts of the pashas—everything led Europe to believe in the near end of the Ottoman

domination. The Directory judged it advisable not only to have its share in the dismemberment of the empire, but to seize that share in advance, on its own responsibility and without the participation of Europe; hence an expedition into Egypt was resolved upon. Though the expedition had presented numerous chances of success, it proved a great mistake. The Porte was easily persuaded that France had no other object than to chastise the mamelukes, to re-establish its commerce, and to find a passage to India. Had France offered money it might have obtained the concession of all its demands. The internal divisions of the mamelukes would naturally paralyse their resistance. The Christian populations would have furnished numerous auxiliaries; the emir Beshir, who commanded the Maronites and Druses, could bring together seven hundred and forty thousand men in Syria, and Egypt counted more than half a million Christians. But it would have been necessary to use as a standard the Cross, without which no expedition could succeed in the Orient, and the French republic had proscribed God! Bonaparte's soldiers respected mosques more than monasteries; at Jaffa they massacred Christians as well as Moslems: hence the Christians of Syria remained inactive.

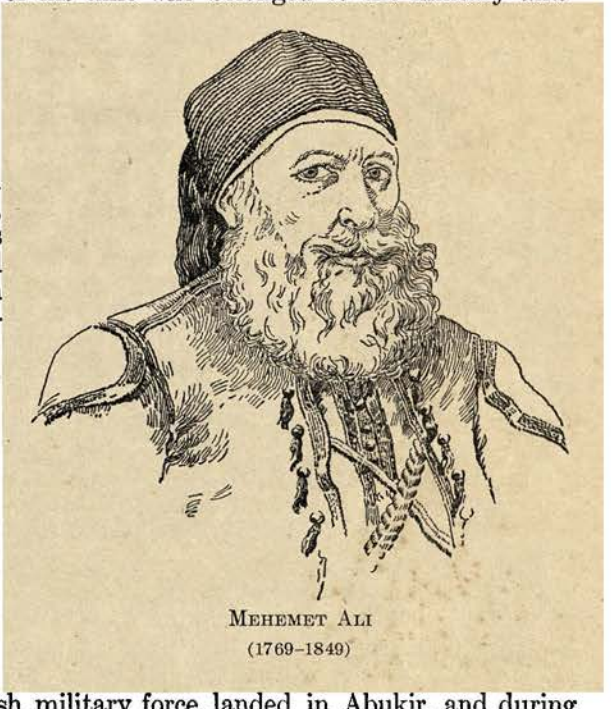
England did not lose this opportunity to break the old alliance between the Porte and France. The rather confused explanation of Ruffin, the *chargé d'affaires*, could not convince the Divan; war was declared against France (September 1st, 1798). Ruffin was conducted to the Seven Towers, and all the French living at Constantinople were thrown into prison. Ali Pasha seized Butrinto and Prevesa, which had been ceded to France by the Treaty of Campo-Formio, whilst a Russian fleet starting from Sebastopol came to blockade the Ionian Islands. A triple alliance united Turkey, England, and Russia. The grand vizir concentrated two armies destined to expel the French from Egypt under the orders of the pashas of Syria and Anatolia. The mamelukes had been defeated in the battles of the Pyramids and of Embabeh; Cairo and the whole of upper Egypt fell into the hands of the victors. But the destruction by the English of the French fleet at Abukir deprived Bonaparte of all possibility of reinforcements; he was a prisoner in his conquered territory. Mustapha Pasha landed eighteen thousand men at Abukir to attack Bonaparte from the rear, but the rapidity of the young general's movements defeated the plans of the *serasker*. Without leaving them time to intrench themselves Bonaparte fell upon the Ottomans and cut them to pieces (1799). Following up his success he invaded Syria, and in spite of the plague which was decimating his army laid siege to Acre.

In spite of its victories, the French army was in a most critical condition: the English, masters of the sea, intercepted all communications; the grand vizir was approaching at the head of a considerable army; the French troops, reduced to less than half by battles and disease, were in addition discouraged by the departure of their commander. Bonaparte had intrusted the command to Kléber and had left secretly for France, whither the presentiment of his high destiny summoned him. Kléber entered into negotiations with the English for the evacuation of Egypt, but Sidney Smith demanded that the French army should surrender at discretion. Kléber in indignation tore up the treaty. "Soldiers!" he exclaimed, "such insolence can be answered only by victories." He then marched to meet the grand vizir with six thousand men and destroyed the Turkish army near the ruins of Heliopolis (1800). But an assassin's dagger delivered the Porte of this redoubtable adversary; Menou, who succeeded him, was beaten by the English at Canopus and thereupon evacuated Egypt (September, 1801).[d]

Bonaparte's expedition into Egypt was accompanied by a large number of savants, who collected much valuable information concerning the country and its inhabitants. The results of their research have been published in a work of several volumes called *Description de l'Égypte*. During Kléber's administration Egypt began once more to be prosperous, but after his death the land was soon plunged again into the turmoils and strifes of contending parties and nations. It was during the French invasion that the famous Mehemet Ali, who was destined to play such a large part in Egyptian affairs, first came into prominence.[a]

Mehemet Ali

Mehemet Ali was born in 1769 at Kavala, a little town on the Macedonian coast. Although of a good family, he had had no school education—as was the case with most young Turks of his time who belonged to the military and lower official class. However, growing up in the divan of his uncle, the *mutesellim* (vice-governor) of his native city, he developed at an early age a practical mind for business and acquired a quick comprehension of affairs, which never left him. In his young manhood he speculated with ability and fortune in Macedonian tobacco, the lucrative product of his country. This career was, however, cut short in 1799, when his uncle, in compliance with an order of the Porte, sent to Egypt, against the French invading army, a contingent of three hundred soldiers, equipped by himself and under the leadership of his young son Ali Aga, and appointed Mehemet Ali mentor for his twenty-nine-year-old cousin. It was more than a year before the Turkish military force landed in Abukir, and during that time Mehemet Ali, who was intellectually superior to his cousin, soon became the actual leader of his uncle's troop of militia. Mehemet then so distinguished himself before Rosetta, in the expedition to Cairo, and in the battle of Rachmaniyeh, that in 1801 he was promoted by the kapudan pasha the commander-in-chief of the Turkish troops, to the grade of major (binbashi), and was warmly recommended to the new Turkish governor of Egypt, Khosru Pasha.[e]

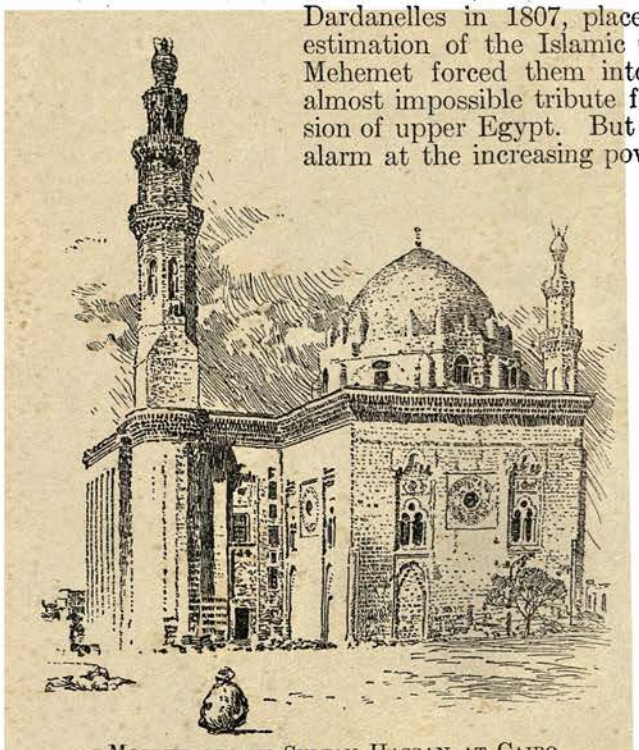


MEHEMET ALI
(1769–1849)

Mehemet far exceeded Khosru in intelligence and ability, and played his cards so well that in 1805 Khosru was recalled and Mehemet Ali appointed in his place.[a] But neither the Divan nor the mameluke beys who reigned in upper Egypt concealed from themselves the danger with which a new power, rising so energetically, threatened the old conditions in the province. At the same time that the beys, abandoning their personal quarrels, united

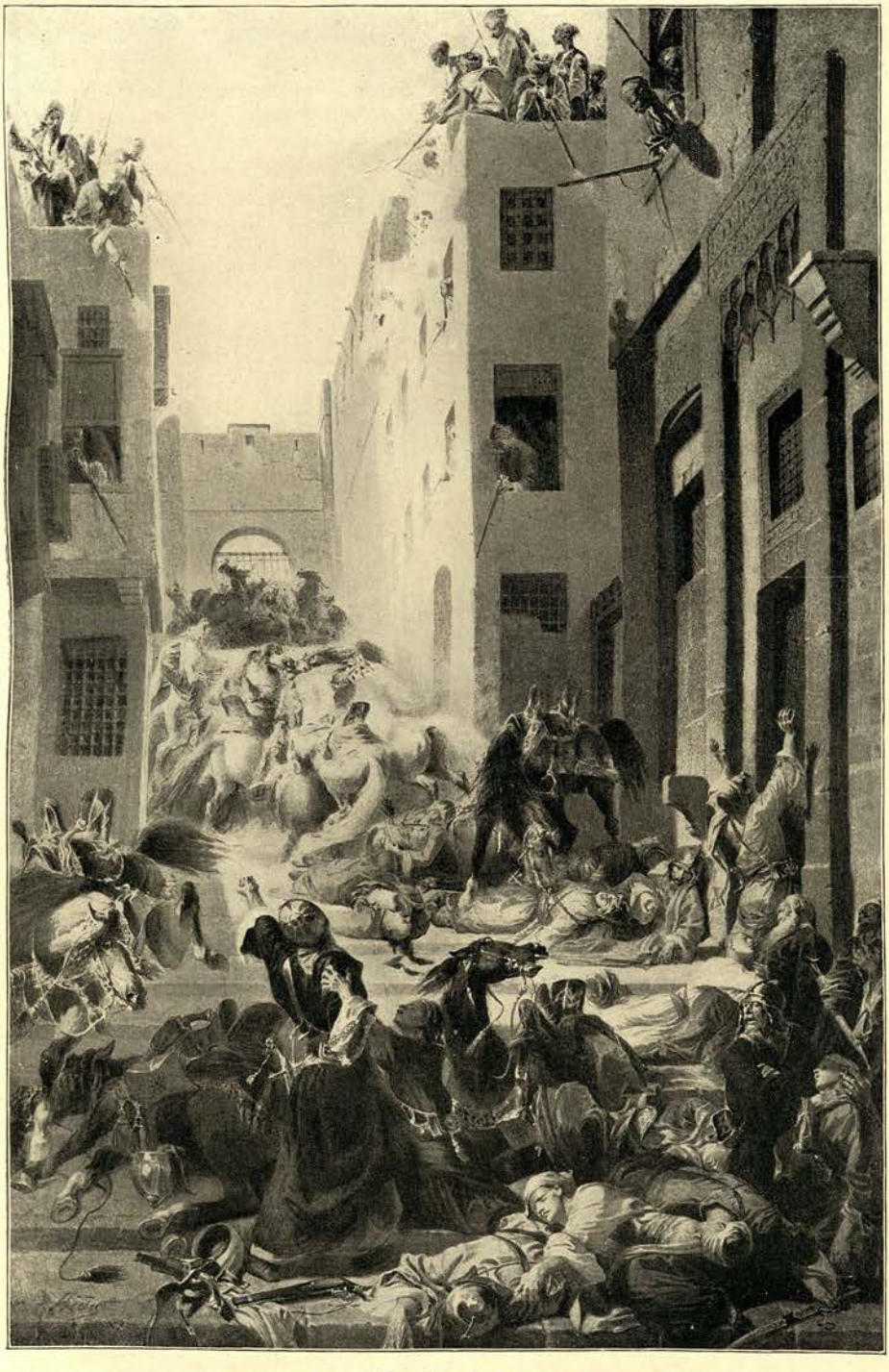
in a struggle against Mehemet Ali, the Divan despatched a fleet to drive him out of Egypt. This occurred in 1806.

Mehemet Ali, however, succeeded in turning the double attack to his own advantage. With a sum of 50,000 ducats he bribed the high admiral, who procured for him the investiture of the whole of Egypt and then threw the prestige of legality into the scale against the undertakings of the mamelukes. The understanding of the mamelukes with the English, who occupied Alexandria for some time whilst Duckworth forced a passage through the Dardanelles in 1807, placed them still lower in the estimation of the Islamic Orient, and the next year Mehemet forced them into an agreement to pay an almost impossible tribute for the undisturbed possession of upper Egypt. But when the Porte, filled with alarm at the increasing power of the pasha, entered into new intrigues with the mameluke beys, Mehemet Ali himself broke the agreement; he renewed his attacks upon them and won several victories in the years 1809 and 1810. In February, 1811, he invited their leaders and dignitaries to Cairo to a general assembly to discuss a new peace and a joint campaign against the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula. When a large number of them had come together he had them treacherously murdered.[e]



MOSQUE OF THE SULTAN HASSAN AT CAIRO

Mehemet Ali, now absolute master in Egypt, sent an army against the Wahhabees. Ibn Se'oud defeated Tusun Pasha, Mehemet's son, in the defiles of Judeiyideh; but overcome by superior forces he could not prevent the fall of Jiddah and of Medina (1813). Two months later the emir's son evacuated Mecca. The struggle continued without disadvantage for the Wahhabees until the death of Ibn Se'oud (1815); his son then negotiated with Tusun. The demands of Mehemet Ali, who insisted that the emir should become his prisoner, caused the war to begin anew. Ibrahim Pasha, the second son of Mehemet Ali, experienced at first several defeats, but important reinforcements allowed him again to take the initiative; the emir, abandoned by part of the Arab tribes whom he had bought for gold, was obliged to capitulate in Direeyeh, his capital, after a siege of seven months (1818). His head rolled under the executioner's sword at Constantinople; the Wahhabees were conquered but not destroyed; twelve years had not elapsed before they had retaken Medina, seized caravans at the gates of Mecca, and again prohibited the faithful to have access to the Kaaba. The expedition made into Yemen under the reign of Abdul-Aziz did not have any more efficacious results.



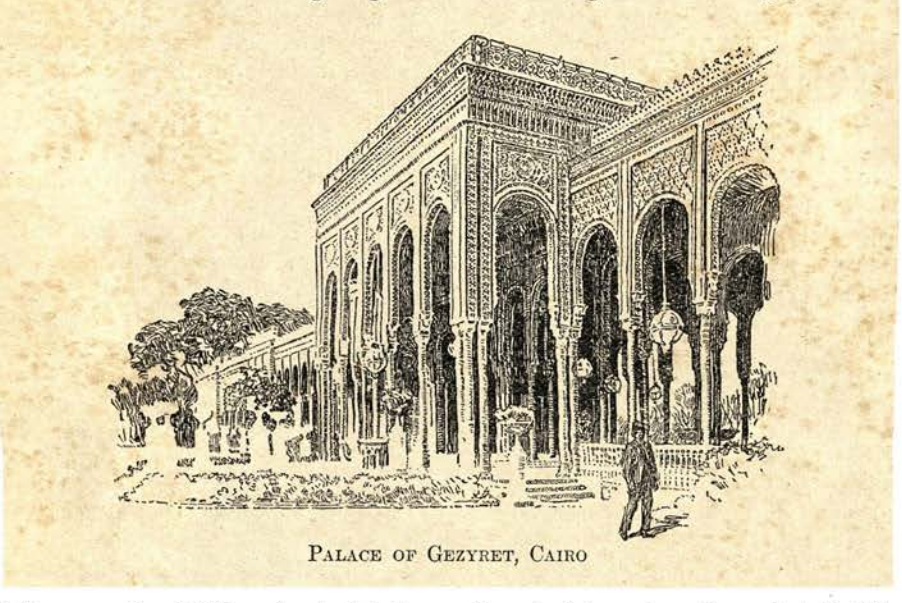
THE MASSACRE OF THE MAMELUKES

(From the painting by Alexandre Bida, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

Mehemet Ali then turned all his attention to the internal administration of Egypt. He constructed a canal from Alexandria to Cairo; formed an army on the European plan, the reorganisation of which was intrusted to French officers, notably to Colonel Sèves; he created a marine of war and established arsenals and foundries. The lot of the fellahs was improved; exaction and insolence were punished with the greatest severity; schools were opened, and the pashas and beys were ordered to send their sons to Europe to study. During this time his sons conquered the neighbouring countries—Kordofan, Darfur, etc. Except for the tribute which he paid, Mehemet Ali was a veritable sovereign.

The Revolt of Mehemet Ali

The embarrassment occasioned the sultan by the resistance of the old Turkish party appeared to Mehemet Ali to offer a favourable opportunity to establish his independence; however, being resolved not to throw off the mask until in the last extremity, he sought for reasons to colour his revolt. He began by refusing to pay the arrear tribute of eighteen months, arguing that the sacrifices which he had imposed upon himself during the last war furnished an equivalent; finally his disagreements with Abdallah, pasha of Acre, offered him the desired occasion. Abdallah refused to withdraw the protection which he was giving to contraband goods from Egypt and to



PALACE OF GEZYRET, CAIRO

deliver up the fellahs who had taken refuge in his realm; immediately fifty thousand men, commanded by Ibrahim, invaded Syria (October 20th, 1831). In the space of a few days Jaffa, Gaza, and Kaiffa were captured and Abdallah was shut up in Acre. The sultan commanded Mehemet Ali to recall his troops and submit the disagreement to him, promising full and prompt justice. The pasha replied by demanding the investiture of Syria as a condition of his obedience. A hatti-sherif declared him *firmanli* (outlawed), and Hussein Pasha was ordered to march against the Egyptians. In the mean time Acre, although valiantly defended, was at the last extremity; on May

27th, 1832, Ibrahim delivered an attack, and Abdallah, after a desperate resistance, was obliged to surrender. The Ottoman army, which was advancing to relieve the place, was defeated before Damascus, which opened its gates to the conqueror (June 14th); the pasha of Aleppo tried in vain to stop Ibrahim at Homs on the Orontes; he lost three thousand men and all his artillery. Hussein Pasha, the exterminator of the janissaries, defeated in his turn at Beilan, between Alexandretta and Antioch, could hardly rally ten thousand men (July 29th).

Mehemet Ali then renewed his demand for the four pashaliks of Syria; the sultan would hear nothing of it, and a new army was confided to Reshid Pasha. The new serasker, although brave, intelligent, energetic, and endowed with remarkable military talents, could not count upon his inexperienced troops, who were poorly trained, and were besides demoralised by their recent disaster. Thirty thousand Ottomans remained on the field after the battle of Konieh; Reshid, in despair at the flight of his soldiers, threw himself, sword in hand, into the midst of the hostile ranks; death would have nothing to do with him; he was made prisoner and conducted to Ibrahim, who treated him with the greatest honour (December 21st, 1832). The victor was free to march upon Constantinople; nothing could impede his progress. Ibrahim's European *entourage* urged him to hasten his march; it was no longer a question of Syria, but of substituting one dynasty for another and of reconstituting the Arabian Empire. Mehemet Ali did not have the requisite breadth of view or height of ambition; he wished only independence and territorial aggrandisement; the conflict, which might have become a struggle between two nationalities, remained confined to the limits of a war between suzerain and vassal.

In the mean time Ibrahim had advanced as far as Brusa and was menacing Scutari; Mahmud, being frightened, accepted the offers of aid made him in the name of the czar by General Muraviev. However, the representations of M. de Varennes, ambassador of France, led the Porte to enter again into negotiations with Mehemet Ali; but the demands of the latter had increased; he was no longer satisfied with Syria, he wanted also the district of Adana. The Divan declared these conditions inadmissible and Ibrahim marched upon Scutari. Mahmud then summoned the Russians, who landed fifteen thousand men in the city and prepared to defend it. The French and English ambassadors, frightened at this intervention, pointed out to the sultan the danger of letting Russia gain a footing in the heart of the empire; it would be better, said they, to capitulate to his rebellious subject. The sultan allowed himself to be persuaded, and on May 5th, 1833, the viceroy consented to evacuate Asia Minor in return for the cession of the pashalik of Acre, Aleppo, Tripoli, and Damascus, with their dependencies. Ibrahim received the investiture of the pashalik of Adana.

The Occident had abandoned Turkey; only Russia had showed her an effective and, in appearance, a disinterested sympathy; Mahmud, blinded by resentment and misled by the promises of St. Petersburg, signed with Nicholas a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance. This treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi annihilated the political independence of the Porte by recognising the right of a foreign power to intervene in the internal difficulties of the empire; Turkey put herself at the mercy of the autocrat of all the Russias.

The quarrel between Egypt and Turkey was not settled, it was only slumbering; both sides, foreseeing a rupture, were actively pushing their armaments and preparing in silence. In the beginning of 1834 Ibrahim had severely punished brigandage; the discontentment of the Moslem population

of Syria, which could not pardon the son of Mehemet Ali for having proclaimed and established the equality of Mohammedans and Christians, led the sultan to nourish the hope of avenging himself upon his rival, and an Ottoman army invaded Syria. Ibrahim, having overcome the insurrection, took up a position on the Euphrates and observed the movements of the enemy. European diplomacy intervened; Russia and England urged the grand seigneur to war; France was openly disposed in favour of the viceroy of Egypt. Mehemet Ali demanded the possession of his hereditary domains; the Porte acceded to this demand as concerns Egypt, Acre, and Tripoli, but claimed the restitution of the rest of Syria. The viceroy burned his vessels, ceased to pay tribute, and declared himself independent. Diplomacy laboured in vain for a settlement: on the advice of Russia, Mahmud ordered Hafiz Pasha to open hostilities. On April 21st, 1839, the first column of the Turkish army crossed the river near Bir, while Ibrahim established his headquarters at Aleppo and occupied Nizib, three leagues distant from Bir. The serasker did not intend to force Ibrahim in Aleppo; his plan was to march rapidly upon Damascus. He reckoned upon a rising of the inhabitants of that city, the most fanatical of all the Moslem Orient, and on the co-operation of the mountaineers of Naplouse and of the Metuali of the Lebanon. The Druses and the Maronites of the emir Beshir flocked to Ibrahim's standard; Mehemet, profiting by the hatred of the Arabs for the Ottomans, sent out a call to the desert. The sheikhs of the Bedouins sent twenty thousand horsemen, and the sherif of Mecca offered all the able population of the Hejaz. On June 29th the two armies met at Nizib; the Ottoman army was destroyed; Hafiz Pasha retired upon Marash, abandoning one hundred and sixty pieces of cannon.[d]

The Intervention of the Powers

For the second time the way to Constantinople stood open to Ibrahim; one disaster followed close upon another. Sultan Mahmud died on June 30th, and the empire fell to his sixteen-year-old son Abdul-Mejid. Five days later the kapudan pasha sailed with the Turkish fleet from the Dardanelles with orders to attack the Egyptian fleet; instead of that he went over to Mehemet Ali with all his men. Fortune seemed to be emptying its horn upon the Egyptian. He forgot the ring of Polykrates, however; was deaf to all the Porte's offers of negotiation, and demanded nothing more nor less than the right of inheritance in all his possessions, in Egypt, Syria, and Crete.

In order to prevent Turkey from again throwing herself into the arms of Russia, the four great powers, in a collective note of July 27th, 1839, declared that they would take the settlement of the Eastern Question into their own hands. Russia, in order not to be entirely left out, had to give her assent and to support the convention as fifth power. But there were different opinions as to how the question should be decided. France, who strove for supremacy in the Mediterranean, and since Napoleon's campaign had had her eye upon Egypt, wished to leave Mehemet Ali, who was friendly to France, in his full rights. England saw her interests endangered by the pasha, thought the French occupation of Algiers quite sufficient, and feared by a too great weakening of Turkey to turn the latter into a defenceless prey of Russia. The latter did not wish the powerful pasha to enter into any inheritance of Turkey, or even a part of it, and took pleasure in seeing a relaxation of the cordial relation between France and England; Austria and Prussia upheld Russia, and hence France stood alone. This state of things was officially expressed in the quadruple treaty of July 15th, 1840, concluded at

London by the great powers with the exclusion of France. In this treaty the hereditary tenure of the pashalik of Egypt was assured to Mehemet Ali, together with the lifelong possession of a part of Syria, in case he submitted within ten days to the decisions of the conference. As Louis Philippe's disinclination to war was well known, the allied powers, without troubling themselves overmuch about the wild cry of protest in France, the warlike preparations of Minister Thiers, or the demand for the frontier of the Rhine, began hostilities against Mehemet Ali, who had refused his submission, trusting to France. An Anglo-Austrian fleet sailed for the Syrian coast; Beirut and Acre were taken, and Alexandria was bombarded by the English commodore Napier. Mehemet Ali, after the fall of the Thiers ministry, fully realised his mistake and had to be glad even to preserve the hereditary pashalik of Egypt, in return for the evacuation of all Syria, Arabia, and Crete, the restoration of the Turkish fleet, and the payment of a yearly tribute; this favour he owed to England, who wished thereby to make him a friend and to assure for herself the passage through Suez.*f*

The Firman of Investiture

The following are the principal rights which the firman granted the viceroy (this title was henceforth used for the governor of Egypt): hereditary dominion over Egypt in the family of Mehemet Ali, subject to the right of investiture and appointment by the Porte of every succeeding viceroy; independence—incomplete and circumscribed—of the internal administration of the country; appointment of all civil officials, and appointment of military officers up to the rank of colonel; conclusion of non-political treaties and conventions with foreign states; and limitation to a definite sum (300,000 pounds sterling) of the tribute to be paid the Porte, substituting the earlier statute, according to which tribute was determined in each instance proportionately to the revenues of the country. The former abuse had necessarily resulted in the domination of Turkish agents, and in vexations of all sorts. In opposition to these concessions, however, stood a mass of restrictions, whereby the Porte sought to protect and strengthen its sovereignty. We have already spoken of the investiture of every new viceroy by the Porte. Other clauses provided for the limitation of the army to eighteen thousand men and of the fleet to a few war-ships; for the levying of taxes in the name of the sultan; and for the conformity of laws, of coinage, even of army uniforms to those in the rest of the empire. These regulations were not always strictly observed, but they could always furnish, and more than once have furnished, the Porte with a convenient pretext for oppressing its Egyptian vassal.

The Last Days of Mehemet Ali

Mehemet Ali had attained much, although by no means all, of what he had made the object of his life and policy. Despite the defeat he had undergone in the last catastrophe, when he was an old man of seventy-two, he had yet been able to recover himself. But now his strength was exhausted; broken in mind and body by such powerful exertion and excitement, he showed a rapidly increasing debility which developed into mental derangement. In the year 1844 his son was called to take part in the government, and in January, 1848, it became necessary for the Porte to invest Ibrahim Pasha with Egypt in place of his father.

Mehemet Ali, who through his energy and wisdom, through the greatness and strength of his character, through his administrative talents and his dominating will, through his broad vision and his great efforts, had far exceeded all oriental and some European regents of his time, who had freed Egypt from unworthy debasement, and had attracted to it the eyes of the whole political world, who had enabled this old and formerly respected land of culture to work up again in modern times to a position among civilised lands—Mehemet Ali passed his last days in mental imbecility, and died alone, at the age of eighty, on August 2nd, 1849, at his castle Shubra near Cairo. At the time of his death the second successor, Abbas Pasha, had already entered upon his governmental career, as Ibrahim Pasha had died ten months after his appointment.

THE SUCCESSORS OF MEHEMET ALI

While Mehemet Ali was yet alive, owing to his sad mental condition Ibrahim Pasha was appointed viceroy of Egypt. But he had no time to realise the hopes which people, with reason, placed in him. He died of consumption after less than a year (and before his father's death, November, 1848). Ibrahim's importance for the country, however, does not lie so much in his career of ruler as in what he was and what he accomplished before that time. It lies above all in the fact that he was the armed instrument of the policy of his father and remained so till his death. Without him Mehemet Ali could never have attained what he did attain; because, surrounded by a hundred difficulties, obliged to turn his eyes a hundred ways at once, he never could have dared leave his country for a period of years and to place himself at the head of his army where he fought the battles which were the necessary consequences of his policy and at the same time the indispensable means of carrying it out. He possessed no generals to whom he could have intrusted and confided such great enterprises.

Abbas Pasha was Mehemet Ali's grandson, but not the son of Ibrahim, being instead the son of Tusun Pasha, who died young. His grandfather had treated him with marked partiality from his boyhood, and finally introduced him into the administration. These marks of favour, however, were probably due rather to his father, Tusun, to whom Mehemet Ali was attached with a peculiar affection, than to himself and his personal excellencies. It must be admitted that Mehemet Ali was in this case completely lacking in his usually clear insight, and that he was thoroughly deceived as to his grandson. In fact, Abbas was a man in whom hardly any praiseworthy trait could be discovered; he must be regarded as a disgrace to his house.

When he came to power in the year 1849, after Ibrahim's early death, and whilst Mehemet Ali was still alive, almost his first act was to remove and destroy the educational institutions which his grandfather had founded so zealously and fostered with such care. Of all the schools he left only the medical school and a few military institutions. He likewise disbanded the army, the organisation of which had been carefully planned by his two predecessors. He was filled with a deep hatred for Europeans and he immediately removed them from the state service and from all positions which depended on his appointment; he even tried by every possible means to remove them from the country. However, he found he could not entirely dispense with them in the administration, and consequently the French element, which until then had exercised an almost dominating influence on

the government and which was abolished by him, was merely supplanted by English influence. This had in so far a beneficial result that the construction of a railway between Alexandria, Cairo, and Suez was now finally begun; this was an undertaking which Mehemet Ali had always opposed with distrust, because he saw in it a strengthening of the English influence which he hated.

It is true, however, that under Abbas certain improvements were introduced in the administration of the country, notably the abolishment of certain taxes and the revision of certain especially oppressive measures initiated by Mehemet Ali; and, above all, the suppression of the system of monopolies.[g]

Abbas Pasha is said to have been contemplating a wholesale murder of all the Europeans in the country, as well as of all his relatives and the high dignitaries of the land, when he himself was murdered, and in July, 1854, was succeeded by his uncle, Said Pasha, a son of Mehemet Ali.[a] The differences between Abbas and his successor were chiefly in favour of Said. It cannot be denied that he had a great desire to advance the prosperity of his land and to give it all manner of useful institutions after European models. But he had too little real insight into what was necessary, and also too little logic in his conduct; he allowed himself to be led more by the whim of the moment than by principle; he gave orders and made plans which he quickly countermanded and abrogated. Since, however, like most people of weak and variable character, he was easily led by outside influence, his good intentions might have been made fruitful of good had he fallen under the right control. The contrary, however, was the case; the European, principally French, entourage which almost wholly controlled him consisted for the most part of men who were far from forgetting their own interests and using their influence over him for the good of the country.

At the same time it is not to be denied that various improvements in the administration of the country are due to Said's rule. Chief among them are the final and actual abolishment of the monopoly. To the peasant was given back the free dispensation of his produce; he could sell it to whom and at what prices he pleased; and the pitiable labourer, who until then had been forced to work almost exclusively for the benefit of the government, could now say that he worked mainly for himself.

We should also mention various public enterprises, the execution of which was of the greatest importance to the country. Conspicuous among these was the cleaning out and improvement of the Mahmudia canal, built in the years 1819 and 1820 under Mehemet Ali, and the only waterway from the interior to the chief port of the country—Alexandria. This canal had soon filled with mud, so that navigation threatened to become an impossibility. Said Pasha undertook the task, by no means easy, of deepening it and of improving it by the establishment of a system of locks; it is a credit to his rule that the work was wisely planned, and completed with satisfactory results. Still more important than this were the railway constructions which Said undertook. The stretch from Alexandria to Cairo, as already mentioned, had been begun under Abbas Pasha, but it was not completed until the second year of Said's reign. It was built wholly at the expense of the Egyptian government, and, including the expensive crossings of the Nile and the canals, cost more than 1,000,000 pounds sterling. It was also Said who continued the stretch from Cairo to Suez.

Above all, however, should be mentioned the important work of the Suez canal and Said's share in its accomplishment. The enthusiasm and eloquence of M. de Lesseps succeeded not only in winning over the viceroy to this proj-

ect but also in making him enthusiastic on the subject, and he did not cease to promote and support it most energetically. He made great monetary sacrifices, engaging himself for no less than about 80,000,000 francs; in addition, he granted the canal company important tracts of land and gave it extensive privileges, the most important of which were the grant of free labour and exemption from duty of all imported materials and provisions. It cannot be denied that the chief credit for the actual execution of the canal project is due to M. de Lesseps and his tireless efforts, but it should not be forgotten that in the first years the work, although under French guidance, was yet largely carried on by Egyptian money, and that without Said Pasha's really magnificent liberality it would have been difficult actually to begin the work.

Said Pasha's end was not so cruel as that of his predecessor, Abbas, but it was yet sad enough. His death was foreseen for several weeks, and in his last illness all the parasites who had flattered him and grown rich from his bounty turned away to the newly rising sun—Ismail. They were all the more ready to do so because it was known that Ismail was bitterly hostile to him and was eagerly awaiting his death. Said, therefore, died in the most complete abandonment, and was buried not only without princely ceremonial, but also without any official escort and even without the attendance of friends. Ismail Pasha had deliberately brought about this situation by appointing the same hour for the first official reception which he held in the citadel of Cairo as for Said's funeral in Alexandria.

ISMAIL PASHA

Ismail Pasha's first acts were calculated to arouse great hopes; one of these was the publication of a programme, in which the most liberal principles were proclaimed, extensive promises made, and far-reaching reforms, modelled after European institutions, announced. He promised abolition of the *corvée* (compulsory labour), abolition of slavery and suppression of the slave trade, especial legislation in the system of instruction, and creation of a civil list. These and similar innovations, had they been put honestly and completely into effect, must have proved of the greatest importance to the country. Unfortunately, however, although some of these improvements were formulated into laws, their actual execution was not in most cases seriously undertaken.[g]

When Said Pasha died the country was in a flourishing condition, and the fellah, happier than he had ever been, was growing rich without fear of being oppressed or despoiled. There was then no public debt in Egypt. The decadence of the country dates from the khediviate of Ismail Pasha. The support which he continued to give to M. de Lesseps, the marvellous palaces which he built, the turn-bridge over the Nile, the boulevards of Ismalieh, a sumptuous theatre, the acacia-lined avenue of the pyramids, which was built to please the empress Eugénie, the railways, the garden of Esbekieh with its beautiful pond—all witness to the magnificence of his ideas and of his tastes. In ten years' reign Ismail Pasha had succeeded in borrowing 3,000,000,000 francs. It has been possible, documents in hand, to trace the use of a part of this sum, but there remains a surplus of seven or eight millions the use of which has never been accounted for. On November 18th, 1876, the national debt of Egypt reached the enormous figure of 113,573,301 pounds sterling.[h]

Ismail Pasha by rich presents had extorted from the Sublime Porte the firman of June 8th, 1873, which changed the succession to the throne by making the eldest son heir, instead of the eldest brother; he had thus established himself actually, though not formally, as the independent ruler of Egypt; the only sign of vassaldom was the yearly tribute of £450,000 due the Porte. He also obtained from the powers the renunciation of their consular jurisdiction in favour of the international court of justice opened in 1875. He extended his power externally by the conquest of Darfur. The attack on Abyssinia in the following year resulted, on the contrary, in failure. An army penetrating into the interior of that country was attacked by King John and almost completely destroyed; a second army, in March, 1876, was taken captive, together with the khedive's son, and in a third defeat the Egyptians lost all their artillery. To this external disaster was added financial ruin in the interior—the necessary consequence of Ismail's extravagance and of the newly acquired right of making loans, which was taken advantage of by usurers. England made use of this pecuniary embarrassment of the khedive to buy for £4,000,000 his 177,000 shares in the Suez Canal. At his request, moreover, England sent the general paymaster Cave with other officials on a financial embassy in the hope of bringing order into his treasury. No improvement resulted from this measure. Finally the khedive tried to help himself out of the difficulty by suspending the payment of interest on the state debt and on the daira —*i. e.*, his private expenditure. He consolidated the two into one state debt at seven per cent., and established for it a sinking fund to which European commissioners were attached as a guarantee for the creditors. The creditors, however, complained, and the new international court sentenced the daira to pay its interest in full; when the khedive protested and tried to prevent the execution of the sentence, it sequestered the vice-regal palace at Ramleh. A commission under the presidency of de Lesseps, appointed at the demand of England and France to discover a method for permanently improving Egypt's financial situation, declared that that end could be attained if the khedive, who was the owner and exploiter of the greatest part of the tillable soil, should give over the whole of his landed property to the state and should promise to levy no tax outside the law. Ismail, in his extremity, agreed to both measures, and in the new ministry formed by Nubar Pasha in August, 1878, accepted as minister of finance Mr. Wilson of England, and as minister of public works M. Blignières of France.[i] The khedive, however, soon found this limitation of his freedom very irksome, and in the next year tried to get rid of the European control. This caused an energetic protest from Germany in which the other powers joined, and Ismail, not being willing to abdicate voluntarily, was forced to do so by the sultan (June 26th, 1879).[a]

A Black Slave of Morocco

TEWFIK PASHA

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Tewfik, an indolent person, who without opposition allowed the ambassadors of the western powers to govern for him. Thereby a swarm of foreign officials, most of them men of doubtful pasts, usurped the places of the native despots who had been in the habit of draining the country; this caused among the people a bitter hatred of foreigners, which reached its climax when the general comptroller reduced the army from fifty thousand to fifteen thousand men. A national party was formed around the colonel Arabi Pasha, which wrote the phrase "Egypt for the Egyptians" on its banner, and in September, 1881, by a military revolt obtained the increase of the army and the grant of a constitution, with an assembly of notables (later of delegates). Arabi became minister of war, in spite of the protests of the consuls-general, and the khedive signed a law according to which new taxes could be levied only with the assent of the assembly of notables.

This awakening of native opposition was very inconvenient for the western powers. In a note dated January 6th, 1882, they assured the khedive of their support against internal disturbances, but only increased thereby the hostile feeling towards their *protégé*; the more so as the sultan now aroused himself and sent a note through his ambassadors in London and Paris in which he called attention to the fact that Egypt was an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, and that in consequence the western powers could negotiate with Egypt only through him. Arabi was already openly working for Tewfik's fall. But also among the western powers there was no agreement. Whilst negotiations with the other powers were still pending, Freycinet, Gambetta's successor, persuaded Granville to acquiesce in sending an Anglo-French fleet to Alexandria to protect the khedive and the Europeans; the protest of the sultan and his demand to have the fleet recalled remained unheeded. The two consuls-general sent an ultimatum which demanded the removal of Arabi out of Egypt and the dismissal of the ministry. In case their ultimatum was not accepted they would enforce their demands with violent means. Tewfik, glad to be rid of his foreign oppressors, gave way immediately. The national party, however, supported by the awakening religious fanaticism, was not intimidated; it did not believe that the two powers would use force. By threatening the khedive with arrest and deposition it compelled him to reinstate Arabi as minister of war. Arabi became thereby the virtual ruler of the country.

ENGLISH INTERVENTION IN EGYPT

In this crisis France proposed a conference of ambassadors at Constantinople. All present at it were ready to intrust the Porte with the intervention in Egypt, but the sultan declined to accept foreign orders for governmental acts upon his own territory. He preferred instead to accede to the request for a commissioner addressed to him by both the khedive and the national party. He appointed to this office the marshal Derwish Pasha, who had shown tact and energy against the Albanians in 1880. But then it transpired that the popular rage in Alexandria broke through all exertions of diplomacy. A struggle in which a European was said to have killed an Arabian led to an outbreak on June 11th. The native mob fell with fury upon the foreign quarter and for five hours plundered and murdered, with the help of the

police, until soldiers put an end to the carnage. Forty-nine Europeans were said to have been killed and eighty-six wounded. The fleet did nothing to protect the victims of the national fanaticism which in the first instance had been inflamed by its appearance. A general panic seized the Europeans; all who could took refuge on the ships; over forty thousand left Egypt. The departure of so many well-to-do families left thousands of natives without bread; commerce was at a stand-still; anarchy was everywhere; there was no longer a ministry; Arabi was actual dictator.

The sultan now summoned him to Constantinople, and when he did not obey conferred upon him the highest orders—an example of true oriental intrigue. The longer and the more ambiguously the Porte delayed to undertake itself the restoration of order the more energetic was the procedure of the British government. When France, where public opinion was against an adventure so far from home, refused joint interference, when her fleet left the harbour of Alexandria and the war-ships of the other nations followed its example, Gladstone declared that in consequence of this refusal England had regained complete freedom of action. Since Arabi failed to obey an order to stop work which had been begun on the fortification of Alexandria, Admiral Seymour, on July 11th, opened fire on the forts and at the same time reduced a large part of the city to ashes. The retreating troops and the mob helped to complete the work of destruction. Arabi, although now declared a rebel by the sultan and deprived of his position by the khedive, commanded as absolute ruler and proclaimed war to the knife against the infidels. But his big words were ill supported by deeds. General Wolseley, who had made himself famous in the successful war against the Ashantis in 1873, and who had just brought the whole of the Suez Canal into his possession with an expedition corps increased to twenty-eight thousand men, attacked him on September 13th, in the intrenchments of Tel el-Kebir, and after a short battle dispersed his army. Arabi surrendered in Cairo. The sentence of death pronounced upon him was commuted to lifelong exile, which he passed in Ceylon.

More difficult, however, was the question, What next? England, who did not have the slightest desire to be forced out of the position she had gained on the Nile, put all possible difficulties in the way of the simplest solution—that of leaving the re-establishment of order to the sultan, the suzerain lord of the country. Having once gained possession of the territory, she did not wish any longer to divide even the financial control with France. The khedive removed the joint financial control and appointed Colvin, an Englishman, as the only financial counsellor of his government. France even acquiesced in a formal renunciation of its share in the control, in return for which England made the worthless engagement to withdraw her troops from Egypt at the beginning of 1888, assuming that this could be done, in the judgment of the powers, without danger to peace and quiet. Egypt acquired more and more the appearance of an English province; the English consul-general, Sir Evelyn Baring, had the deciding voice in all questions of importance; English officers stood at the head of the Egyptian army and gendarmerie; English troops to the number of six thousand men occupied the country. The finances, however, under the English protectorate fell into boundless confusion.

The provinces Darfur and Kordofan took advantage of the disorganisation of Egypt to throw off the sovereignty of the khedive. The hatred felt towards his rule, increased by the prohibition of the slave trade, procured an important following in those regions for Muhammed Ahmed, who proclaimed himself

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THE BATTLE OF ABU-KLEA

(From the painting by W. B. Wollen, R.I.)

to be the *mahdi, i.e.* the messenger of God, sent to complete the work of the prophet; his first successes against the Egyptians increased the number of his followers. He forced al-Obeid in Kordofan to submission after a siege of seven months. Hicks Pasha, the general sent against him by the khedive, perished with his whole army after a three days' fight, November 3rd–5th, 1883, in an attempt to penetrate into Kordofan. At the same time another Egyptian division was attacked and defeated by Bedouins at Suakim on the Red Sea. All of Sennar joined the rebellion. Confusion reigned at Cairo; especial fear was felt for the Europeans living at Khartum. Valentine Baker, otherwise known as Baker Pasha, was ordered to advance to their aid, but he lacked troops sufficient even to clear the road to Suakim as far as Berber. In an attempt to relieve Sinkat and Tokat, besieged by Osman Digna, the tireless ally of the mahdi, he was defeated near the well al-Teb, on February 4th, 1884; Osman Digna's fanatical hordes were first beaten back at Tamai, on March 13th.[i]

AN ARABIAN COUNTRY WOMAN

The Egyptian government was very anxious to reconquer the Sudan, but England was firm in advising against it, convinced that both men and money were lacking for the undertaking. Sherif Pasha, the prime minister, resigned in consequence, and Nubar Pasha, although reluctantly, took his place. The power of the mahdi had grown rapidly and only a few fortified places in the Sudan, including Khartum, still held out. General Gordon, sent to relieve the latter stronghold, was cut off from reinforcements, and, through an incomprehensible misconception of distances and the time necessary to cover them, the force sent to his relief arrived too late. Khartum fell on January 26th, 1885, and Gordon and all his force fell with it. The Nile expedition under Lord Wolseley failed in accomplishing anything, and the Sudan south of Wady-Halfa was left to the mahdi.[a]

INTERNAL REORGANISATION

With the internal difficulties Sir Evelyn Baring had been struggling bravely ever since his appointment, trying to evolve out of the ever-changing policy and contradictory orders of the British government some sort of coherent line of action, and to raise the administration to a higher standard. For two or three years it seemed doubtful whether he would succeed. All over Egypt there was a feeling of unrest, and the well-meant but not very successful efforts of the British to improve the state of things were making them very unpopular. The introduction of English officials and English influence into all the administrative departments was resented by the native officials, and the action of the irrigation officers in preventing the customary abuses of the distribution of water was resented by the great landowners, who had been from time immemorial in the habit of taking as much as they wanted, to the detriment of the fellaheen.

Even these latter, who gained most by the reforms, considered that they had good reason to complain, for the defeat of Arabi and the re-establishment of order had enabled the Christian money-lenders to return and insist on the payment of claims which were supposed to have been extinguished by the rebellion. Worst of all, the government was drifting rapidly towards insolvency, being quite unable to fulfil its obligations to the bondholders and meet the expenses of administration. All departments were being starved, and even the salaries of poorly paid officials were in arrear. To free itself from its financial difficulties the government adopted a heroic remedy which only created fresh troubles. On the advice of Lord Northbrook, who was sent out to Cairo in September, 1884, to examine the financial situation, certain revenues which should have been paid into the *caisse* for the benefit of the bondholders were paid into the treasury for the ordinary needs of the administration. Immediately the powers protested against this infraction of the law of liquidation, and the caisse applied for a writ to the Mixed Tribunals. In this way the heroic remedy failed, and to the internal difficulties were added international complications.

AN ARABIAN WOMAN

Fortunately for Egypt, the British government contrived to solve the international difficulty by timely concessions to the powers, and succeeded in negotiating the London convention of March, 1885, by which the Egyptian government was relieved from some of the most onerous stipulations of the Law of Liquidation, and was enabled to raise a loan of £9,000,000 for an annual payment of £135,000. After paying out of the capital the sums required for the indemnities due for the burning of Alexandria and the deficits of the years 1882 and 1883, it still had a million sterling, and boldly invested it in the improvement of irrigation. The investment proved most remunerative, and helped very materially to save the country from bankruptcy and internationalism. The danger of being again subjected to the evils of an international administration was very great, for the London convention contained a stipulation to the effect that if Egypt could not pay her way at the end of two years, another international commission would be appointed.

To obviate this catastrophe the British reformers set to work most energetically. Already something in the way of retrenchment and reform had been accomplished. The public accounts had been put in order, and the abuses in the collection of the land tax removed. The constant drain of money and men for the Sudan had been stopped. A beginning had been made for creating a new army to replace the one that had been disbanded and to allow of a portion of the British garrison being withdrawn. In this work Sir Evelyn Wood had shown much sound judgment as well as great capacity for military organisation, and had formed an efficient force out of

very unpromising material. His colleague in the department of public works, Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff, had been not less active. By mitigating the hardships of the *corvée*, and improving the irrigation system, on which the prosperity of the country mainly depends, he had conferred enormous benefits on the fellaheen, and had laid the foundation of permanent budgetary equilibrium for the future. Not less active was Sir Edgar Vincent, the financial adviser, who kept a firm hold on the purse-strings and ruthlessly cut down expenditure in all departments except that of irrigation.

The activity of the British officials naturally produced a certain amount of discontent and resistance on the part of their Egyptian colleagues, and Lord Granville was obliged to declare very plainly that such resistance could not be tolerated. Writing (January, 1884) to Sir Evelyn Baring, he said: "It should be made clear to the Egyptian ministers and governors of provinces that the responsibility which for the time rests on England obliges H. M. government to insist on the adoption of the policy which they recommend; and that it will be necessary that those ministers and governors who do not follow this course should cease to hold their offices." Nubar Pasha, who continued to be prime minister, resisted occasionally. What he chiefly objected to was direct interference in the provincial administration and the native tribunals, and he succeeded for a time in preventing such interference. Sir Benson Maxwell and Clifford Lloyd, who had been sent out to reform the departments of justice and the interior, after coming into conflict with each other were both recalled, and the reforming activity was for a time restricted to the departments of war, public works, and finance. Gradually the tension between natives and foreigners relaxed, and mutual confidence was established. Experience had evolved the working principle which was officially formulated at a much later period: "Our task is not to rule the Egyptians, but as far as possible to teach the Egyptians to rule themselves. . . . European initiative suggests measures to be executed by Egyptian agency, whilst European supervision controls the manner in which they are executed." If that principle had been firmly laid down and clearly understood at the beginning, a good deal of needless friction would have been avoided.

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

The international difficulty remained. The British position in Egypt was anomalous, and might easily give rise to international complications. The sultan might well protest against the military occupation of a portion of his empire by foreign troops. It was no secret that France was ready to give him diplomatic support, and other powers might adopt a similar attitude. Besides this, the British government was anxious to terminate the occupation as soon as possible. With a view to regularising the situation and accelerating the evacuation, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff was sent to Constantinople in August, 1885, on a special mission. On October 24th of that year he concluded a preliminary convention by which an Ottoman and an English high commissioner, acting in concert with the khedive, should reorganise the Egyptian army, tranquillise the Sudan by pacific means, and consider what changes might be necessary in the civil administration. When the two commissioners were assured of the security of the frontier and the good working and stability of the Egyptian government, they should present reports to their respective governments, and these should consult as to the conclusion of a convention regulating the withdrawal of the English troops. Mukhtar Pasha and

Sir Henry Drummond Wolff were appointed commissioners, and their joint inquiry lasted till the end of 1886, when the former presented his report and the latter went home to report orally. The remaining stipulations of the preliminary convention were duly carried out. Sir Henry Drummond Wolff proceeded to Constantinople, and signed on May 22nd, 1887, the definitive convention, according to which the occupation should come to an end in three years, but England should have a right to prolong or renew it in the event of internal peace or external security being seriously threatened. The sultan authorised the signature of this convention, but under pressure of France and Russia he refused to ratify it. Technically, therefore, the preliminary convention still remains in force, and in reality the Ottoman commissioner continues to reside in Cairo.

PROGRESS OF REFORM

The steadily increasing prosperity of the country during the years 1886 and 1887 removed the danger of national bankruptcy and international interference, and induced Sir Evelyn Baring to widen the area of administrative reforms. In the provinces the local administration and the methods of dispensing justice were still scandalously unsatisfactory, and this was the field to which the British representative next directed his efforts. Here he met with unexpected opposition on the part of the prime minister, Nubar Pasha, and a conflict ensued which ended in Nubar's retirement in June, 1888. Riaz Pasha took his place, and remained in office till May, 1891. During these three years the work of reform and the prosperity of the country made great progress. The new Egyptian army was so far improved that it gained successes over the forces of the mahdi; the burden of the national debt was lightened by a successful conversion; the *corvée* was abolished; the land tax was reduced thirty per cent. in the poorest provinces, and in spite of this and other measures for lightening the public burdens, the budgetary surplus constantly increased; the quasi-judicial special commissions for brigandage, which were at once barbarous and inefficient, were abolished; the native tribunals were improved, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Scott, an Indian judge of great experience and sound judgment, was appointed judicial adviser to the khedive. This appointment was opposed by Riaz Pasha, and led to his resignation on the plea of ill-health.

His successor, Mustapha Pasha Fehmi, continued the work and co-operated cordially with the English officials. The very necessary reform of the native tribunals was then taken seriously in hand. The existing procedure was simplified and accelerated; the working of the courts was greatly improved by a carefully organised system of inspection and control; the incompetent judges were eliminated and replaced by men of better education and higher moral character; and for the future supply of well-qualified judges, barristers, and law officials, an excellent school of law was established. If the progress made in this direction is maintained, the native courts may some day, under proper European control, replace the anomalous mixed tribunals, and remove all necessity for the inconvenient consular jurisdictions, which are at present protected by the capitulations. Meanwhile the reforming activity has been extended to prisons, public health, and education, and has attained very satisfactory results without ruffling the religious susceptibilities of the people.

Only once since the retirement of Riaz has the policy of teaching the Egyptians to rule themselves led to friction with the native authorities. In

January, 1892, the khedive Tewfik, who had always maintained cordial relations with Sir Evelyn Baring, died suddenly, and was succeeded by his son, Abbas Hilmi, a young man without political experience, who failed at first to understand the peculiar situation in which a khedive ruling under British protection is necessarily placed. Aspiring to liberate himself at once from foreign control, he summarily dismissed Mustapha Pasha Fehmi, whom he considered too amenable to English influence, and appointed in his place Fakhri Pasha, who was not a *persona grata* at the British agency. Such an incident, which might have constituted a precedent for more important acts of a similar kind, could hardly be overlooked by the British representative. He had always maintained that what Egypt most required, and would require for many years to come, was an order of things which would render practically impossible any return to that personal system of government which had well-nigh ruined the country. The young khedive was made, therefore, to understand that he must not make such changes in the administration without a previous agreement with the representative of the protecting power; and a compromise was effected by which Fakhri Pasha retired, and the post of premier was confided once more to Riaz. With this compromise the friction between the khedive and Sir Evelyn Baring, who had now become Lord Cromer, did not end.

For some time Abbas Hilmi clung to his idea of liberating himself from all control, and secretly encouraged a nationalist and anti-British agitation in the native press; but he gradually came to perceive the folly, as well as the danger to himself, of such a course, and accordingly refrained from giving any occasion for complaint or protest.*i* At the same time a marked increase of cordiality was manifested between the British officials and their Egyptian colleagues. This *rapprochement* made it possible at last to adopt the recommendations of Mr. Gorst, the then financial adviser to the ministry of the interior, who afterwards, as Sir Eldon Gorst, succeeded Lord Cromer as British agent and consul-general, for reforming local administrations. Nubar Pasha, however, who had succeeded Riaz as prime minister in April, 1894, resigned in November, 1895, in consequence of Mr. Gorst's proposed changes. He was succeeded by Mustapha Fehmi, who had, as above stated, been summarily dismissed by the khedive on account of the conciliatory attitude which he had always shown towards Europeans. After his reinstatement the system of government which Britain had adopted in Egypt, the dual control of British and Egyptian authority, worked without serious friction, in spite of the peculiar difficulties presented. In his annual report presented to parliament in 1901, Lord Cromer expressed the belief "that his highness the khedive's recent visit to England (in 1900), coupled with the very remarkable and touching sympathy displayed by every class of society in this country (Egypt) on the occasion of the death of Queen Victoria, will serve to cement more closely the bonds of friendship and good-will which, now perhaps more than at any previous period, unite my own countrymen and the Egyptians."

FASHODA

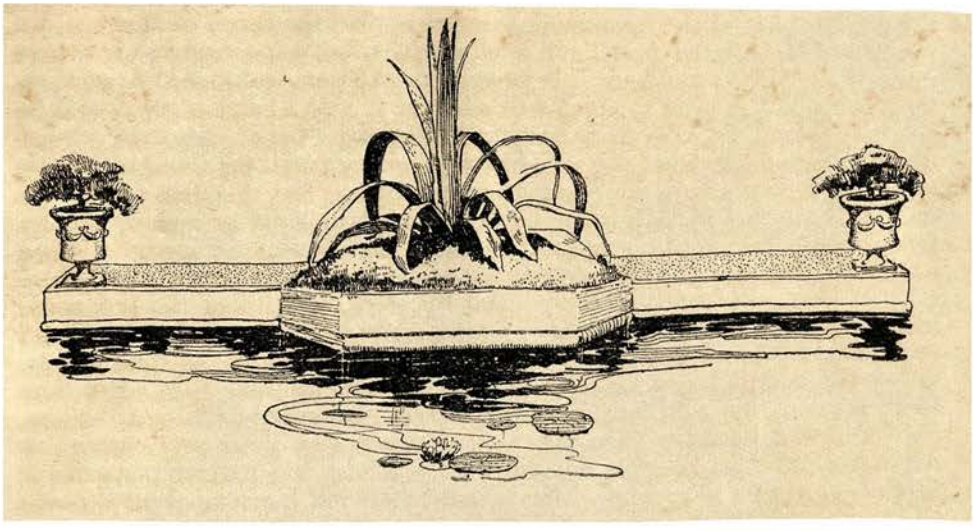
The success of the Anglo-Egyptian condominium, and the consequent economic and financial prosperity of Egypt proper, rendered it possible to recover from the Mahdists the Sudanese provinces, and to delimit in that part of Africa, in accordance with Anglo-Egyptian interests, the respective

spheres of influence of Great Britain and France. The arrangement was not effected without serious danger of a European conflict. Taking advantage of the temporary weakness of Egypt, the French government formed the project of seizing the upper Nile valley and uniting her possessions in west Africa with those at the entrance to the Red Sea. With this object a small force under Major Marchand was sent from the French Congo into the Bahr-el-Ghazal, with orders to occupy Fashoda on the Nile; whilst a Franco-Abyssinian expedition was despatched from the eastward, to join hands with Major Marchand. The small force from the French Congo reached its destination, and a body of Abyssinian troops, accompanied by French officers, appeared for a short time a little higher up the river; but the grand political scheme was frustrated by the victorious advance of an Anglo-Egyptian force under General Kitchener and the resolute attitude of the British government. Major Marchand had to retire from Fashoda, and as a concession to French susceptibilities he was allowed to retreat by the Abyssinian route. By an agreement signed by Lord Salisbury and the French ambassador on March 21st, 1899, and appended, as Article IV., to the Anglo-French convention of June 14th, 1898, which dealt with the British and French spheres of influence in the region of the Niger, France was excluded from the basin of the Nile, and a line marking the respective spheres of influence of the two countries was drawn on the map from the northern frontier of the Congo Free State to the southern frontier of the Turkish province of Tripoli.

THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN

The administration of the Sudan was organised on the basis of an agreement between the British and Egyptian governments signed on January 19th, 1899. According to that agreement the British and Egyptian flags are used together, and the supreme military and civil command is vested in a governor-general, who is appointed by the khedive on the recommendation of the British government, and who cannot be removed without the British government's consent.[1] This dual arrangement worked excellently. The governor-general, Sir Reginald Wingate, in his report dated Khartum, January 30th, 1901, after giving an account of the progress made, says: "I cannot close this report without recording my appreciation of the manner in which officers, non-commissioned officers, soldiers, and officials—British, Egyptian, and Sudanese, without distinction—have laboured during the past year to push on the work of regenerating the country. Nor can I pass over without mention the loyal and valuable assistance I have received from many of the local ulemas, sheikhs, and notables, who have displayed a most genuine desire to see their country once more advancing in the paths of progress and material and moral improvement."

In April, 1904, the French government by treaty formally recognised the predominant position of Great Britain in Egypt, and promised not to embarrass the action of His Majesty's government by asking that a time limit be fixed for the British occupation. In addition, the French assented to modifications in the international arrangements established in Egypt for the protection of foreign bondholders. Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia also agreed not to obstruct the action of Great Britain in Egypt. In April, 1907, Lord Cromer, whose services to the country justified the title of "creator of modern Egypt," resigned, and was succeeded by the former financial adviser, Sir Eldon Gorst.[a]



CHAPTER II

SMALL STATES OF NORTHERN AFRICA

The Berbers

Northern Africa, between the Mediterranean and the waste expanse of the desert of Sahara, is like an island. It is properly Africa minor; it is Africa proper, for the name of Africa (Afrikia among the Arabs), applied first to the land of the Carthaginians—to the present Tunis—has been extended over the whole continent. It is called also Barbary, because the original race which dominated the country before all the foreign occupations —Roman, Vandal, Byzantine, Arabian—was called that of the Berbers. It is an established fact that that race has been in possession of northern Africa from prehistoric times; in the fifth century before our era it was described by Herodotus with the characteristic traits and the ethnical names which are still recognisable, and all ancient writers distinguished it clearly from the "Ethiopians," or negroes of the Sudan. The Carthaginians without doubt tried to exploit the country and not to assimilate it; they kept to the shores around the ports, and dominated the rest of the land only through the native chiefs who were invested with the red mantle. It is not surprising that no traces of them have been left. But the Romans ruled the land for nearly six hundred years, they pushed their advance posts into the Sahara, introduced millions of colonists into the Tell, fused their pantheon with that of the natives, founded populous cities, and raised monuments, the prodigious ruins of which still confound our imagination; and yet, except for these ruins and thousands of Latin inscriptions, no traces remain of the Roman occupation either. Those Roman colonists who remained in the country after the retreat of the imperial eagles, those sons of Latins who are still distinguished by their type, in the mountains of the Kabail (Kabyle) and of the Aures, have become Berbers. Moreover, history testifies that Africa was never completely subjugated to the Roman dominion; the inhabitants of

the greater part of the mountainous countries like the Deren of Morocco, the Jurjura of Kabail, the Aures, and most of the tribes wandering in the Sahara never obeyed the proconsuls. If most of the Africans embraced Christianity, they never did it with so much zeal as when it was a religion persecuted by the emperors. As soon as it became the official religion they tried to distinguish themselves from the conquering people by practising forms of religion peculiar to themselves, by plunging into heresy. The Donatist schism was one of the forms of African resistance against imperial orthodoxy. Later this people acted in the same way towards the Moslem conquerors. For a long time they resisted the propaganda of Islam; the Kabails of Jurjura are said to have alternately accepted and rejected the faith of the prophet as many as twelve times. The name Tuareg given to the Berbers of the Sahara has been translated by "apostate." When the Berbers, being tired of war, did finally accept Islam, we see them at once distinguishing themselves from their masters by adopting heretical creeds; Kharijism, Shiism, Ibadism, Sofrism, for a long time had the same fortune with them as Donatism or Arianism formerly. It was not until after a long and patient propaganda, carried on not by the sword of the first teachers but by isolated missionaries or missionary tribes (the sheurfa or the sheeurfa tribes; sheurfa plural of sherif), that the Africans of the north as a majority became orthodox Moslems. Then only was their language open to the intrusion of Arabic words, borrowed almost all of them from the religious, administrative, or commercial vocabulary of the conquering Semites.

The peoples of northern Africa, of Berber race, are essentially anarchistic, prone to divide their country into very small states, small kingdoms, small village republics; they are consequently condemned to eternal wars between tribes and villages and *sof* (parties); for that reason they are exposed to dangers of foreign invasion and are easily conquered. But they know how to recover themselves, to organise for defence, to group their smallest associations into confederations (Kbila, whence the word Kabails, or Kabyles), even to attempt the formation of military states. When, however, they finally recover their independence, it is only to fall again into their old divisions and to succumb to the same surprises of foreign attacks.

DYNASTIES AND SECTS OF NORTHERN AFRICA

One of these surprises was the first Arab invasion of the seventh century, in which Sidi Okba conquered the Berbers from the west to the very shores of the Atlantic. On his return he was killed in battle by the Berbers of the Aures (683). The conquest was continued, but the Arab conquerors would never have been able to control the Berbers if they had not diverted their warlike ardour and used it for the conquest of Spain (711). From that moment Africa could be governed, nominally at least, by envoys of the caliph. At heart, however, Barbary remained Berber.

The most redoubtable adversaries of the Arab governors were the schismatic imams of Tiart, Abd ar-Rahman Ibn Rostem and his sons. Their doctrine was that of the Wahhabites, Ibadites, and Sofrites, who had long since made themselves famous in the Orient on account of their rupture with Ali, son-in-law of the prophet. Ibn Khaldun tells us that the Ibadites and the Sofrites engaged in more than three hundred battles with the troops of the empire. But this Ibadite kingdom in the highlands of the central Maghreb had been unable to complete its work. The Arabs had maintained

themselves in the Byzantine fortresses of Afrikiâ, or Tunis, and Harun ar-Rashid had organised there a sort of a mark, the rulership over which he had left to Ibrahim ben al-Aglab (800) and to his descendants the Aglabites.[b]

The Aglabites were driven out by the Fatimites, whilst in the Maghreb, the country now called Morocco, the Idrisites established themselves as rulers. After them came the Zirites in the eleventh century, and they were followed by the Almoravids and the Almohads. These names are already familiar to us through the history of the conquest of Spain and in connection with Egypt and the crusades. Their importance consists in their influence on the world around them rather than in any permanent effects upon the place of their origin.

After the great period of conquest followed a period of decline during which three dynasties ruled in northern Africa—the Merinids, the Zeianids, and the Hafsites—who occupied regions vaguely corresponding to the Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis of to-day. Towards the end of the fourteenth century these sultanships had fallen into such a state of dissolution that they were helpless against the Arab tribes from within, and against the Portuguese and Spanish from without. In the fifteenth century the Portuguese conquered Ceuta and Tangier, and Safi and Asemur in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Spanish began their conquests in the first years of the sixteenth century, and took Oran, Bougie, Dellys, Algiers, and Tripoli.[a]

The Sherifate of Morocco

These blows delivered to Moslem Africa, from the shores of the Atlantic as far as Syrtis, had aroused a prolonged echo in the depths of the Mohammedan world. The Islamic reaction, provoked by Portuguese or Spanish aggression, took on two different forms: at Morocco it was the Sherifate; in the countries of Tunis and Algiers it was the Ottoman conquest.

The extreme south of Morocco, the sandy valleys dug by the intermittent rivers of the Wady Dra, the oases lost in the sands, like those of Sajilmasa, or Tafilet, with their population of Berbers strongly mixed with Arabs, formed a reserve of fresh fanaticism and of ardent faith. In the fifteenth century pilgrims who had started from this region met not far from Mecca certain sheurfa whom they took to be true descendants of the prophet. The pilgrims spoke of their home country and told the sheurfa of its wonders, thus inducing the strangers to return with them. Of these sheurfa, some settled in the Wady Dra; they were the Saadians. The others settled at Sajilmasa; they were the Hassanians, called from that time forward Filali. The former gave a dynasty to Morocco in the sixteenth century; the latter, in the eighteenth century, gave her the dynasty which rules there to-day.

The Merinid sultan was at that time very much occupied against the Portuguese of Ceuta, Alcazar-Srir, Tangier, and Asili; the people of the land of Sus, left to themselves, were tormented by the Portuguese of Asemur, Safi, and Sainte-Croix. Against these enemies of the true faith they sought a leader inspired by God. They first applied to a marabout called Ben Mbarek, but he said to them: "There is at Tigumdet, on the Wady Dra, a sherif who prophesies that great glory is destined for his two sons; address yourselves to him and your desires will be fulfilled." This sherif of the Saadian family was called al-Kaim, his two sons were Abul-Abbas and Muhammed al-Mahdi. The people of Sus went to them. Al-Kaim wished to receive the *baraka* (benediction) of Ben Mbarek· then he demanded an oath of obedience from

the tribes of Sus; the Masmuda of Deren, whence the great Almohad dynasty had started, also promised to obey him. It was a veritable holy war which was about to commence, a war preached and conducted by the marabouts and by the sheurfa—without doubt against the Portuguese, but also against the bad Moslems who had submitted to them, and, in case of necessity, against the Merinid sultans themselves, those of Fez and Marrakesh (Morocco), who were judged too lukewarm in the cause of the faith.[b] Fortune favoured the reformers; the two sultans, through fear of their power, gave them assistance. The two brothers gained the supreme authority in Marrakesh and killed its sultan. Finally the Merinid sultan of Fez was confined to the northern part of Morocco, and the brothers shared the south between them for some years.[a]

AN ARAB CAVALRYMAN

Soon (1535) a civil war broke out between the two brothers. Abul-Abbas, being conquered, asked aid from the Merinid ruler of Fez. A strange battle took place between the Merinid and the young sherif, near Wady al-Abid, in which troops of renegades formed the principal force of the armies on either side. Muhammed al-Mahdi was again the victor; the Merinid was wounded and captured, and gave the province of Mequinez as a ransom (1547). Then the war recommenced. This time Fez was invested and taken after a long siege (1550). Several years previously Abul-Abbas had abandoned the city and retired into Tafilet.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The whole of Morocco was now united under the younger son of al-Kaim. The new power had to fight against the Christians, but more grave was the anxiety which the Turks were to cause it. Between the son of al-Kaim and Suleiman the Magnificent there was the rivalry for the religious supremacy, the rivalry of an Alide with the champion of orthodoxy, whose father had bought the rights of the caliphate at Cairo. There was also the antipathy of an African for a Turk, for that far-away sultan who, in the Maghreb, was the protector of pirates. The sherif called Suleiman the "sultan of fish." Already, in 1547, Suleiman had sent an ambassador to demand that the Merinid should be put at liberty; afterwards his lieutenants in Africa took

arms to reinstate him. The Turks invaded Morocco, occupied Fez, installed their protégé, Abu Hassun, and retired, after having made him pay a large indemnity. After their departure Muhammed al-Mahdi took Tafilet away from his brother Abul-Abbas, who was in sympathy with his enemies, got rid of the Merinid by having him assassinated on the way to Fez (1553), re-entered that city and made it expiate its defection by ransoms and punishments. To avenge himself on the Turks, he entered into an alliance with the Spaniards of Oran to take Tlemcen; he occupied the city, but not the citadel. That was enough to draw upon him the wrath of the sultan. Suleiman wished to have his head at any price. Turkish horsemen, pretending to be deserters, came to offer their services to Muhammed al-Mahdi; he accepted their offer imprudently and took them on an expedition against the rebel tribes of the Atlas; on the way he was assassinated by their chief, and it is said that his head was taken to Stamboul and hung on a gate of the city (1557).

This Muhammed al-Mahdi appears to have been a very great man. When he was only governor of Sus he had introduced into that country the culture of the sugar-cane and had built a mosque in his residential city of Taroudant. When he became sultan of Morocco he embellished Marrakesh likewise. He founded the port of Agades on the ocean and revised the system of taxation. He was the only man who might have extinguished the Turkish domination in Africa at its start. His son, Mulei Abdallah, sought an alliance with Philip II. The troubles which desolated Morocco later came from the fact that there was always a Turkish and a Spanish party in the reigning family and in the empire. It was these very civil wars which in 1578 provoked the intervention of the king of Portugal, Don Sebastian, which ended in the disaster of Alcazar-Kebir.

THE CONQUEST OF THE SUDAN

Don Sebastian had made this expedition on the pretext of supporting a pretendant of the sherifian family against the sherif Abul-Malik, who was reigning at that time and who died during the battle. Abul-Malik's son, Abul-Abbas, who helped to gain the victory and who got from it the title of al-Mansur, was one of the greatest sovereigns of Morocco. He is above all famous for his conquest of the Sudan. Since the time of the Almoravides, Islamism had been implanted among the blacks of that land. It was a Moslem dynasty, that of the Sokia, which reigned at Timbuktu. One of these kings, after a pilgrimage to Mecca, in the fifteenth century, had received from the caliph of Egypt the title of "lieutenant, in the Sudan, of the prince of the believers." Timbuktu had acquired a great importance; the capital was not only the chief market of central Africa, but a great centre of learning. It possessed a sort of university, a school of Moslem law; besides the royal line of the Sokia there was a dynasty of learned legists, the Ben Baba.

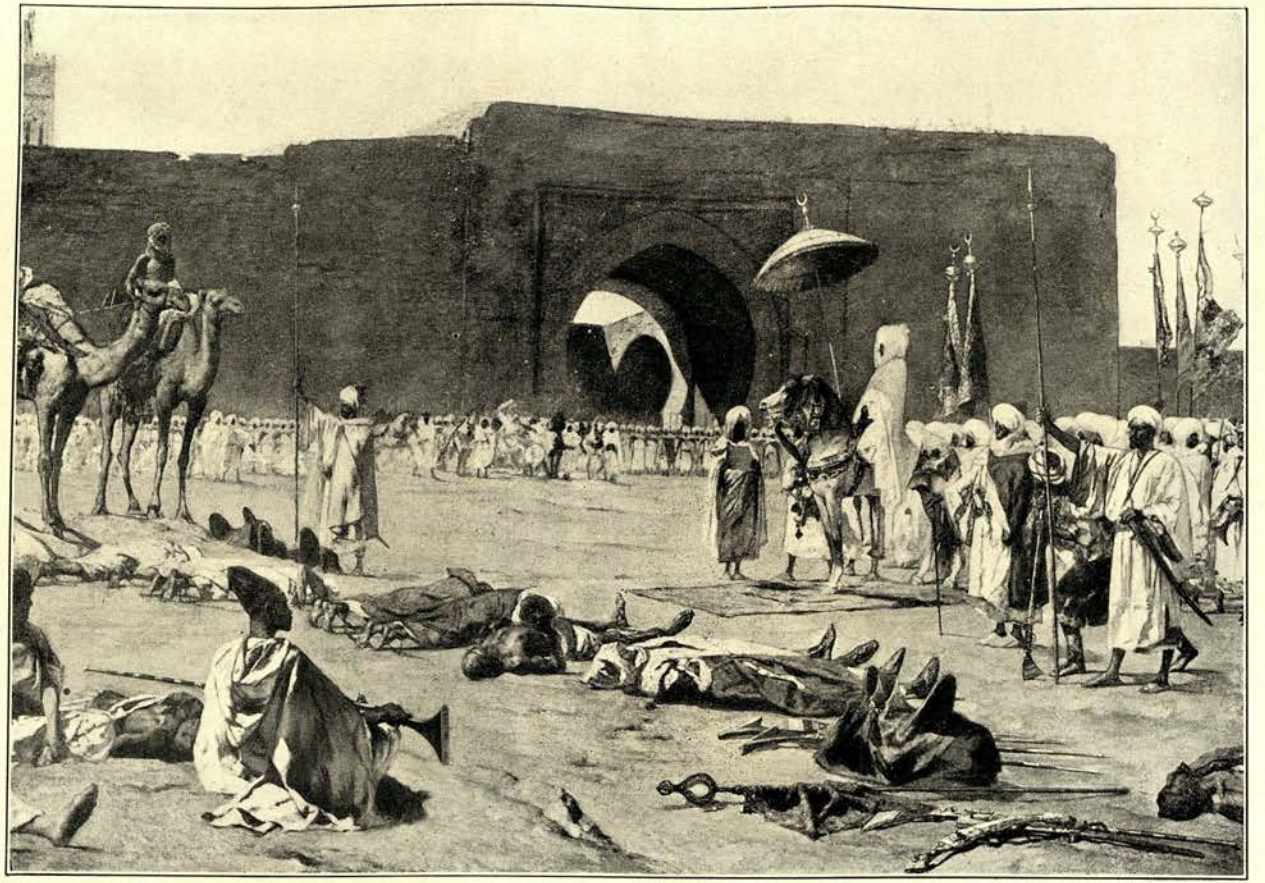
Legists and kings were orthodox Moslems; the sherif of Morocco was an Alide. Abul-Abbas al-Mansur, invoking his title of Imam, summoned the Sokia, who at that time was Ishak, son of David, to recognise his supremacy and to pay him tribute. Naturally his claims were refused. An expedition was decided upon. The army was confided to Juder Pasha (October, 1590). The journey across the great desert took four months and a half. The king Ishak, it is said, had collected a hundred and forty thousand warriors, who were led into battle by both Moslem marabouts and fetishes. He was defeated and fled to Garu, four hundred kilometres to the east. The victorious

army entered Timbuktu (1591). The chief task of the pasha Juder was to overcome the resistance of the black legists, foremost among whom was Ahmed Ben Baba, the author of many famous books. Ben Baba courageously reproached the Moroccans for their excesses and for the pillage of his house and library, which numbered sixteen hundred volumes.

The Moroccans then turned towards Garu and besieged the king. Finally Ishak appeared disposed to surrender and to pay a war indemnity and an annual tribute. But during the long siege the invading army had suffered so severely that to avoid its total destruction the pasha Juder ordered the retreat. He was ill received by al-Mansur, and was replaced by the pasha Muhammed. A new campaign was directed against Garu; the king Ishak, before being besieged, fled still farther, to Kokia, but being pitilessly tracked by Tuareg and Moroccan meharists, he died of exhaustion. His death was followed by the complete submission of Senegal, of the Sudan, of the sultan of Bornu. The victorious army brought back to Morocco (1593) an immense booty consisting mainly of ingots of gold. Al-Mansur took therefrom the cognomen of al-Debhi (the gilded). He could now raise magnificent constructions like those of Badia, and could import marble from Carrara, for which he paid "its weight in sugar." Among the prisoners brought back to Marrakesh the most illustrious was Ben Baba. He did not belie before the redoubtable sovereign his courageous firmness of soul. As the sultan, concealed by a veil, received him, the black legist said: "God himself talks to mortals by revelation and not behind a veil; but thou art not God." Then he again protested against the brutality committed by the conquerors at Timbuktu, and audaciously asked the sultan why he had not rather turned his arms against the Turks; the sultan could answer him only with a citation from the Sunna. As he went out from the audience all the lettered men of Morocco paid homage to Ben Baba, begging him to teach among them. He consented, and his renown spread throughout Africa. Later he obtained permission to return to Timbuktu.

FALL OF THE SAADIANS

In Africa, as in the Orient, all dynasties, even when they have been founded by holy persons, even when they have as a cause for existence the austerity and pious poverty of their ancestors, finally end, and sometimes in the first generation, by outdoing in luxury and ease all the vices and all the crimes for which their founders condemned the preceding dynasties. It was thus with the Almoravids and with the Almohads; it was the same with the Saadian sherifs. Immediately after the death of al-Mansur (1603), their struggles between brothers, their connivance with Christians (in 1609 al-Mansur delivered up al-Araish to the Spanish), aroused against them other marabouts, other sheurfa, other mahdis. In general these reform preachers came to a bad end, and had their heads hung up on the battlements of Marrakesh. Others were redoubtable because they were more prudent; such were the saints of the oasis of Sajilmasa, such were the Hassanian sheurfa. The latter continued to lead poor, meditative, and virtuous lives while all the time fighting against the Christians, masters of the ports on the ocean. When in 1659, about a hundred years after the defeat of the Merinids by the Saadians, the Saadian dynasty was extinguished, it was these Hassanians who founded a new dynasty at Morocco, entertaining the quickly dispelled illusion that it would initiate a period of greater purity and prosperity. The same dynasty rules there to-day.[b]



THE LAST REBELS

(From the painting by Constant, in the Luxembourg)

HASSANIAN DYNASTY

The first one of this family to take the title of sultan was Arshid, who ruled from 1664 to 1672. He was succeeded by his brother, Mulai Ismail, perhaps the most famous of this dynasty—a very cruel and at the same time a very able despot. His rule lasted fifty-five years (until 1727). Under his successors the land was torn by wars and dissensions; it enjoyed a period of repose under Mulai Sidi Muhammed (1757–1789), who showed a marked inclination towards European civilisation, but after his death the old tyranny and lawlessness were resumed. During the reign of Abd ar-Rahman (1822–1859) occurred in Algeria the revolt of Abdul-Kadir against France; the assistance given by Morocco to Algeria led to an attack upon Morocco by French troops. In August, 1844, the prince de Joinville bombarded Tangier and Mogador, and Marshal Bougeaud defeated the Moroccan troops at Isly. Peace was concluded on September 4th, 1844, but Abdul-Kadir's attempts to stir up a new revolt in Morocco soon led to further disturbances. This time the sultan refused to aid the Algerian patriot, who thereupon attacked Morocco and captured the city of Tasa. France again interfered and forced Abdul-Kadir to surrender.[a]

A change of rulers in 1859, when Abd ar-Rahman died, and his successor, Sidi Muhammed, had to defend himself against other pretenders to the throne, led to plundering raids upon Spanish and Franco-Algerian territory by Moroccan troops, and gave to Spain the not wholly unwelcome opportunity of taking up the sword against her old opponent in the Mohammedan world. On October 24th, 1859, Spain declared war upon Morocco, and on November 18th landed an army on the African coast. On February 4th of the following year the Spaniards, advancing southward from Ceuta towards Tetuan, gained a victory in the vicinity of the latter city, and thus procured the ducal title for the Spanish general O'Donnell. The peace negotiations which followed this defeat led to no result. Not until the Moroccans had suffered a second defeat, on March 23rd, were they convinced of their impotence against a European army and forced to accept an amnesty. This led to the Peace of Tetuan, on April 26th, 1860. A small tract of land was surrendered, Spanish missionaries were allowed to pursue their vocation throughout Moroccan territory, and a war indemnity of 400,000,000 reals was imposed.[c]

Sidi Muhammed died in 1873, and was succeeded by his son, Mulai Hassan who instituted the policy of friendly intercourse with Europe which has been continued by his son. In 1880 a conference was held at Madrid to determine the extent of the protection which may be afforded by foreign consuls to Moroccan subjects. In 1892 the sultan was called on to subdue a serious revolt of the discontented Kabail tribes, and in 1893 a Spanish fort near Melilla was attacked by the Kabails. The latter were finally reduced to submission by combined Spanish and Moroccan troops, and in 1894 Morocco concluded a treaty with Spain, in which the sultan pledged himself to pay a war indemnity of 20,000,000 pesetas, to punish the Kabails, and to establish a neutral zone around Melilla.

The sultan Mulai Hassan died in 1894, and was succeeded by his son, Mulai Abdul Aziz IV, the fourteenth ruler of the dynasty, who was at that time only fourteen years of age. The following account of his accession and of the Moroccan court was given in the *Times* of June 10th, 1901.[a]

Mulai Abdul Aziz succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, the late sultan Mulai Hassan, in 1894. At the time of his father's death young

Abdul Aziz was in Rabat with his mother, a Circassian lady, and it was there that he was proclaimed. Mulai Hassan died during a punitive expedition in the central provinces of his country; but, owing to the extraordinary capability of Si Ahmed Ben Musa, the chamberlain, his shereefian majesty's death was concealed from the world, and for two days even the palanquin-bearers imagined that they were carrying a living, though ill, sultan, and never suspected that their burden was a corpse. Two days were sufficient for the wily chamberlain. It gave him time to proclaim young Abdul Aziz in Rabat, and to lay the foundations of his plans by which he afterwards became vizir and practically sultan, whilst the real holder of the title was kept hidden away in the palace. But Mulai Abdul Aziz had an elder brother, Mulai Muhammed, who had been viceroy of the south, and who by his generosity—with other people's money—and by his libertine ways was extremely popular with the general public. A rising in his favour occurred, but the iron will of the vizir Si Ahmed crushed it, and even to-day (1904) the prisons are full of the tribesmen who rose, whilst Mulai Muhammed himself lives in confinement in Mequinez. The vizir died in 1900, still in possession of his great influence, and leaving to be confiscated by his royal master a huge fortune, amounting, it is said, to some millions sterling, every penny of which had been squeezed and extorted from the wretched population of the country. His death gave Mulai Abdul Aziz, then some nineteen years of age, an opportunity of emerging from his almost enforced seclusion and of exercising his authority, for up till this period his identity had been entirely overshadowed by that of his powerful and cruel vizir. Since the death of Si Ahmed he has certainly come forward, and the northern blood inherited from his Circassian mother has rendered him not a little susceptible to European influence, though possibly not to his own advantage. The Moorish sultanate is so essentially a religious one, depending upon that descent from the prophet which confers the title of Amir el-Mumenin—commander of the faithful—that any change in the *régime* of the court would at once raise the antagonism of the large and fanatical religious faction. At present these progressive tendencies have done little more than interest his shereefian majesty in European inventions. He rides a bicycle, photographs, and enjoys the cinematograph. So lavish has he been in obtaining all the newest inventions and toys of Europe that one trading Jew alone, who brought him a real circus to the capital, has received some £20,000 of the country's revenue, drawn from the custom-house of Mazagan. It is the custom, unfortunately, for oriental monarchs to hoard their private fortunes and to draw upon the resources of their country for their private amusements. In appearance Mulai

A Young Moor

Abdul Aziz is tall and well-built. In bearing he is very dignified. On public occasions, in his loose white robes, he looks, and is, a sultan. His life is one of great simplicity. He rises at dawn, and prays at the regular stated intervals throughout the day. His food is simple, and eaten, according to the custom of his country, without knife and fork.

The position of a sultan of Morocco never allows him to come into actual touch with his subjects, and the principal power therefore rests with the grand vizir. The present (1904) holder of this important office, though he prefers to call himself the minister of war, is a young and energetic man, Kaid Mehedi al-Menebhi, who was in former days an understudy of Si Ahmed. His influence is all-powerful, and it was through his agency that, in April, 1901, the elderly Haj Mukhtar, the nominal grand vizir, a refined and honest old man, who had done all in his power not to be appointed, was sent a prisoner to Fez, whilst all his property was confiscated. He knew a year before, when he received his appointment, what his fate would be. Such falls from power are of every-day occurrence in Morocco. No man knows his fate until the fatal day arrives, and the writer has been the guest of a great local governor, whose stables were full of splendid horses, and who was served by a horde of attendants and servants—and within a month he has given in charity a loaf of bread to the same governor's son, begging in the streets, whilst the father lay dying in prison. The son of another great official, whose wedding attracted thousands of tribesmen, and whose generosity was unsurpassed, was met by the writer within a year loading the baggage mules of a European envoy amongst the muleteers of the sultan's army. No complaint, no despondency—merely the recognition that the wheel of fortune had turned!

It is a picturesque court, that of the sultan of Morocco. The great palace squares and courtyards, topped with the iridescent green-tiled roofs, the miles of fortified gardens, the high windowless walls, all present an appearance of unfathomable mystery. Seldom, indeed, do men penetrate within, for the precincts are sacred to the rule of women. Even the ministers of the great powers, on their periodical embassies to the Moorish court, see little more than the outside walls and the great green gates. At private audiences with the sultan the visitor is led through tangled vine-clad gardens to some little summer-house rich in exquisite plaster-work and tiles, half-ruined, perhaps, and yet a gem, where, under a ceiling gorgeous in colours and gilding, sits the almost pathetic figure of the sultan. The grand vizir stands by his master's side, and without the doorway, out of sight of their sovereign, are seated half a dozen soldiers awaiting orders; and all around, the tall dark cypresses shoot up their pillar-like forms. Very different is the public reception of the accredited ministers of Europe—very different and more humiliating. The sultan is mounted, seated on horseback under his umbrella of state, surrounded by his courtiers and preceded by his officers of state. His led horses champ their bits and wave their marvellous manes and tails, and the sun glitters on the lances of the spear-bearers and the gold-embroidered saddles. The empty green-and-gold brougham, part of all processions, creaks and groans as it is brought into position, and in front of it all, bareheaded in the bright sunshine, and on foot, stand the envoys of the emperors and kings of Europe. A blare of trumpets, a banging of salutes, and the sultan and his procession disappear through the great palace gates, and the reception is over.[d]

In 1903 opposition to the reforming zeal of the young sultan resulted in a rebellion, but the government was finally victorious. In 1904 a bandit chief named Raisuli seized Ion Perdicaris, an American citizen, and his stepson, an English subject; after strong representations had been made to

him the Sultan ransomed the men. In April, 1904, Great Britain by treaty recognised the preponderant position of France in Morocco and practically consented to ultimate annexation. Germany, however, raised objections; after prolonged negotiations it was agreed that various questions relating to Morocco should be taken up at an international conference, which met at Algeciras in January, 1906.[a]

Turkish Conquests in the North of Africa

The Greek and Ottoman pirates, although hunted down by the knights of Rhodes upon the shores of Anatolia and of Egypt, swarmed there like ants, and had their headquarters at Mytilene on the island of Lesbos. The anarchy existing in Africa appeared to them a good opportunity to pass over to the Occident. And thus the feebleness of the Merinids, of the Zeianids, and of the Hafsides had as a last effect the opening up of a new field for the battle between Christianity and the sultan of the Turks. Their own states became the stake in the final struggle between Islam and the spirit of the crusades.

A porter of Mytilene (Lesbos) had four sons, Elias, Ishak, Arudj [Horuj], Khair ad-din. The third, Arudj, had practised piracy from his youth. Being surprised one day by a galley from Rhodes, he had seen Elias killed and was himself forced to row. A tradition relates that afterwards when he was reigning in Algiers he remembered the military organisation of the knights. He succeeded in escaping, went to Tunis, was well received by the Hafside sultan, and founded an independent establishment for himself in the island of Jerba. There he was joined by his younger brother, Khair ad-din, who had followed in his footsteps, and both of them, heaping the sultan of Tunis with presents, made him their accomplice. They often made good captures. On one single occasion they gave to the Hafside ruler fifty young Spaniards holding dogs in leash, with rare birds and four noble maidens clothed in beautiful garments and mounted on splendid horses.

An envoy came from Bougie to Arudj and Khair ad-din begging them to come to that country and help in the expulsion of the Spaniards. The harbour of Bougie is the deepest and safest of all those opposite Spain, France, and Italy. The brothers accepted, and their future was decided from that day; but the beginnings were painful. Bougie, built in the form of an amphitheatre, is easy to defend. The Spaniards held their ground well. Arudj had his arm broken, and the corsairs retreated (1512). They had to be content with occupying Jijelli. They returned in force to Bougie in 1515 at the request of Ahmed ben al-Kadi, the sultan of Kuko, and succeeded no better this time, for their supply of powder was deficient, and their friend the sultan of Tunis refused to replenish it.

Occupation of Algiers

Finally Selim at-Teumi, the chief of the Tholeba Arabs, the protector of Algiers, made them offers in his turn; he gave them Algiers on condition that they would destroy the towers of the Penon and drive the Spaniards out of them.[b] Arudj entered Algiers with his soldiers and soon afterwards killed Selim. He then proceeded to enlarge his territory, conquering the valley of the Sheliff and Tlemcen. In the latter place he was attacked by the Spaniards. He was obliged to flee on account of rebellion among the inhabitants of Tlemcen, and was killed by a Spaniard.[a]

Arudj had been fourteen years in Africa and had stained his hands with barbarous bloodshed; but he had acquired great glory, primarily and above

all because he had understood better than the Spaniards that in order to be master of a part of the coast of Africa it is necessary to occupy a large zone in the interior. This pirate, after he had once become master of Algiers, had perhaps not made a single excursion on the sea, but he had conquered the valley of the Sheliff, Titéri, Dahra, Waransenis, Tlemcen; he had dealt a death-blow to the Zeianid dynasty. It is true that his armament was superior to that of his adversaries, but his muskets were not worth so much as his boldness and his tenacity, and his rude genius which was made for great wars. He can be compared to only one of his contemporaries—Hernando Cortes.

His brother Khair ad-din succeeded him, being hailed as king by all the "Turks" that were in Algiers; but never was a young sovereign—if he deserves that title—in a more desperate situation at his accession. The new empire seemed to have gone to pieces and dissolved with Arudj.

Khair ad-din, worthy of his brother, did not hesitate an instant in facing all the perils surrounding him, and took the only course which could dispel them. He turned to the sultan of Stamboul, Selim the Inflexible, and offered to become his vassal. Selim accepted, conferred on Khair ad-din the title of beyler-bey, and from that moment (1518) Barbarossa's realm, which till then had been only an embryonic state, became what it remained until the final revolt of its janissaries—an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. Selim sent two thousand janissaries to Khair ad-din, and permitted him to recruit as many as he pleased in Anatolia. More than four thousand men, incited by the hope of plunder, responded to his call.[b] A fleet sent against him from Sicily met with disaster and defeat, but soon Khair ad-din was driven out of Algiers by the Tunisians and by the treachery of the sultan of Kuko, in the Kabail district. He returned for five years to his life of piracy, capturing various places on the coast until he was strong enough to regain Algiers, this time establishing himself more strongly in that place by the capture of the Spanish fortress called the Penon.[a] Andrea Doria tried in vain to repair so grave a check by seizing Shershel (1531) with fifteen hundred soldiers. A return attack of the Turkish garrison routed his troop, which was engaged in pillaging, and he fled, leaving six hundred men on the shore.

Khair ad-din then completed his work on a broad scale. He gave the greatest possible development to maritime warfare. The port of Algiers was filled with ships made for rapid courses. At the same time the war of conquest continued in the interior. Stations were established to guard the most important routes. The janissaries were energetically held to their duty. Khair ad-din even resolved to protect himself against their demands by recruiting a corps of eight thousand Albanians, Greeks, or Slavs, on whose fidelity he could depend. He had a large personal guard, composed of Spanish renegades.

Finally he selected a propitious moment for attacking the kingdom of the Hafsides, according to his first intention. But before that he had received from the sultan of Stamboul a new dignity; the sultan had named him kapudan pasha of the Ottoman fleet, whilst preserving his title of beyler-bey of Africa.

CONFLICT WITH CHARLES V

Tunis belonged to a degenerate prince, Mulei Hassan, who hardly dared emerge from his gardens. The Arabs held the plains. The mountain nearest to the city, Jebel Resas, recognised only the authority of a marabout; a little local dynasty occupied Keruan, and made itself respected clear to the

south of Constantine. All the rest of Tunis was also in revolt or else wholly independent. Khair ad-din left Stamboul with eighty galleys and eight thousand soldiers, rallied all his following at Bona, and appeared before Tunis in August, 1533. After a short defence Mulei Hassan took refuge amongst the Arabs. Tunis, although she had surrendered, was pillaged. Then the cities of the coast made their submission, and up to the district south of the province of Constantine powerful tribes recognised Barbarossa. The *riposte* was not long in coming, and this time it was delivered by Charles V in person, who left Barcelona in May, 1535, with four hundred ships, of which ninety were galleys, and with an army of nearly thirty thousand men.

Goletta had been fortified in haste, but the city was hard to defend; it was full of Christian captives and doubtful renegades, and Khair ad-din had only nine thousand men under him. The Spanish army took Goletta. Khair ad-din delivered battle not far from Carthage. He was defeated, and Charles V, in his turn, entered the capital of the Hafsides, which he gave up to plunder. There perished, it is said, seventy thousand men, women, and children. The beyler-bey was on the point of being taken when the friendship of some Arab chiefs opened a way for him towards the west, and he regained Bona with his decimated bands. The intrepid corsair, as soon as he reached Algiers, hastened to undertake a marauding expedition on the Mediterranean, which had been deprived of its defenders. He surprised Port Mahon, pillaged a part of Majorca, and loaded a large number of captives upon his ships, so that the news of his raid reached Rome in the midst of the fêtes given to celebrate the capture of Tunis.

The principal occupation of Khair ad-din, since 1536, had been to command the Ottoman and sometimes the French fleet in the Mediterranean. He had left the government of Algiers to his lieutenant, Hassan Agha, or Hassan the eunuch, and the latter had continued to carry on petty battles, sometimes on the west, on the side of Tlemcen, sometimes on the south as far as Beskra. However, Charles V announced to the whole of Christian Europe that he would soon destroy Barbarossa's lair, and in fact towards the end of August, 1541, the Algerians learned with terror that an enormous fleet of sixty-five galleys and four hundred and fifty-one transports was assembling at Spezzia. It carried twenty-nine thousand troopers, Germans, Italians, and Spaniards, including the knights of Malta. Counting all the crews, a sum total of thirty-six thousand two hundred and fifty was reached. Among the men of note upon it were Andrea Doria, the duke of Alba, Hernando Cortes and his two sons.

To oppose to such forces Hassan Agha had only eight hundred Turks, five thousand Algerian Moors, a few Majorcan renegades and Moriscoes of Andalusia who were armed with iron. A whole month passed, and the autumn with its storms was approaching, but the zeal of the emperor was such that he insisted on starting nevertheless, and this multitude of ships, loaded with soldiers and munitions of war, entered the bay of Algiers in good order on October 19th. The landing took place on the 23rd, in calm weather. All at once the sky clouded over, the north wind raised great waves on the sea, and torrents of rain fell. The Spanish army passed a frightful night without tents or food. The powder being wet, the only arms left were swords and a kind of halberd. At the same time the transport ships, rolled by the waves, came to shore, and bands of Arabs assailed their crews and tore up their cargo. The galleys, although at anchor, were held in place only by a great effort of the oarsmen. Charles asked how many hours they could still hold out. "Two," replied a pilot. "Good!" said he, "it is at

midnight that the priests rise in Spain to pray; they will have time to recommend us to God." The next morning the tempest had unchained everything, when the Italians repulsed the Moors and began the attack from the side of Bab Azun. They approached the walls, but, riddled with arrows and bullets and incapable of defence, they retired in disorder. The knights of Malta came to their aid and nearly entered the city; their standard-bearer, Ponce de Balaguer, called de Savignac, planted his dagger in the gate, but the knights were carried away by the crowd of those who were fleeing. The day was lost; the last galley chains were on the point of breaking. Andrea Doria thought it prudent, in order to save what was left of the fleet, to get out of the ill-omened gulf, and to seek shelter near Cape Matifu. Charles V then gave the order to start.

Khair ad-din died a few years later, in 1546, and the deliverance of Algiers added a final aureole of glory to his extraordinary life, in which all the qualities of a statesman seemed to be united to those of a soldier. Audacious and tenacious, supple and rather cruel, he had been able, by making his and his brother's conquest an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, to assure to it lasting resources, and to class it, almost from its birth, among the great states of his century. A friend to France and the mortal enemy of Spain, not only had he organised Africa but he had assigned to it its rôle abroad. In this perhaps he was greater than Arudj; or rather he supplemented him, for they are inseparable in the eyes of posterity.

SUCCESSORS OF BARBAROSSA

Because of the foundation of the Saadian empire of Morocco the activity of Barbarossa's successors was no longer exercised between Tlemcen and Constantine, but between Fez on the one side and Tunis on the other. They also continued to fight against the Spaniards and to subjugate successively all the little Arab or Berber principalities of the interior. They went south as far as Wargla. It was the heroic period of conquest, the completion of the primitive plan of Arudj. The merit of the bold men who realised it was the greater because they were obliged at the same time to direct the regular war in the western Mediterranean, and to take part in joint expeditions as important as the siege of Malta and the battle of Lepanto.

Hassan Pasha was the son of Khair ad-din; his father's lieutenant in 1544, appointed beyler-bey in 1546, he had to fight against the count of Alcaudete, governor of Oran, whom he defeated before Mostaganem. He was the first to make war against the sherif of Fez, attaching himself to contingents of the lord of the Beni Abbas, Abdul-Aziz. His army, led by Abdul-Aziz and a Corsican renegade called Hassan, avenged a recent act of treason upon the troops of the sherif and left a garrison of fifteen hundred men in Tlemcen under the command of a *caid*; but all at once Hassan Pasha was recalled to Stamboul, probably at the insistence of the French ambassador, who had drawn the sultan's attention to his attempts to secure independence (1552). In the mean while the corsair Dragut, or Torghud, had taken Mehediah in Tunis, and, aided by Sinan Pasha, had conquered Tripoli (1556).

THE ORGANISATION OF OTTOMAN AFRICA

By the year 1587 all the laws of organisation and administration of Turkish Africa were already outlined. In the succeeding periods they were merely altered. In principle the government was strongly centralised in the

hands of beyler-beys, or, when they were away, in those of their caliphs (lieutenants). At that time neither the governor of Constantine nor the caids of Tunis and Tlemcen corresponded directly with Stamboul. The army was far from having acquired the independence it attained later. It comprised almost as many renegades as native Turks, and was easily balanced by the regiments of Kabail Zouaoua (Igaouaouen) and of numerous mercenaries raised from almost everywhere, following the tradition of Khair ad-din; rough battles from time to time made great gaps in it. On the other hand, the *reis*, or corsair captains, who formed a sort of a guild called *taiffa*, and whose crews, workmen, and slaves even formed a considerable force, were always and naturally inclined to obey chiefs who had acquired such a degree of preponderance in a hundred maritime expeditions. They submitted to them as much from respect as from fear, and certainly they would have laughed at a galley captain who wished to hold up his head against the hero of Lepanto, the padisha's admiral.

The government over the natives did not extend to the limits to which the French have carried it. It stopped at the southern boundary of the Tell. The beyler-beys did not concern themselves with their customs or habits. All that they demanded from them was free passage for their troops and the payment of taxes, heavy perhaps in the north but becoming more and more light towards the south. They could thus maintain their domination with a small number of soldiers. Even then this small number, or even an army corps double its size, would have been insufficient had they not known how, with a rare skill, to profit by the social organisation of their subjects. The average size of the army at the end of the sixteenth century was probably fifteen thousand men. It never exceeded twenty-two thousand. Of these fifteen thousand, one-third remained in Algiers and took part in the maritime expeditions; the second third was garrisoned in certain towns or fortresses of the interior, as Tebessa, Constantine, Beskra, Bougie, Tlemcen, Mostaganem, and was there divided into *seffara*, or companies of twenty-three men; the last third formed columns (mahallat) which were separated into *kreubbat*, or "tents." A corps of adventurers, called *zbentout*, and the artillery were reckoned separately. It was a small force to maintain peace over a surface as large as half of contemporary Algeria and Tunis; but these regular troops were supported by the *Zmoul* and the *Maghzen*.

The Zmoul were tribes composed of fugitive natives who often gathered under the authority of a sheikh or a priest. The government of Algiers granted them lands, and they had only to pay their sheikh certain taxes; in return they engaged to protect the soldiers and travellers within a circle as large as their territory. The principal group of their huts or tents was placed upon a main thoroughfare and was called *konak*. It has been possible to trace the line of konaks from Sig to Miliana. They nearly mark out the present route of the Sheliff valley.

The Maghzen were warlike tribes, almost all of which had been sovereign in their own regions. The government preserved for them their old authority. They paid neither the land tax nor the animal tax, but they assumed the responsibility of collecting them from certain other tribes which had fallen to the level of rayahs. They had their subjects, and that, flattering their pride, was enough to guarantee their fidelity. Almost all the country was thus divided among Maghzen and rayahs.

The only danger of this system was that of developing pride, brutality, and lawlessness among men for the most part of low origin, such as the Turkish soldiers, by lifting them too high above the conquered people. This

danger was increased by the fact that their famous militia (odjak) was a sort of republic, the chiefs of which had little authority. The simple soldier or janissary was called *yoldash*. He received regularly twenty ounces of bread and a wage of about three shillings a month. At the end of five years of service he was allowed 12s. 6d. That was extra pay called *saksan*, and the rank made no difference. All degrees of rank were given in order of age. The oldest officer became *kiaia* (superior commander), and after two more months *aga* (captain-general of the army); he kept this office only two months, and then received the honorary title of *mansul aga*, which he kept till his death. The equality in pay and in advancement resulted in the soldiers regarding their officers as comrades, and holding them of little account when the fancy took them to overturn the state. This was distinctly seen when the beyler-beys were replaced by pashas, serving terms of three years.

THE CORSAIRS; THE BARBARY REGENCIES

The corsairs of Algeria were at the end of the sixteenth century the first sailors of their time. Their galleys, which dispensed with everything which was not strictly necessary and might burden them, were of an incomparable swiftness, and their crews were submitted to the severest discipline. They were composed of galley slaves, as were all the Christian galleys. Besides a number of soldiers who had an interest in the prizes, the galleys carried cannon and artillerymen. No slave was allowed to change his place when the galley was at sea; navigation continued in all kinds of weather. It was rarely that they returned to port without bringing ships of commerce full of men and merchandise. The men, despoiled of their clothes, were sold at auction on the public square called badestan; the merchandise and wine also found ready buyers. The whole city rejoiced at these markets. The victors shared a considerable part of the booty; twelve per cent. was allotted to the beyler-bey or to his lieutenant, one per cent. was applied to the repairs of the port of Algiers, and one for the support of the mosques. The rest was divided equally between the shipowners on the one side and the captain (reis), the soldiers, and the crew-masters on the other. The lower city belonged to the reis. They had built there spacious houses with thick walls pierced with low doors and narrow windows like fortresses. There, all together, were their dwellings, in which a European luxury was quaintly combined with the luxury of the Orient. There were rooms reserved for numerous servitors of every race, stores filled with everything which could serve for war and with inexhaustible provisions, private baths, and those great vaulted halls surrounded by small rooms which they also called baths, but for which the word *bagnes*, derived from the Italian *bagni*, does not sufficiently indicate the purpose. Some of these *bagnes* have held as many as three thousand captives. Wine was sold in them, and they were almost like pleasure resorts up to a certain hour in the evening. The slaves employed in the city then returned to them to sleep. The real power of the reis, the carelessness with which they spent their fortunes, the splendour of their escorts (when they went out they were followed by pages all clothed in silk), made them, in this world where death was so little dreaded, the most enviable of mortals. Their ambition reached no higher than these attainments. It was not till the seventeenth century that, relieved of their obligations to the immediate successors of Barbarossa, they began, following the example of the army, to form a state within a state and could even usurp the supreme power.

A surprising fact is the number of renegades who held a high rank in this barbarous maritime aristocracy. Of the thirty-five reis in 1588 enumerated by Father Dan, there were at least twenty-two of distinct origin: one Hungarian, one Frenchman, one Albanian, two Spaniards, one Jew, one Corsican, two Venetians, one Paduan, three Greeks, one Silician, one Neapolitan, one Calabrian, six Genoese. It was almost the same in the army, as we have seen, and that is sufficient to give a correct idea of the attraction which a life of adventure exercised over the men of the sixteenth century.

It thus came about that Algiers, originally a little city of Kabail origin, with a slight intermixture of Andalusian, and governed by pure Turks, was soon filled with turbaned Europeans and outgrew its limits and became a city of nearly a hundred thousand souls, wholly Mediterranean in character, although always under the mask of Islam. It kept and was to keep the appearance of an oriental city. It was Algiers the White, built up in the form of an amphitheatre on the shore of a blue sea, with its cubic houses, with its terraces rising one above another. It had its Fort Victory, built on the site of Charles V's tent, in token of one of the most brilliant triumphs of the Crescent, its high battlemented walls, which continued to defy the assaults of the Christians, its fortifications, and its sea front bristling with cannon always turned against the enemies of the one God, and its seven barracks full of soldiers always ready to earn paradise in the *jihad*. But behind this exterior a slow evolution was modifying the blood and even the soul of all its inhabitants, and was to contribute, together with the mental attitude of the soldiers and sailors, towards the corruption of Algiers. This corruption was detrimental to the empire. However little Turkey relaxed the ties with which Khair ad-din had bound Algiers to her, she herself was to enter a new and individual path, and, in spite of some periods of glory, to incline towards decadence. That which we call Algeria was to follow the same destiny. Immediately after the death of Euldj Ali we touch on the commencement of that evolution which, from fall to fall, ended at last in the French occupation of 1830.[b]

The Barbary regencies had in the middle of the seventeenth century become practically independent states. They sometimes sent naval succour to the Porte in its wars; but this was done rather in a spirit of voluntary goodwill and recognition of community of creed and origin similar to that which formerly made Carthage give occasional aid to Tyre, than out of the obedient subordination of provincial governments to central authority. The strength and audacity of these piratical states, especially of Algiers, had so increased that not only did their squadrons ravage the Christian coasts of the Mediterranean, but their cruisers carried on their depredations beyond the straits of Gibraltar, both northward and southward in the Atlantic. They pillaged the island of Madeira; and the Algerine rovers more than once landed in Ireland, and sacked towns and villages and carried off captives into slavery. They even ventured as far as Iceland and Scandinavia, as if in retaliation for the exploits of the old Norse sea-kings in the Mediterranean seven centuries before. Algiers had a marine force comprising, besides light galleys, more than forty well-built and well-equipped ships, each manned by from three hundred to four hundred corsairs, and mounting from forty to fifty guns. The number of Christians who toiled in slavery in the dockyards and arsenals at Algiers or at the oar in her fleets fluctuated from between ten thousand to twenty thousand. Tunis and Tripoli had their fleets and their slaves, though on a smaller scale. Admiral Blake tamed the savage pride of these barbarians in 1655. He awed the dey of Algiers into the surrender of all his English prisoners; and when

the dey of Tunis refused to do the same, Blake burned the pirate fleet under the guns of the town, destroyed the forts, and compelled obedience to his demands. The Dutch admiral de Ruyter and the French admiral de Beaufort also at different times punished the insolence of the Barbary corsairs; but their outrages and cruelties were never entirely quelled. In 1663 England concluded a treaty with Algiers and the Porte by which she was to be at liberty to chastise the Algerines when they broke their engagements, without its being considered a breach of amity between England and Turkey. The rulers of the Barbary states styled themselves dahis or deys. According to some authorities, the Algerine chiefs termed themselves deys as delegates of the sultan. According to others, the title came from the old Asiatic word *dahi*, which signified a superior, even at the time of the ancient republic of Mecca, and afterwards amongst the Ishmaelites. They were elected by the military body, consisting of the descendants of the janissaries and others of Turkish race. They used to apply to the sultan for his firman appointing them pashas and confirming their election; but this soon became a mere formality.[e]

Algeria in the Nineteenth Century

The presence of ships of war in the Mediterranean during the revolution and the empire in France had caused a lull in the expeditions of the Algerine pirates, but after the re-establishment of peace in 1814 they again became troublesome to the Christian powers. In 1815 the American commodore Decatur gained a victory over an Algerine war-ship, and after the capture of another, Algeria was forced to make peace with the United States (June 30th, 1815), and pledged herself to recognise the American flag. In the summer of 1816, Algeria having failed to execute certain promises made to England the year before, and having massacred the crews of Italian ships sailing under the English flag, Lord Exmouth appeared in front of the city of Algiers and began a bombardment which destroyed both the city and fortifications, and reduced the Algerines to accept the terms offered. Their spirit, however, was not crushed; the fortifications were rebuilt, and in the very next year the piratical raids began again; only the ships belonging to states which had given gifts to the dey were safe from attack. Finally, however, Algeria became involved in a dispute with France over a debt contracted by the French government to two Jewish merchants of Algeria. This, in connection with the repeated injuries to French ships, led to a war which was the end of the piratical state. The story of the war belongs more properly in the history of France. Suffice it to say that after severe fighting the French were in the end successful, and on July 5th, 1830, the dey capitulated, being allowed to retire with his family to Naples.

The French had attacked Algeria on the understanding that they were to retire after they had punished the offenders and restored order, but in 1833 the French ministry announced its intention of colonising the country. Many difficulties were in the way. The natives were incensed at the treatment they received at the hands of conquerors who outraged their national and religious feelings and made no attempt to conciliate them. Constant conflicts took place, and in 1832 the emir Abdul-Kadir appeared on the scene, who for fifteen years was the most dangerous enemy the French had in Algeria. War with him continued, with intervals of peace, until the heroic emir was obliged to surrender in December, 1847. He was taken to France, where he lived under close supervision until 1852, when Louis Napoleon gave him his

liberty on condition that he would not return to Algeria. Abdul-Kadir then lived in Brusa and afterwards in Damascus, where he distinguished himself by protecting the Christians during the massacres of 1860. He died at Damascus in 1883.[a]

After Abdul-Kadir had been removed to France, the French possessions in North Africa could be regarded as secure. There could no longer be any talk of giving up conquered territory, whoever might be in power at Paris, and however great might be the expense and the difficulty of keeping and administering the province across the sea. The national assembly declared Algeria, which had hitherto been called a regency, to be a lasting possession of the republic, and granted the inhabitants the right to elect four delegates to the legislative body; the government also made constant efforts to keep the Arabian tribes, which were always inclined to hostility and rebellion, in obedience, fear, and peace by appointing energetic and reliable governors-general, such as Cavaignac, Changarnier, and Charron. At the same time the republic furthered colonisation by establishing European settlements at the expense of the state. The military and aggressive procedure against the restless Kabail tribes in the south and west of the colonial district was still more forceful and vigorous. Most of the military celebrities of the empire, such as the generals Pélissier, St. Arnaud, and MacMahon, won their first laurels in Africa, and acquired their strategic skill and military experience in fighting against the natives. The long administration of General Randon (1851–1858) promoted greatly the consolidation and extension of French rule in Africa. The subjugation of the fruitful and well-wooded oasis Laghuat, or al-Aghuat, by Pélissier and Yusuf was used for the glory of the new empire just as the conquest of the *smala* had been for that of the kingdom of July. The oasis districts of Tuggurt, of Wady Suf, and of other regions in the steppe lands of the Sahara were brought into subjection; the powerful tribe of the Banu Mzab voluntarily recognised the supremacy of France. The natives were left in possession of all their traditional rights, customs, and patriarchal usages, and this respect for their old habits and customs made the annexation to France easier for them. The attempt was made to replace nomadic life by the system of fixed abodes, and only moderate levies and taxes in money or produce were demanded. Commercial routes were laid out, the northern part of the central Sahara explored, caravan connections with Timbuktu and Senegal established, and new markets opened up to French industry. An expedition on a large scale under Randon against the tribes of Great Kabylia led to their complete subjugation in the campaigns of 1856 and 1857. In the year 1860 Marshal Pélissier was appointed governor-general. The plan of appointing a separate minister for Algeria had been given up after a short experiment.

AN ARABIAN GENERAL

Nevertheless, however actively the French government carried on its mission of civilisation, the reserved element amongst the natives showed little inclination towards the foreign intruders. Race, religion, and traditional customs

formed an insurmountable barrier, so that the conquerors could never lay down the sword. The situation was little changed when in 1865 the emperor himself appeared in the colony and by proclamations full of promises tried to win over the Mohammedan tribes to a peaceful union; the following years were just as full of disquiet as the preceding ones. The French military system irritated the independent spirit of the Arab Bedouins. The caravanserai between Saida and Geryville was destroyed by the united tribes under their warlike chiefs Si-Lala, Si-Hamed Ben Hamza, and Sidi Muhammed Murei Kersar, the tribes in the vicinity which had remained faithful to France were robbed of their herds and fruits, and all the cultivated land was laid waste by warlike bands. Not until after a two years' war did the enterprising colonel Colomb succeed in putting a check to the barbaric raids and in driving the Arabs back into the Sahara. After the decisive defeat of Si-Hamed and Si-Lala near El Golea the frontier lands remained quiet for a time, so that at the outbreak of the Franco-German war the Paris government could transport a large part of the African army to Europe.*f*

Since the great insurrection of 1871 there have been two revolts in Algeria, that of al-Amri in 1876, and that of Bou Amama in 1881, in southern Oran, which were repressed not without difficulty. Another important event was the annexation of Myab (1882), where the inhabitants, tributary since 1853, had refused to fulfil their engagements. Since 1896 Algeria has suffered from the anti-Jewish agitation, which on several occasions, especially at Algiers, Oran, and Constantine, has led to riot and bloodshed. In consequence of the difficulties raised by this anti-Semitic propaganda, there has lately been a constant change in governors.*g*

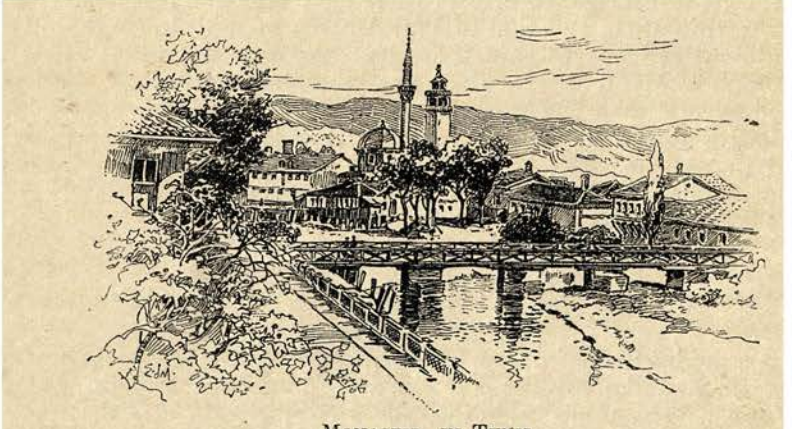
TUNIS

After conquering Tunis in 1535, Charles V restored the city to its legitimate ruler, Hassan, and the Spaniards fortified the stronghold Goletta, but their authority was never established in the interior. Finally, in 1574 the Spaniards were driven out by the Ottomans and Tunis became a Turkish province, governed by military rulers or deys appointed by the janissaries, whose authority was disputed by the civil rulers or beys. Finally, in 1705 the last dey was overthrown and Hosain ben Ali, as bey, established a dynasty which has continued down to the present day. Hamuda, who reigned from 1782 to 1814, made himself independent of the Turkish yoke.

Like Algeria, Tunis was a pirate state and dependent for revenue on its piratical raids. Consequently when in 1819 the European powers put an end to piracy the country became more and more involved in debt. After the capture of Algeria by the French and the increased political importance of Tunis, Turkey tried to regain its lost supremacy in its old regency, but the bey Sidi Ahmed attached himself more closely to France and attempted to Europeanise his country. During the Crimean war, however, he aided the Porte against Russia. In 1858 Sidi Muhammed ascended the throne and speedily caused a revolt of the native tribes—the Arabs, Moors, and Kabails —by his attempts at reform. He died, however, in the following year, and his successor, Muhammed as-Saduk, restored things to their former state—abolishing the newly established constitution and reducing the head-tax. In 1871 the sultan issued a firman making Tunis an autonomous state under the hereditary rule of the bey. In 1881 the French seized the pretext of a boundary dispute to invade Tunisian territory, and on May 12th forced the

bey to sign the Treaty of Kasr as-Said, or Bardo, by which he gave up his rights of government to the French, whereas the succession on the throne was assured to his family. In October of the following year Muhammed died, and was succeeded by his brother, Sidi Muhammed, in whose reign the country remained under the protection of France.[a]

In 1883 it was decided to undertake a thorough reform of the government and administration of the country, and from 1884 onwards Tunisia has been almost exclusively governed by the French minister resident-general. Nevertheless, the bey continues in a measure to reign over his native subjects, and is the ostensible head of the government in their eyes. On the whole, French control over the country has been indirectly and wisely exercised, so that the benefits of French rule have hitherto been much more apparent than has the exercise of the firm hand that put an end to oriental corruption. In the last two or three years of the nineteenth century, however, an agitation sprang up amongst the French "colonists" for a government which should be less that of the benevolent despotism carried on by the present triumvirate



MONASTIR, IN TUNIS

of the French minister of foreign affairs, the French minister resident, and the bey of Tunis, than a kind of constitutional or parliamentary control, by which the small body of French colonists are to direct and control the administration.

In short, some ten thousand French settlers would like to turn what is practically analogous to an English crown colony into one with representative institutions. Such a policy might have much to recommend it in a country like West Australia, where the native population is very sparse, but in a country like Tunis, where there are one million eight hundred thousand Mohammedan Berbers and Arabs as compared with a hundred and twenty-five thousand Christians, such a proposition is altogether another matter, and would lead to very serious troubles, as has been the case in Algeria. Sooner or later the position of the puppet prince must become a superfluity, but Tunis must continue to be governed despotically, wisely, and well by a single French viceroy or pro-consul, until perhaps some distant epoch when the Arabs and Mohammedanism have jointly disappeared, and the great mass of the Berber population of Roman Africa has abandoned its fatal connection with the East, and returned to that community of European nations to which by blood and affinities it belongs.[h]

TRIPOLI AND BARCA

Of the countries in the northern part of Africa conquered by the Turkish corsairs in the sixteenth century, Tripoli and Barca are the only ones which have remained under the suzerainty of Turkey. Until 1869 Barca was included in Tripoli, but the two districts now form two separate vilayets, directly dependent upon Constantinople. The history of Tripoli during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was very similar to that of Algeria and Tunis; like them it was a pirate state, and like them it was attacked and bombarded at different times by the European powers. Like them, too, it was subject to a military despotism under the janissaries. Finally, in 1835 the Turks overthrew the dynasty of the Karamanli, which had been ruling independently since 1714, and since then Tripoli has been ruled directly from Constantinople by governors appointed by the sultan.[a] The Turkish authority is little more than nominal, and the French masters of Tunis are looking forward to the peaceful occupation of Ghodames [on the western boundary] in the near future.

The explorations of Duveyrier, Largeau, Von Bary, and Cowper have shown not only that Tripoli was inhabited by primitive man, but that neolithic culture flourished there—culture comparable to and in many respects resembling that of Iberia, Brittany, and the British Isles. As in other parts of Mauretania, many now arid and uninhabitable wastes are strewn with monolithic and other remains, which occur in great variety of form and in vast numbers, as many as ten thousand, chiefly of the menhir type, having been enumerated in the Mejana steppe alone. All kinds of megalithic structures are found—dolmens and circles like Stonehenge, cairns, underground cells excavated in the live rock, barrows topped with huge slabs, cup stones, mounds in the form of step pyramids, and sacrificial altars. Most remarkable are the "senams," or trilithons, of the Jebel Msid and other districts, some still standing, some in ruins, the purpose of which has not been determined. They occur either singly or in rows, and consist of two square uprights ten feet high standing on a common pedestal and supporting a huge transverse beam. In the Terrgurt valley "there had been originally no less than eighteen or twenty megalithic trilithons in a line, each with its massive altar placed before it" (Cowper). There is reason to believe that the builders of these prehistoric monuments are represented by the Hamitic Berber people, who still form the substratum, and in some places the bulk, of the inhabitants of Tripoli proper. But even here the Berbers have for the most part been driven to the Hurian and Tarhona uplands by the Arab nomads, who now occupy the Jafara flats about the capital, and are in almost exclusive possession of Cyrenaica, Marmaricæ, and the Aujila oases. In Fezzan the Saharan Berbers (Tinylkum Tuaregs) are still dominant, but are here largely intermingled with Negro, or Negroid, intruders from Sudan. But even in the uplands many of the Berbers have been Arabised, and Cowper describes those of the Tarhona heights as even "pure-bred Arabs." Other early intruders are the Jews, some of whom arrived from Egypt in the time of the Ptolemies, and are still found leading the life of troglodytes in the limestone caves of the Ghurian escarpments. They are numerous also in the large towns, where the population is further diversified by the presence of Turkish officials and garrison troops, of Maltese, Italian, and other south European traders and artisans.[i]

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN PERSIA

THE first period of Persian history down to Persia's conquest by the Arabs has been related in a previous volume. After that time it is rather the religious and literary life of the country which is of interest from the point of view of world history, for in its political development Persia has been more or less passive whilst foreign invaders and foreign armies have swept across its territories. Its political importance to-day is due to the rival European powers that are seeking to gain "influence" in the country.[a] The second period of Persian history begins in the year 640 of our era with the battle of Nehavend, which sounded the hour of national ruin. From a political point of view the continuity of the two periods is logical. Iranian independence is at an end. Without doubt some dynasty will arise and revive for a brief time the manners and customs that existed in Persia before the time of Islam, but none will be of long duration. Arabs, Turks, Mongols, and Afghans one after another put on the crown of Jamshid; at the present moment the crown is in the possession of a Turkish tribe, to-morrow it will be in the possession of the Russians. The change is no less profound internally than externally. The old religion has been rooted out; it counts to-day only eight thousand followers, who live, in poverty and under oppression, in a few villages of Kirman. The religion imported by the "lizard eaters" has put out the fire in the temples, introduced a strange language there, and silenced the Zend-Avesta. If the national tongue has survived amongst the people, it also has received marks of slavery and has replenished its vocabulary in honour of its conquerors. Nevertheless, if we look closely, we shall find that the national element has disappeared from the surface more than from beneath, and that Persia in accepting the stranger has transformed him more than she has transformed herself, that she has adapted her life and her new faith to hereditary habits and traditions, and that it is not without justice that for the mass of the Mohammedan world Persia stands outside of Islam.

In fact, the Islam of Persia is not at all Islam; it is the old religion of Persia framed in Moslem formulas; not the sacerdotal religion—an artificial construction which had never spoken to the conscience of the people—but the popular and living religion which had nothing in common with the other except the fundamental base upon which both had grown up. Thus in the anarchy of modern Persia religious evolution is the only guiding thread which permits us to follow the national spirit and to give an approximate idea of the Iranian life in the second period; it is easier and surer to start from within rather than from without, from the history of thought rather than from the incoherent succession of political revolutions.

RELIGION

Persia the day following its conquest was converted *en masse*. For this many different reasons exist, all of which, however, may be reduced to two: in the first place, Islam was the religion of the masters; in the second place, Persia cared very little for the old state religion. Moreover, the two religions had so many points of contact that the passage from one to the other did not offer to convictions already so shaken any very serious difficulties in dogma, cult, or mythology. The old Aryan polytheism had already come as near as possible to the Semitic dogma in Mazdaism, and Allah was only an Ormazd, who kept his creatures more at a distance. The Arab cult in its simplicity was a deliverance as far as the Mazdian ritual was concerned, and, from a higher point of view, the practice of charity recommended by the Avesta found more than an equivalent in the tithe for the poor imposed by the *Koran*. In Arab mythology the Persians found much with which they were already acquainted—all the legends, for instance, concerning the end of the world, paradise and hades, which Mohammed had borrowed from them, sometimes directly, sometimes without knowing it, by the intermediary road of Jewish and Christian mythologies.

Of the three elements of religion, it is mythology which has the most resistance and the most vigour; it is the only one which a people never renounces, even when it thinks it is converted. Persia transported its mythology as a whole into the new religion. Mohammed fell heir to Zoroaster; Dedjal and Antichrist to Ormazd and the serpent Johak; Saochyant, the son still to be born to the Prophet, who at the end of time is to inaugurate the reign of eternal life, returned to make his promises to mankind under the Arabic name *Mahdi*. All that tribe of demons, jinns, divs, and peris which animate the waters, mountains, and deserts, continued to reign in peace in their empire as if nothing had happened in the temples. For the mass of people nothing had changed, either in heaven, on the earth, or in hell; there were only two new names to learn, Allah and Mohammed, and the eight words of the Moslem *credo* to be substituted for the twenty-one words of Honover.

The reaction went still further, and the principles of political theology which had ruled ancient Persia returned to affirm their empire almost the day after the national ruin. According to Persian theory the power belonged to the king, the son of God, invested with divine glory by his superterrestrial origin. Owing to political revolutions Persia united on the head of Mohammed's legitimate successor, the Arabian Ali, who had been excluded from the caliphate, all the splendour and sanctity of the old national royalty. The one she had once called in her protocols "the divine king, son of heaven," and in her sacred books the "lord and guide"—lord in a worldly sense, guide

in an intellectual—she now called by the Arabic word *Imam*, "the chief." This was the simplest title imaginable and at the same time the most august, for in it was included all the sovereignty of the world and of the mind. In regard to the caliphs, who were raised to power by the blind clamour of the masses, by crime and intrigues, she upheld the hereditary rights of the imam Ali, the infallible and sacred of God.

At his death she gathered about his two sons, Hassan and Husein, and afterwards about their descendants. Husein had married a daughter of the last Sassanid king, so that the imamate was fixed in his blood by a doubly divine right; and the union of ancient Persia and Islam was sealed in the blood of Husein on the plains of Kerbela.

The revolution which overturned the Omayyad usurpers in favour of the Abbasids, the nephews of the Prophet, was the work of Persia. If she did not bring into power the favourite family for which she thought she was fighting, she at least caused her principle to triumph. For an instant, under al-Mamun,[1] it was even the representative of the principle who seemed on the point of triumphing by the abdication of the caliph in favour of a descendant of Ali's. The first Abbasids, placed on the throne by Persia, surrounded themselves with Persians; their first ministers, the Barmecides, were suspected of belonging at heart to the religion of Zoroaster. The days of Khusrau (Chosroes) returned; Hellenic tradition, formerly brought to Ctesiphon by the Nestorians and the New Platonians, was brilliantly renewed after two centuries of interruption. Greek philosophy made the palaces of Baghdad re-echo, as once those of Ctesiphon did under Anoshirvan. There appeared something resembling free thought, and a spirit of disinterested learning; the *motecallemin* came to discuss religious sects and systems in courteous controversy before al-Mamun. Thus began what has been called Arabic philosophy, but which according to Renan's expression might better be called Greco-Sassanid, for it has nothing Arabic but the language; the foundation is Greek and those who apply it are Persians or Syrians, taking up again the Sassanid inspiration. Philosophy, history, geography, grammar—the most of the great writers in the best Arabic period in all branches except poetry, are Persians; the Abbasids are real Sassanids of Arab blood.

Orthodoxy again gained the upper hand in the state under the successors of al-Mamun, who realised that they no longer had any reason to adhere to the Shiite doctrines. But this triumph of orthodoxy coincided with the dissolution of the caliphate, exhausted by its immensity, and, in the breaking up of the empire, the Persian provinces separated and followed independent destinies, with the Taharids, the Saffarids, the Samanids, and the Buyids. It was the reawakening of the national sentiment. All those founders of dynasties, rebel governors or simple adventurers, opposed memories of the time before Islam to the prestige of the caliphate of Baghdad, in order to be followed by the nation into a struggle which seemed sacrilegious. The Samanids, come from beyond the Oxus, of doubtful origin, perhaps Tatar, pretended to be the descendants of one of the last heroes of the Sassanid epoch, Behram Tchubinek, who died in exile amongst the Turks. The Buyids, simple fishers who settled in Media whilst the Samanids were establishing themselves in Bactria, and who for a century as major-domos of the palace were to hold the caliphs and the caliphate in their hands, pretended to be direct descendants of the Sassanids. Persia again expressed herself in literature after three centuries of silence.

[1 The seventh Abbasid caliph, 813-833.]

LITERATURE

The caliphs had tried to extinguish the national language in Persia; the Pahlavic writing had been forbidden; when the language of the Koran became the language of the administration, it had, by the force of circumstances, become also the language of science, of theology, of poetry, of thought. With the rise of the national dynasties the Persian language rose again from the lower ranks, where it had not been possible to extirpate it, and penetrated the court and its literature. The poets, without doubt, still held it an honour to manipulate the language of Mohammed and the rhythm of the poets of the desert; but they began to throw the vulgar tongue into the mill of Arabic poetry, and a national literature was formed in the shadow of the foreign poetry, as in Europe a few centuries later Petrarch and Dante were formed with the support of the Latin tradition. The *kasida* and the *ghazel* in Persian disguise, charmed the Transoxanian court of the Samanids. It was with the name of the third of this dynasty, Nasir, the son of Ahmed, that the renaissance of the national poetry is connected; his favourite was the first in date of the Persian poets, Rudagi, the blind poet of Bokhara.

The school of Rudagi and of his successors was Persian only in language; the inspiration and the models were Arabic. Thus it was thrown into the shade by a poetry truly national, in substance as well as in form, which was born at about the same period, under the protection of those same Samanids —the epic poetry. There was in the oral tradition, in the fields which had remained more faithful to memories of olden times, a mass of stories and historic legends as ancient as the Iran and which followed the whole of its history from its origin down to the Sassanids. The last Sassanids, as if with a presentiment that the end of the national drama was approaching, had collected all this epic treasure, which was loose and scattered, and had published it in the language of the time, the Pahlavic. Then the deluge had come and the epic book of Persia had been lost in oblivion. The national dynasties took up the work of the last Sassanids; the ephemeral house of the Saffarids had the old uncomprehended book translated into Persian. The Samanids who overthrew them continued their work, called the prestige of poetry to aid the national thought, and the Persian book began to receive a poetical form under the pen of a Guebers poet, Dakiki. He died at the commencement of his work; the Samanids were carried away in their turn by a new dynasty founded by a Turkish slave, that of the Ghaznevids; the national work was completed under Turkish princes, under the greatest of them, Mahmud the Ghaznevid, an intolerant fanatic who broke the last ties binding Persia to Baghdad, who imposed the Koran with the sword, but drove Arabic out of the administration for the benefit of Persian; it was at his court and at his order that Firdusi wrote the *Book of Kings*; the Persian epic was fixed, the ancient tradition was definitively saved by the happy genius of a poet; Persia had regained consciousness of herself.

BARBARIAN INVASIONS

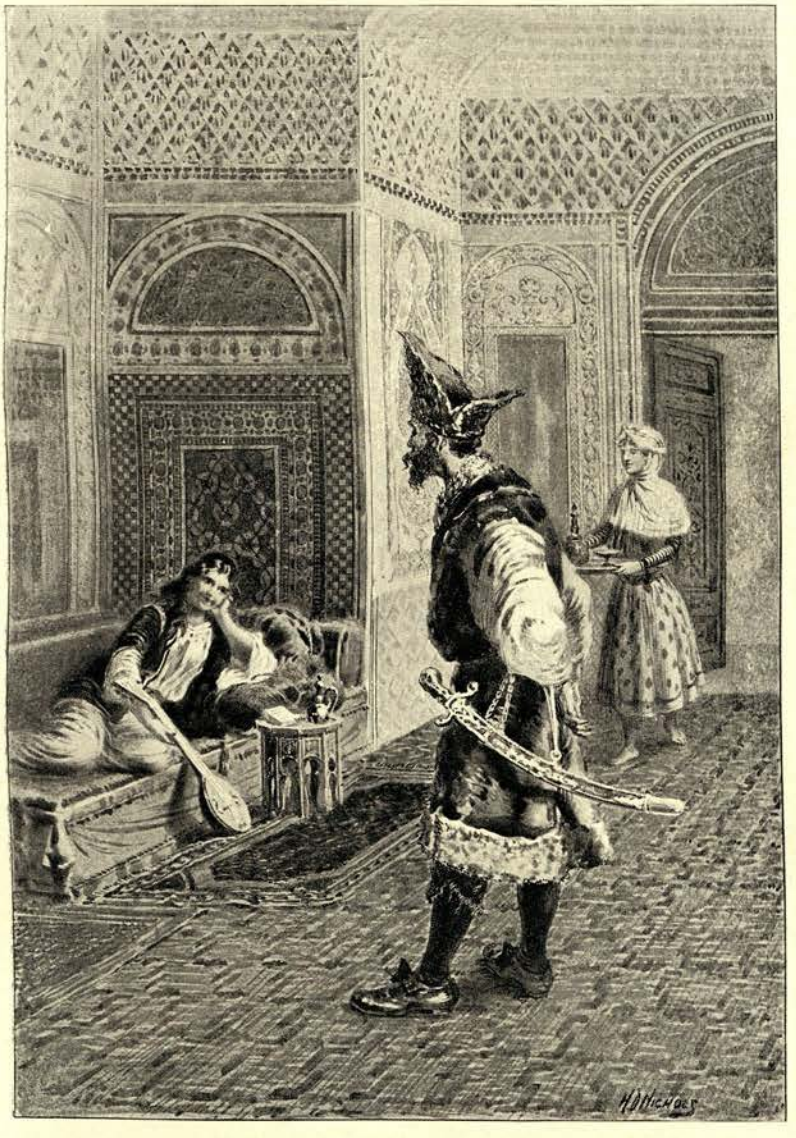
Unfortunately, this regaining of consciousness was not a regaining of fortune. The evil destiny of Persia demanded that centuries of anarchy and abandonment should coincide with the great movement which agitated the barbarians of central Asia and impelled them towards the Occident. As far

back as her memory goes, Persia had had the terrible nomads of Turkestan for neighbours, but in olden times she had been able to keep them behind the Oxus; she had been able even to cross the barrier of the great river and of the desert and to plant her colonies among the barbarians, to sow her cities there and to light her fire temples; all the ancient part of the epic tells of the triumphant struggle of Iran against Turan. Now the force of expansion has been broken and it is the desert which crosses the Oxus and invades Persia.

Nevertheless, such was still the strength of the traditions of culture in Persia that three times she gained the ascendant over her enemies. At three successive times she absorbed her invaders, too few in number to form anything else than a governmental caste, too limited in intellect to bring or to create a civilisation peculiar to themselves, politic enough to recognise the value of Persian traditions, were it only the better to organise the exploitation of the vanquished. The Seljuks of the eleventh century were Turks, but their administrators were Persians. Those barbarians, moreover, have a devoted admiration for things of the mind; the great Turkish lord, with bags of gold piled about his divan, throws handfuls of it to the poets who sing around him. Under the third Seljuk, Malik Shah, the cities became filled with mosques and colleges; his astronomers were five centuries ahead of the reforms of the Gregorian calendar. It was during his reign that Omar Khayyam wrote his quatrains. On the fall of the Seljuks ten little local dynasties, those of the Atabeg Turks, pursued a course of destruction, ruining in one century themselves and Persia; but here and there at the court of one of these rulers an hour of peace caused poetry to blossom once more; Nizami wrote his divan at the court of the Atabegs of Shirvan, and it was for the court of Shiraz that Sadi wrote his *Gulistan*. There was a term of anarchy in the thirteenth century on the arrival of the Mongols, who were still pagan and who made peace only through devastation. But the Mongols themselves in their turn fell under the charm of knowledge, the fierce Hulagu founded the observatory of Maragha and had Nasir ad-din compose the Ilkhanian tables. The Mongols became converted to the religion of their subjects. Losing their force through contact with civilisation, they passed away in their turn. Then Transoxania, impelled to take up the work of destruction, sent forth Timur, who marked his passage from the Oxus to the Euphrates with pyramids of human heads. His son, Shah Rukh, trying to remedy the evil done by his father, rebuilt Merv and Herat; one of his grandsons gave his name to the Tables of Ulug Bey; another, Baisanghes, had made the first critical edition of the *Book of Kings*. At the court of the sultans of Herat, other descendants of Timur, Persian thought sheds a last gleam under the auspices of a Turkish Mæcenas, the vizir Ali Shir, a poet himself, who formed Turkish poetry on the model of Persian poetry. He had as a friend the last great poet of Persia, Jami, the romancer of Sufism; as protégés he had the historian Mirkhond and his son Khondemir, the last of the great chroniclers. Devlet Shah might write his *Biography of the Poets*; there will be no more. It was the epoch when the Renaissance was beginning in the Occident.

SUFIC DYNASTY

After the successors of Timur in the sixteenth century arose the last great dynasty of Persia, that of the Sofis. The Sofis are descended or pretend to be descended from Ali; they enthroned Ali and the Shiite doctrines



INTERIOR OF A PERSIAN PALACE

(From a drawing by H. D. Nichols)

in Persia. It was the signal for the great war between Persia and Turkey, then at its meridian. To racial hatred and political rivalry was added religious hatred, as the sultan, the inheritor of the caliph of Baghdad, was the representative of Sunnite orthodoxy. The fight between the sultan and the great Sofi, which brought Persia towards the west, wore her out so that, after the great reign of Shah Abbas, she was in condition to fall a prey to any new invaders. At the beginning of the eighteenth century (1722) twenty thousand Afghans attacked her, defeated her armies, covered her with ruins, and during a reign of seven years caused a million men to perish. An adventurer of Turkish race, a brigand chief, Nadir Shah by name, became the liberator and hero of Persia, extended her boundaries once more to the Oxus and Tigris, and in the full light of the eighteenth century renewed beyond the Indus the marvels and the horrors of the Ghaznevids and of Timur. He dreamed for a time of conciliating Shiites and Sunnites in a religion larger than his powers of invention. Persia fell again with him. Two Turkish tribes then gave her rulers one after another; the tribe of Zends, which filled the second half of the eighteenth century, and the tribe of Kajars, which is still reigning.

The dynasty of the Kajars marks the entrance upon the scene of Persian territory of a new neighbour, to the will of whom her fate is henceforth attached, a neighbour who advances always and never retreats—Russia. In 1813, whilst Moscow was still burning, she started her career of conquest. By the reduction of Daghestan and Shirvan she pursued it, and ever since she has been crowding Persia back beyond the Caucasus, which she has crossed, herself becoming installed on Iranian soil. In 1828, by the Treaty of Turkmantchai, it was the turn of Persian Armenia to submit to Russia. Russia alone received the right to have war-ships on the Caspian, which became a Russian lake. Ever since that day the ambassador of the czar at Teheran has played the rôle of an English resident at the court of an Indian rajah. The conquest of Kara on the west in 1878, and that of Merv on the east in 1884, shutting Persia in, on the right and on the left, make annexation useless; the only question is whether the south, which is more accessible to England and upon which she has already put her hand on several occasions, will follow the north, or will become vassal of another power, and whether in our days we shall see the old separation of Media and Persia. Whatever happens, between the chronic covetousness of Russia and the intermittent covetousness of England, the political rôle of Iran is finished.

BABISM

The political renaissance of the Sofis had not brought a renaissance of thought. The nineteenth century, which marked the end of Persia, had its reawakening, both literary and religious. The funeral ceremonies, with which for centuries Persia has celebrated the fatal date of the tenth of Muharram, on which day Ali's sons expired at Kerbela, have caused the creation of a popular theatre, incomparable for the influence which it exercises on the national imagination. As the Greek tragedy grew out of the dithyrambus chanted in honour of Dionysius, as the miracle plays in Europe grew out of the religious representations in which the passion of Christ was enacted, so in Persia to-day, although the mystery has not yet ended in a drama and in a lay theatre, it has already produced a sincere poetry, a dramatic and humane poetry, which is worth all the rhetoric of the court poets.

At the same time was produced an attempt at religious innovation, that of Babism. Persia, demoralised for centuries by ten foreign conquests, by the yoke of a composite religion in which she believes just enough to persecute unbelievers, by the enervation of a mystic philosophy which discourages action and takes away all aim in life—Persia made in the nineteenth century an unexpected effort to create for herself a virile ideal. Babism has little originality in its dogmas and in its mythology; its metaphysical doctrine is derived from Sufism and from old Alide sects formed about the dogma of divine incarnation; but its morals are a revolution, they are as the morals of the Occident. It suppresses legal injustice; it suppresses polygamy, the great source of oriental degradation; it reorganises the family, and it elevates man in bringing woman up to his level. Babism, which spread in less than five years from one end of Persia to the other, and which in 1852 was bathed in the blood of martyrs, is recovering and spreading in silence. If Persia can be regenerated she will be so by Babism.[b]

The founder of the Babis, the Bab, Mirza Ali Muhammed, was executed at Tabriz in 1850. As recently as 1903 there was a massacre of his followers at Yazd.

PERSIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

European interference in Persia began at the very outset of the nineteenth century, in connection with Georgia. The founder of the Kajar dynasty, Aga Muhammed (1795), had succeeded in reconquering that country, but in 1800 its czar voluntarily surrendered his authority to Russia, and when his brother refused to recognise the act, Persia, under its ruler, Feth Ali Shah, took up arms, but, in spite of some successes on the part of the crown prince Abbas Mirza and the formal occupation of Erivan by the Persians, not much was accomplished. In the mean while England, the Indian government, and France sent embassies to Persia seeking to establish diplomatic relations, and France incited the shah to renew the war with Russia. The Persians were defeated and were forced to sign the Treaty of Gulistan, which formally ceded to Russia Georgia, Derbent, Baku, Shirvan, Sheki, Ganja, the Talish, Moghan, and Karabagh (October 12th, 1813). Another war with Russia broke out in 1826 which terminated in the Treaty of Turkmantchai, of which we have already spoken and in accordance with which Persia was obliged to cede Erivan and Nakhitchevan to Russia, to pay a war indemnity of about £3,000,000, and to give up her right to have armed vessels on the Caspian. War with Persia's other troublesome neighbour—Turkey—broke out in 1821, and peace was not definitely concluded until July 1823. Persia was also involved in fighting with Afghanistan, her neighbour on the other side. A Persian expedition into the country under Abbas Mirza captured several places and was on the whole successful. An attempt to take Herat, however, resulted in failure.

Feth Ali Shah died in 1834, and was succeeded by his grandson, Muhammed Shah, whose father, Abbas Mirza, had died in the preceding year. Both England and Russia aided in placing Muhammed on the throne. The new ruler at once resolved to extend his dominions at the expense of Afghanistan, which he wished to annex, desiring to re-establish the empire of the Sufis. In spite of the adverse counsel of England, Muhammed laid siege to Herat, and it was only after firm intervention on the part of the British that he was induced to withdraw after a ten months' siege. Muhammed Shah died in 1848, and England and Russia were instrumental in establishing his son and

successor, Nasir ad-din, on the throne in spite of rival claimants. The reign of Nasir ad-din was marked on the whole by an increase of Russian influence over British. Persia's sympathies were strongly with Russia in the Crimean war and decidedly against England, the ally of the hated Sunnite Turks, and Persia's repeated attempts to gain possession of Herat were displeasing to England. In 1856 the latter power declared war; English troops were landed on the Persian Gulf and the Persians were forced to restore Herat (1857). After this encounter the shah's attitude towards Great Britain became more friendly, and the appointment of Sir Henry Rawlinson as envoy in 1859 was very acceptable to the Persian court. Disputes with Afghanistan and Baluchistan led to a demarcation of the frontier between Persia and Baluchistan in 1872, carried out by an English commissioner. In the next year the shah visited Europe, and repeated his visit in 1878 and in 1889. In 1896 Nasir ad-din was assassinated near Teheran, and his son Muzaffar ad-din quietly succeeded him. During his reign different European powers, chief among them England and Russia, have continued their efforts to gain influence and special commercial concessions in Persia. Russia appears to have been the most successful in this respect. She has established consuls and banks in the more important towns, and has made extensive loans to the government; in 1902 she obtained the concession for a road from Tabriz to Teheran.

One of the most important questions to foreign powers in connection with Persia is that of the Persian Gulf. To the Russians, who have been trying so long to find an outlet on the ocean, somewhere and somehow, the question is especially important.[a]

The claim of England to supremacy in the Persian Gulf is based not on definite treaties or international law, but on the necessity of safeguarding her position in India, and on what she has done to reclaim the gulf from barbarism. The northern shore of the gulf is divided between Baluchistan and Persia; to the south lies the Arabian Peninsula, over the whole of which Turkey claims to exercise suzerainty, although her actual possessions there are confined to the single port of Basra. The whole of the southern littoral is held by petty independent chiefs who long lived in piracy. Early in the last century England put down piracy and the slave trade, and induced the chiefs to enter into engagements, the terms of which vary greatly, some of them treating the chief as an independent sovereign, others reducing him to the position of an Indian feudatory. England has continued to perform the duty of buoying, lighting, and policing the gulf, and she has enjoyed a practical monopoly of its trade. According to the consular report for 1902, out of a hundred and thirty-eight ships which entered the port of Bushire, a hundred and thirty-three were British, whilst of the hundred and twenty-one which cleared from it only four belonged to other nationalities. Yet the only place in the gulf which is actually British territory is one square mile at Bassadore, and the only territory over which a British protectorate has been formally proclaimed is the Bahrein Islands. It is thus obviously open to any great European power desiring to establish itself in the gulf to obtain a concession from Turkey or Persia. That Russia desires to obtain Bander Abbas has long been perfectly clear, but it is not probable that she will make a formal demand for it for some time to come. Her policy obviously is to get Persia more and more into her power by means of loans, commercial treaties, and concessions for roads. By these means she may hope to work her way to Bander Abbas, and to obtain a monopoly of its trade, whilst it still nominally remains Persian. Then may come a claim for its formal cession, and when this has been obtained, the work of turning it into an arsenal may be commenced.[c]

A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF PERSIA

Persia Under the Arabs (642–1258 A.D.)

A.D.

641 Battle of Nehavend marks end of Persian empire. Although the country is now nominally under Arab rule, the governors soon make themselves practically independent.

820–873 **Tahirid** dynasty rules in Khorasan. It is overthrown by **Saffarids,** who rule in Khorasan and Fars.

874 **Samanid** dynasty rises under Ahmed, grandson of Saman.

901 Samanids under Ismail, son of Ahmed, overthrow Saffarids.

998 End of Samanid dynasty.

999 **Mahmud, the Ghaznevid,** conquers Khorasan and drives Samanids to Bokhara, where they are overthrown by Turkomans. Mahmud makes extensive conquests in India.

1028–1030 Mahmud attacks **Buyids** or **Bowides** in the west and takes Hamadan and Ispahan.

1037 Mahmud's son Mas'ud (1037–1041) is attacked by **Seljuks** under Togrul Beg. They occupy Azerbaijan, Armenia, Fars, the Persian Irak and the Arabian Irak.

1055 Togrul overthrows Buyids in Baghdad.

1097 **Khwarezmian** shahs (1097–1231) become powerful under Atsiz, governor for Seljuks in Khwarezm.

1150 **Ghurid** sultans of region between Herat and Ghazni become powerful under Aladdin Husein.

1183 Ghaznevids under Khosru Malik are overthrown by Ghurids.

1194 Khwarezmian Takash defeats Seljuks and takes Khorasan from Ghurids.

1203 Ghurids defeated by Khwarezmian shah, Muhammed, son of Takash, who takes Ghazni and conquers most of Persia.

1220 Muhammed is conquered by Jenghiz Khan.

1229 **Tulé,** youngest son of Jenghiz, succeeds to rule over Persian provinces.

1258 Persia under Tatars and Mongols (1258–1501). Tulé's son **Hulagu** conquers Baghdad. He extends his dominion over Syria, Anatolia, and Arabian Irak, makes himself independent, and founds dynasty of **Ilkhans.**

1335 **Buseid,** last Ilkhan, dies without heirs. His Tatar successors are called khans of Persia, but they are not powerful.

1387 **Timur** (Tamerlane) conquers Persia and kills seventy thousand persons in Ispahan, making a pyramid of their heads.

1405 Timur dies, and is succeeded by **Khalil Shah,** although Timur had designated Pir Muhammed as his successor. Khalil's bad rule soon results in his deposition.

1408 **Shah Rukh** succeeds Khalil. He removes his capital from Samarkand to Herat. In the northwest Persian provinces the Turkomans revolt under Kara Yusuf and conquer large part of Persia.

1446 Shah Rukh dies, and is succeeded by his son, **Ulug Bey.** Ulug is put to death by his son, Abdul-Latif, who is himself soon killed by soldiers. **Baber** usurps power for a short period, and after his death **Abu Said,** great-grandson of Timur, succeeds to power.

1467 Uzun Hassan, a Turkoman, overthrows kingdom founded by Kara Yusuf.

1468 Abu Said is taken prisoner and killed by Uzun Hassan. His son reigns in Bokhara, his brother in Farghana.

1478 Uzun Hassan dies, and is succeeded on the throne of Persia by his son **Yakub.**

1485 Yakub dies by poison, and is succeeded probably by his son **Alamut,** though there is some doubt on the subject, and it would appear that a period of civil war intervened, during which various nobles usurped the power.

1487–1506 **Husein Mirza,** great-great-grandson of Timur, reigns at Herat.

Sufic Dynasty (1501–1721 A.D.)

1501 **Ismail I** founds Persian dynasty of Sufi. Ismail is a grandson of Uzun Hassan and a descendant of Sheikh Sufi. He takes old Persian title of Shah or Shainshah.

1502–1503 Ismail destroys Turkoman dominion, conquers Azerbaijan and Armenia.

1510 Ismail conquers the Usbeg khan, Shaibani, a descendant of Jenghiz Khan.
1514 Ismail is defeated by the Ottoman sultan Selim I. Ismail had introduced the Shiitic form of belief, which is regarded as heretical by the orthodox Turkish Sunnites. Selim annexes Diarbekir and Kurdistan.
1519 On Selim's death, Ismail subdues Georgia.
1523 Ismail dies, leaving an empire extending from Kerman, Khorasan, Turkestan, to Diarbekir and Irab. He is succeeded by **Tamasp.**
1527 Persians defeat army of Usbegs.
1528 Baghdad is recovered from a Kurdish usurper.
1534 Suleiman takes Baghdad from Persians.
1543 Indian emperor Humayun is entertained at Persian court.
1548 Rebellion of shah's brother, in alliance with sultan, leads to war with Turkey.
1552 Persians invade Georgia.
1559 Bayazid, son of Suleiman, takes refuge with Tamasp, who is prevailed upon to give him up to his father. This cements peace between Persia and Turkey.
1561 English envoy from Queen Elizabeth arrives in Persia to make a commercial treaty; no important results.
1575 Tamasp dies, and is succeeded by **Ismail II.**
1577 Ismail II dies after two years of misrule. He is succeeded by his brother, **Muhammed the Blind.** Muhammed is a weak ruler, and his reign is disturbed by rebellion within and foes without.
1586 Shah **Abbas the Great,** son of Muhammed, comes to throne. He is most distinguished of Persian rulers. Makes Ispahan his capital. At his court are ambassadors from England, Russia, Spain, Portugal, Holland, and India. On his accession Abbas is obliged to fight Usbegs, but is called off by Turks.
1590 Abbas makes a treaty with Murad III.
1597 Abbas retakes Herat and Khorasan from Usbegs. He extends his dominion over Balkh, the Bahrein, and the province of Lar.
1601 War begins again with Ottomans in which Persians recover lost provinces. Peace is signed under Othman II.
1609 Persians retake Kandahar from the Grand Mughal.
1620 About 1620, English, French, and Dutch establish factories at Gombroon (Bender-Abbas).
1628 Abbas dies, and is succeeded by his grandson, who rules under name Shah **Sufi.** Sufi commits many barbarities and empire declines under him.
1638 Kandahar is taken by Grand Mughal. Baghdad is conquered by Murad IV.
1641 Sufi dies, and is succeeded by his son, **Abbas II.** Abbas receives foreign embassies and is tolerant of other religions. He is a drunkard.
1647 Kandahar is retaken by Persians.
1666 Abbas II dies, and is succeeded by his son Sufi, under name of **Suleiman.** He is a weak prince under whom Persia declines; no important event occurs during his reign. Usbegs invade Khorasan annually. Tatars ravage shores of Caspian. Dutch seize island of Kishm in Persian gulf. Many foreigners visit magnificent Persian court.
1694 Suleiman dies, and is succeeded by his son **Husein.** Husein, a weak and bigoted ruler, brings his empire to ruin.
1709 Afghan tribes of Ghilzais and Durranio (Abdalis) revolt, and under **Mir Wais** take possession of Kandahar, which is constituted into an independent kingdom.
1713 Mir Wais dies, and is succeeded by his brother, **Mir Abdallah,** who gives dissatisfaction to Afghan nobles.
1717 Mir Abdallah is killed by his nephew, Mir Mahmud, son of Mir Wais. **Mahmud** is proclaimed king.
1720 Mahmud invades Persia and takes Kerman, which is retaken by Persian general Lutf Ali Khan.
1722 Ispahan is taken by Afghans after seven months' siege. **Mahmud** becomes ruler of Persia, and in order to establish his power massacres thousands of Persians. He finally becomes insane.
1725 **Ashraf,** son of Mir Abdallah, succeeds Mahmud; his reign is disturbed by Russian and Turkish designs on Persia.
1729 Nadir (Kuli Khan), a powerful Persian chief, drives out Ashraf, and places **Tamasp,** son of Husein, on throne. Tamasp has claimed royal title ever since his father's surrender to Mahmud.
1732 Tamasp is defeated by Turks, and cedes to them Georgia and Armenia. In consequence, Nadir dethrones Tamasp and raises his infant son, **Abbas III,** to the throne.
1733 Nadir attacks Baghdad and is defeated by Turkish general Topal Osman. After three months Nadir again attacks Baghdad and takes it.
1734–1735 Nadir occupies Armenia and Georgia, drives out Turks, and concludes treaty with Porte.
1736 Abbas III dies, and **Nadir** becomes shah on condition that the Shiitic heresy be given up. He raises empire to its former glory.

1738 Nadir conquers Balkh and Kandahar.
1739 Nadir invades India and in a single battle captures Delhi. Many thousands of inhabtants are massacred.
1743 Nadir is suspicious of his son Kuli and puts his eyes out. From this time on Nadir is so violently savage and cruel that he is a terror to his subjects.
1745 Nadir gains victory over the Turks and makes treaty with them.
1747 Nadir is murdered by nobles. Period of anarchy follows. **Adil Shah,** nephew of Nadir, is proclaimed ruler. Kingdom of Afghans is founded in eastern Iran under Ahmed, and is permanently lost to Persia.
1748 Adil is deposed and blinded by his brother **Ibrahim.** Ibrahim is soon killed by troops. The blinded **Shah Rokh,** grandson of Husein, succeeds. He is deposed several times, and finally established in Khorasan by Ahmed Khan, king of Afghans. In the mean time Muhammed Husein Khan, of the tribe of Kujurs, ancestor of the reigning dynasty, has established his authority in Mazenderan. Azerbaijan, Ghilan, and Georgia are independent. Ali Murdan Khan, of tribe of Bukhtari, puts descendant of house of Sufi on throne and asks Kurim Khan and other chiefs to aid him.
1753 **Kurim Khan** succeeds in uniting southern Persia under his rule, and occupies Shiraz. He is a wise and just ruler; never calls himself shah, but only vakil of Sufi Shah.
1756 Kurim takes Ispahan and large part of Irak. He is forced to retreat to Shiraz by Muhammed Husein Khan.
1757 Muhammed besieges Kurim at Shiraz, but is forced to retire to Mazenderan. Owing to lack of union among his followers, Muhammed is eventually defeated and killed. Khorasan alone is left under dominion of Shah Rokh.
1776 Basra surrenders to Saduk Khan, brother of Kurim. Internal commerce of Persia is revived during later years of Kurim.
1779 Kurim dies, nearly eighty years old. Another period of anarchy follows.
1781 **Ali Murad,** nephew of Kurim, finally obtains the crown.
1785 Ali Murad dies while on his way to fight Aga Muhammed, khan of the Kajar tribe in Mazenderan. He is succeeded by **Giaffer** (Jaafer) **Khan,** son of Saduk Khan. During his reign he is occupied chiefly in fighting Aga Muhammed Khan.
1789 Giaffer Khan is murdered. During an interval of a few months one of the conspirators who killed Giaffer reigns. **Lutf Ali Khan,** son of Giaffer, then succeeds to power. Lutf Ali is distinguished for his noble qualities, but is rash and proud. He offends Hadji Ibrahim, one of his most powerful supporters, who goes over to Aga Muhammed Khan.
1791 Hadji Ibrahim seizes Shiraz. Almost all of Lutf Ali's troops desert him. Ibrahim disarms soldiers and sends them out of Shiraz. Sends for Aga Muhammed.
1792 Lutf Ali boldly attacks Aga Muhammed's advancing army. Owing to Muhammed's calm resolution and self-possession Ali is defeated.
1793 Lutf Ali after repeatedly attempting to regain his kingdom is captured and finally killed.

Kajar Dynasty

1794 With **Aga Muhammed Khan** begins rule of Kajar dynasty. At the death of Lutf Ali, he is ruler over provinces of Astrabad, Mazenderan, Ghilan, over Irak, Fars, and Kerman. He makes Teheran his capital.
1795 Muhammed marches against Georgia, which under Heraclius has transferred its allegiance to Russia. He enters Tiflis.
1796 Aha Muhammed Khan is crowned as **Muhammed Shah.** In the same year he subdues Khorasan, and tortures the blind Shah Rokh to make him give up his concealed jewels. Russians take Georgia, but retreat on death of the empress Catherine, and Muhammed makes treaty with Russia.
1797 Muhammed is murdered, and—owing to the firmness and good management of Hadji Ibrahim—Muhammed's nephew Baba Khan, under name **Feth Ali,** succeeds him. Feth Ali is not actually crowned until the following year. He soon begins contest with Russia.
1800 Georgian ruler, George, son of Heraclius renounces his crown in favour of Russia. His brother repudiates the act and war ensues. Russia gains possession of Derbent, Baku, Shirvan, Sheki, Ganja (Elizabethpol), the Talish, and Mugan. British India makes commercial and political treaties with Persia.
1802 Georgia is declared a Russian province. A few years later France enters into diplomatic relations with Persia, and the French officers are sent to drill army. British send mission to Persia.
1809 French general Gardanne is dismissed owing to Peace of Tilsit. British diplomatist, Sir Harford Jones, concludes treaty with Persia.
1810 Malcolm is sent as envoy from England with two officers and field pieces. Said Muhammed Ali, founder of Babism, is born in Shiraz about this time.

1811 Persia declares war on Russia.
1813 Treaty of Gulistan. Persia loses all her possessions in the Caucasus, north of Armenia, and Russia obtains right to have ships of war on the Caspian.
1822 War with Turkey.
1823 Treaty of Erzerum between Turkey and Persia. No territorial changes are made.
1826 Persians, without making declaration of war, attack Russia. At first they are successful, but they soon meet with reverses; negotiations for peace are begun, but prove futile.
1827 Campaign reopens.
1828 Peace is concluded through British mediation at Turkmantchai. Persia gives up Erivan, Nakhitchevan, and Armenia, with the rich monastery Etchmiadzin, besides paying a war indemnity of £3,000,000.
1829 Popular rage breaks out against Russians in Teheran, and Russian ambassador with his wife and largest part of his suite is killed. Soon afterwards alliance with Russia is strengthened and that with England weakened.
1833 Crown prince Abbas Mirza dies. His death is a great loss to his country.
1834 Feth Ali dies, and is succeeded by his son, **Ali Shah,** who reigns for twenty days. **Muhammed Shah,** a grandson of Feth Ali, is placed on throne through influence of Russia and England in opposition to Ali Shah. Russia and England struggle for influence in Persia; Russia persuades Persia to undertake against Herat an expedition, which proves unsuccessful.
1837 Shah again invades Herat and lays siege to city.
1838 Siege of Herat is raised owing to English efforts.
1840 England gains but does not maintain upper hand in Persian affairs.
1846 Persia concludes treaty with Russia, giving latter right to use two ports on Caspian Sea for war-ships.
1847 Treaty of Erzerum with Turkey settles frontier disputes which had lasted for about five years.
1848 Muhammed Shah dies, and is succeeded by **Nasir ad-din.** He appoints Mirza Taki vizir and introduces reforms. Insurrection in Khorasan is suppressed.
1850 Babist teachings have spread to such an extent that Said Muhammed Ali is put to death.
1852 Persia incorporates sultanate of Herat. An attempt on the shah's life by three Babists results in terrible persecutions and massacres of members of the Babist sect.
1852 England tries to secure independence of Herat and to land troops at Bushire on the Persian Gulf.
1853 Persia, though favouring Russia, takes no active part in Crimean war.
1855 Persia reconquers Herat.
1856 English seize Bushire. Shah sends troops against them, which are defeated.
1857 Peace is concluded with England through French mediation. In the following years Persia fights with Turkomans, but with no lasting result.
1859 Sir Henry Rawlinson, the celebrated orientalist, becomes British minister to Persia. About a year later he is succeeded by Mr. Charles Alison.
1868 Telegraph convention between England and Persia for communication between Europe and India.
1872 Renewal of telegraph convention.
1873 Shah visits England.
1878 Treaty of Berlin gives city of Kotur to Persia.
1879 Shah visits Europe.
1881 Treaty with Russia (ratified 1882) settles boundaries between Persia and the Turkoman territory conquered by Russia.
1887 Ayub Khan, son of Shir Ali of Afghanistan, who, through agreement with England, has been confined at Teheran since 1884, escapes and tries to raise a revolt against Amir Abdar-rahman of Afghanistan. He is unsuccessful, and is sent a prisoner to India.
1888 Karun river is opened to international navigation. Railway between Teheran and Shah Abdul Azim is opened.
1889 "Imperial Bank of Persia" starts business with British royal charter. Russia demands corresponding advantage. Shah visits Europe for third time.
1890 As a concession to Russia, railways are forbidden in Persia.
1891 Twenty-eight thousand persons die of cholera in Persia.
1893 In a convention with Russia, Persia cedes lands on the northern frontier of Khorasan in exchange for land on the frontier of Azerbaijan.
1895 Persia gives France exclusive right to excavate antiquities in Persia.
1896 Nasir ad-din is assassinated. He is succeeded by his son, **Muzaffar ad-din.**
1897 M. J. de Morgan begins work of excavation at Susa (Shushan).
1900 Russian government secures important loan to Persia. Shah visits Europe.
1902 Shah makes second visit to Europe.
1905 Shah visits the Russian czar. Persian army reorganized.
1906 The Shah and the Heir-Apparent sign the Constitution, December 30.
1907 Death of Shah Muzaffar ad-Din, and succession of **Muhammed Ali Mirza.**

CHAPTER IV

THE BUFFER STATES OF CENTRAL ASIA

Afghanistan

In the high lands of eastern Afghanistan, which are bounded on the north by the snowy peaks of the Hindu Kush or the Indian Caucasus, anterior Asia touches that "roof of the world" which is the geographic centre of the continent and in which India, the Chinese Empire, and the territories of immense Russia come together. In this region, one of the least explored of the continent, the base of the table-lands upon which arise the great mountains, surpasses the highest peaks of the Pyrenees in altitude. A little distance to the west, between the plains of Turkestan and the valley of the Indus, pass the routes which have been in all time the most frequented; hence the extreme military importance of Afghanistan and the great rôle this country plays in the history of commerce and of popular migrations.

Neither tradition nor legend tells us that the mountain was crossed in the time of the Aryan ancestors. But the relationship existing between the cults, ceremonies, prayers, language, and civilisation of the people of the Iranian "Seven Rivers" and the people of the Hindu "Seven Rivers" is so close as to amount almost to identity, and leaves no doubt that the gates to the mountains between the two slopes of the watershed were known and used by the expeditions of Alexander. Then the constitution of Hellenic states, which stretched from Bactria clear to the other side of the snowy mountains and perhaps into the heart of India, joined again the two extremities of the Aryan world through these defiles of the Hindu Kush; afterwards Buddhist missionaries and probably also armed propagandists chose the same routes for putting India into communication with the countries of northern Asia and of the extreme Orient. Gigantic images, carved centuries ago in the rocks of Bamian, have seen pass before them many expeditions of war, of propaganda, or of commerce, which have exercised considerable influence upon the history of the world.

Taken as a whole, Afghanistan may be considered a region of passage; it is the Roh, a mountainous country mentioned by ancient authors, simply as the region comprised between Turan, Iran, and Ind. As an eastern continuation of the plateau of Iran, it separates the two cradles of civilisation, Iran and the basin of the Euphrates, and its chief importance comes from the roads which unite these two countries. The cities which arise there, in the fertile valleys, in the midst of oases, at the entrance to gorges, are mentioned in history principally on account of their strategic value and the advantages they offer to armies for the conquest or defence of distant territories. Thus Herat, Kandahar, Ghazni, and Kabul are often called the "keys" of India. "Since the most ancient times," said the historian of Akbar in 1602, "Kabul and Kandahar have been regarded as the gates of Hindustan; one opens from Turan, the other from Iran, and if these places are well guarded, the vast empire of India is protected from foreign invasion." [1b]

HISTORY

The oldest accounts of Afghanistan are found in the Indian Veda and go back to 1800 B.C. Further and more detailed information is obtained from the expedition of Alexander the Great into India. Later references to Afghanistan occur here and there in Persian and Chinese works—in the latter in connection with a journey of a Buddhist, who twice passed through the valley of the Kabul river in the second half of the sixth century A.D. The Afghans, however, do not appear in the clear light of history until later; they are first mentioned in the campaigns of Mahmud the Ghaznevid as useful and brave allies of the Ghaznevids. Immigration into the country took place only gradually, and in the fourteenth century single tribes still resided outside the present frontier. Still later Kaffirs or Siaposh lived in great numbers in the eastern province of Afghanistan, whilst the Tajaks lived in the west. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that the Afghans united in a close and powerful confederation. Up to that time they had been subject to the Persians, especially at last under the energetic rule of Nadir Shah. After his death, in 1747, the twenty-three-year-old Ahmed Shah of the tribe of Abdali, who was known as a poet and historian, took advantage of the disorders in Persia to shake off the yoke of the Persian, who was doubly hated as a Shiite. In this attempt he was successful. He founded the dynasty of the Abdali, or, as it was later called, Durrani. He soon appeared as a conqueror, and the fortune of war was so favourable to him that before his death his realm extended from Khorasan into the Pendjdeh. He was also the founder of Kandahar. The glory of the Durrani dynasty was not, however, of long duration. The dynasty, after an existence of seventy-six years, came to an end with the death of Ahmed's grandson Mahmud, in the year 1829. The kingdoms, with the exception of Herat, now passed into the hands of the Barakzai brothers, Dost Muhammed coming to power in Kabul, Kohan dil Khan in Kandahar, and Sultan Muhammed in Peshawar. At the head stood the oldest of the three brothers, Dost Muhammed, as owner of Kabul.

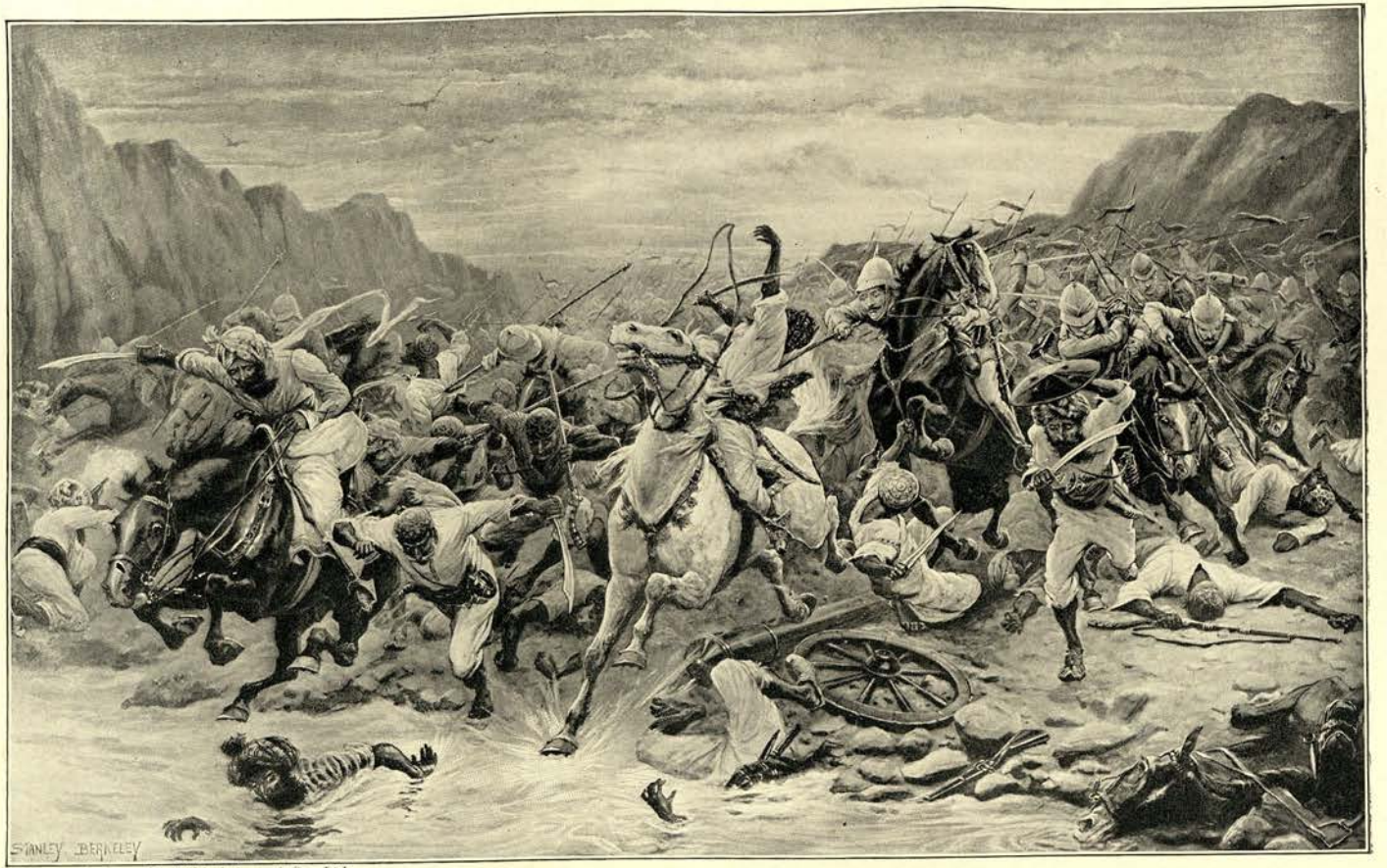
Nevertheless, the country was not blessed with peace. Dost Muhammed was at war with Lahore in the east; Herat was involved in war with the Persians in the west. In addition, the British governor-general of India, Lord Auckland,

[1] Abul-Fazel.

declared war on Afghanistan on October 1st, 1838, on the pretext that Dost Muhammed had wrongfully fought against the British ally Ranjit Singh, that the military plans of the Afghan princes revealed a hostile attitude towards India, and that Shah Shuja had asked for assistance as the legitimate successor. An Anglo-Indian army of twelve thousand men and forty thousand camp-followers started against Afghanistan in February, 1839, crossed the Indus on February 20th, went through the Bolan Pass in March and the Khojak Pass on April 7th—not without great loss—and on April 25th reached Kandahar, where Shah Shuja formally took possession of his government. On July 22nd, Ghazni, which had always been considered impregnable, was taken through treachery. On August 6th, the shah, with the British main force, moved into the devastated Kabul, and the English already regarded the land as a fief of the Anglo-Indian Empire. They had, however, taken into consideration neither the nature of the land nor the character of the Afghans, and in consequence were soon terribly undeceived. Afghanistan was overrun but not conquered. Dost Muhammed, in a helpless situation, did indeed surrender to the English, but his crafty son was so much the more active. The latter placed himself at the head of a far-reaching conspiracy in which neither the British commissioner, Alexander Burnes, nor Macnaghten, the British minister at the court of Kabul, would believe, in spite of all indications.[c] The massacre at Kabul and the dreary retreat of the English are too well known to need repetition.[a]

Only one Briton of rank escaped death to bring the sad news to English headquarters. General Nott marched from Kandahar, which had remained in British possession, against Ghazni, which he occupied on September 6th, 1842, without much opposition, and which, in spite of its flourishing condition, he destroyed. In the mean while General Pollock had started towards the other central point, Kabul, to join forces there with Nott in the middle of September. The destruction of this place and the liberation of the captured English followed the defeat of Akbar's men. Afghanistan appeared ruined and disorganised enough, so that the British generals began a quick retreat in December, leaving the land to itself. The transports of victory led them to commit the folly of liberating the captured Afghans, even Dost Muhammed himself. Returning from Hindustan and well aware of the state of things in that country, Dost Muhammed gladly allowed himself to be welcomed as a saviour in Kabul, and began to strengthen his dominion. Already in 1846 he seized an opportunity to operate against England, and entered into an alliance with the Sikhs. However, the battle of February 21st, 1849, destroyed the power of his allies and his own hopes, so that he fled discouraged over the Indus, with sixteen thousand of his warriors. The British Indian government, nevertheless, took no decided steps against him; on the contrary, Dost Muhammed found time and leisure to enlarge and strengthen his own kingdom. In order to secure his conquests by being on good terms with his eastern neighbours, he had already signed a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with the Indo-British government on March 20th, 1855. In January, 1857, he concluded a new alliance with the British government, as the representative of which, the governor of Punjab, John Lawrence, conducted the negotiations.

The prosperity of the Afghan realm had on the whole begun to increase, but the peace was again disturbed in 1860 when Sultan Ahmed Khan of Herat fell into a disagreement with Afzul Khan of Kunduz, the son of Dost Muhammed, who was very popular among the Afghans. But Dost Muhammed knew how to restore the equilibrium now, as he had restored it in the disturbances in Bokhara in 1861. In the beginning of 1862, however, a Persian



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THE VICTORY OF KANDAHAR, SEPTEMBER 1 1880

(From the painting by Stanley Berkeley)

army from Nedjed again threatened the Afghan boundary, and Sultan Ahmed Khan of Herat, at the instigation of the Persians, marched against Farah and Kandahar at the head of an army corps. Then all Afghanistan was aroused and war became unavoidable. The grey-headed amir Dost Muhammed hastened at the head of his army against the enemy, calling at the same time on the help of the British in British India. He cleared the frontiers and then advanced upon Herat, which fell into his power on May 26th, 1863, after a tedious siege. Ahmed Khan died shortly before the capture of the city. Dost Muhammed died a few days afterwards, at the age of ninety-two, after designating his son, Sher Ali Khan, as his heir and as ruler of the realm. Herat remained in the hands of the Afghans, without any opposition on the part of Persia, but the realm soon fell into confusion. For, after Dost Muhammed's death, his sons and grandsons began to quarrel amongst themselves, and a wild strife broke out in the tribe of the Barakzai, which caused terrible devastation in the country.[c]

Dost Muhammed was succeeded by his son, Sher Ali, who, however, did not establish himself on the throne until after many wars and disputes with his brothers and nephews. After five years his authority was firmly established in Kabul, and in 1869 a splendid reception was accorded him at Amballa by the earl of Mayo, Lawrence's successor.

In the mean time the Russians had been approaching the northern boundary of Afghanistan, and Sher Ali again turned to the English for support. Not meeting with a favourable response, and being hurt, moreover, at England's refusal to take his part in a dispute with Persia, the amir now began to look more and more to Russia. Accordingly, in 1878, when England demanded the reception of a British resident at Kabul, Sher Ali refused and war was at once declared.

The English advanced resolutely; Jalalabad was occupied by the end of 1878, Kandahar fell into their hands in the beginning of 1879, and a force under Sir Frederick Roberts defeated the amir's troops at the Peiwar Kotal. Sher Ali fled from Kabul to the north, where he died in February, 1879. His son, Yakub Khan, who was proclaimed amir, concluded a treaty of peace with the English in May. The peace was, however, of short duration. In September of the same year the English resident at Kabul, Sir Louis Cavagnari, was killed with his whole suite and the war began again. Sir Frederick Roberts at once marched upon Kabul, which he entered in October, and sent the deposed amir Yakub to India. Abdurrahman, the nephew of Sher Ali, was recognised as amir by Great Britain, but the province of Kandahar was taken out from under his jurisdiction and given to the sirdar Sher Ali Khan of the Barakzai family.

In a land containing so many claimants to the throne, however, it was not long before war broke out afresh. Shortly after the proclamation of Abdurrahman as amir in July, 1880, Ayub Khan, another son of the amir Sher Ali, who had been in possession of Herat since the death of his father, defeated General Barrows and marched upon Kandahar. General Roberts made a forced march to relieve the city, defeated Ayub Khan on the 1st of September, and placed the province under the dominion of Abdurrahman. In the next year, the English having in the mean time retired, Ayub Khan again attacked Kandahar, of which he took possession in July. Abdurrahman, however, succeeded in defeating him and drove him to take refuge in Persia, incorporating Herat in his own kingdom. During the twenty years that now followed, until Abdurrahman's death in 1901, Afghanistan enjoyed a period of comparative quiet, broken only by occasional civil wars. The central power was

established by the organisation of a regular army equipped with European arms, and law and order were to a certain extent introduced into the country. In 1895 the amir subdued the "infidels" of Kafiristan and compelled them to accept Islam.

Abdurrahman was succeeded in 1901 by his son, Habib Ullah, whose accession to the throne took place quietly and without any disturbance. He has maintained a friendly policy towards England, although the latter country has felt some apprehension on account of Russian desires to establish direct commercial relations with the Afghans on the frontier, in opposition to the agreement between Russia and England that Russia would hold no direct diplomatic negotiations with Afghanistan.[a]

TIBET

Tibet comprises almost exactly half of the vast semicircle of mountains which, with a radius of eight hundred kilometres, extends west of populous China, from the first Mongolian promontories of the Tian-Shan to the openings in the eastern Himalaya, through which the Tsangpo, the Salwin, and the Mekong escape towards the Indian Ocean. The high bordering chain of the Kwanlun divides this semicircle into two parts which contrast singularly with each other; on the north is the closed basin of the Tarim and of several other rivers which lose themselves in the sands; on the south rises the high plateau of Tibet. At the side of one of the deepest hollows in the interior of a continent rises the most massive protuberance on the surface of the earth. Taken as a whole, if one disregards the irregularities of contour caused by its political frontiers, Tibet is one of the most clearly demarcated regions of the Old World. Resting at the northwest on the jagged ranges which are furrowed by the valleys of Ladak and Kashmir, Tibet widens gradually towards the southeast and east between the dominating ridges of the Asiatic continent—the Kwanlun and the Himalaya. Like the Pamir, the two great chains which dominate the triangular mass of Tibet on the north and south are regarded by the people who live at their base as the "roofs of the world," the "steps of heaven," and the "sojourn of the gods." They seem to form the limits of another land, to which the diadem of snow shining in the sun gives the appearance of an enchanted region, but which the few explorers who have reached it know is a land of cold, of misery caused by snow, and of famine. If the Tibetan government has succeeded better than any other state of Asia in prolonging the isolated condition of its people during the last century, this success is due chiefly to the high relief of the country and to the nature of its soil. Tibet rises like a citadel in the centre of Asia; its defenders have been better able than those of India, China, or Japan to prohibit an entry into their abode.

The greatest part of Tibet is yet unexplored, or at least the itineraries of the Catholic missionaries who traversed the country when entrance into it was not forbidden cannot be traced with certitude. In the first half of the fourteenth century a Friuli friar, Odoric Pordenone, went to Tibet from China and resided at Lhasa. Three centuries later, in 1675 and 1676, the Portuguese missionary Andrada penetrated twice into Tibet, where he was well received by the Buddhist priests. In 1661 other Jesuit priests, Grüber and d'Orville, went from China to Hindustan, passing through Lhasa. In the following century still others, the Tuscan Desideri and the Portuguese Manoel Freyre, visited the capital of Tibet coming from India. But the Capuchins had already

founded a Catholic mission at Lhasa under the direction of Orazio della Penna, who remained in the country no less than twenty-two years. At that time the Tibetan government allowed strangers to go freely through the passes of the Himalaya which are so carefully guarded in our days. A lay explorer also resided for several years at Lhasa, and from thence went to China by the Kuku-nor, to come back again to Hindustan by way of Lhasa. That traveller was the Dutchman Van der Putte, who is known to have been a learned man and a good observer. Unfortunately he destroyed his maps and papers, fearing lest, badly classified as they were, they might be the cause of propagating errors. Southeastern Tibet has been traversed by French missionaries, but all recent attempts to enter Tibet from the northeast and north have failed. The Russian Prjevalski had to retire twice without being able to penetrate into the heart of the country, and the Hungarian Béla Szechenyi was likewise obliged to retrace his steps.[b] The only Englishman to enter the sacred city of Lhasa before the recent military expedition under Colonel Younghusband was Thomas Manning. He reached there in 1811, but was not allowed to remain. During the last century European travellers have been firmly and persistently turned back from any approach to the capital of Tibet. The well-known Scandinavian explorer Sven Hedin was turned back in 1901 when within a five days' journey of it. The Englishman Landor, who penetrated into the country in 1897, was taken prisoner when within a short distance of Lhasa and severely tortured before he was finally sent back to the frontier under military escort.[a]

PEOPLE

The great mass of the inhabitants of Tibet, except the Hors and the Soks —that is, the Turks and the Mongols of Khatchi—and the various independent peoples of the province of Kham, belong to the same group of the race called Mongolians. The Tibetans are certainly among the most richly endowed peoples of the earth; nearly all travellers who have penetrated into their country agree in praising their gentleness, their humanity, the frankness of their language and conduct, their dignity, without ostentation in the case of those in authority and spontaneous among the common people. Brave, courageous, naturally gay, fond of music, dancing, and singing, the Tibetans would be a model people if they had a little initiative. But they passively allow themselves to be disciplined and to be transformed into a docile herd. The word of the lamas is their law. Even the will of the Chinese residents, strangers as they are, is scrupulously obeyed, and it is on this account that the nation, although so hospitable and gracious, has come to guard its frontiers in order to prevent travellers from entering the country. The inhabitants of Bodyul (Tibet) have long been a civilised people. It is true that the customs of the Stone Age are maintained in certain religious ceremonies, since the prelates use a "stone of thunder" to tonsure the heads of the lamas. The same age of human history continues also on the high plateaus of Tibet, where the shepherds of numerous encampments use stone cooking-pots; but that comes from their extreme isolation; they are not ignorant of the existence of iron and copper, and those of them who can procure instruments of metal are glad to do so.

It is well known that Tibet is the centre of that religion which disputes with Christianity the first place in regard to the number of its confessors. The Tibetans are the most zealous of Buddhists, although their cult, modified

by the influence of anterior rites, of climate, of mode of life, and of contact with surrounding peoples, resembles in appearance the old religion of Chakya-muni. It was only in the fifth century, after first attempts made three centuries earlier, that the Hindu missionaries began the conversion of the Tibetan people. Their rites, analogous to those of the Chinese taoism, consisted at that time in offerings and prayers to the lakes, mountains, and trees, representing the forces of nature; but two hundred years passed before the new cult replaced the Bon or Pön bo religion to any extent in the country. The first temple was not built until 698. A hundred years afterwards religious edifices and convents arose on all sides, and the religion of Buddha shone over Tibet like the "light of the sun." It was the golden age of the theocratic power, for, according to the Mongolian historian Sanang Setzen, "the unbounded respect which was felt for the priests gave to the people a felicity like to that of the blessed spirits." Nevertheless, it does not appear that the cults anterior to Buddhism were entirely vanquished, since, according to the same writer, "the love of good thoughts and of meritorious acts was afterwards forgotten like a dream." The doctrine was not re-established in full force until the end of the tenth century, and then it soon became divided into sects. Tibetan Buddhism had its religious revival four hundred years later. The monk Tsongkapa undertook the revision of the doctrine, formulated new precepts, and modified the ritual; his disciples are the "yellow bonnets," or *geluk-pa*, whose cult predominates in Tibet, whilst the old sect of the "red bonnets," *duk-pa* or *shammar*, has maintained its power in Nepal and Bhutan. The rèformer Tsongkapa was regarded by his followers as the incarnation of the divinity, as a living Buddha who had taken on the appearance of human nature. He never dies, but passes from body to body in the form of a *khoubilgan*, or "new-born Buddha," and it is thus that he is perpetuated as the Tashi lama in the sacred monastery of Tashilunpo, near Shigatse. Another living Buddha rivals him now in the veneration of the Tibetans, and surpasses him in political power, thanks to his residence in the capital and to his direct relation with the Chinese ministers; this is the dalai-lama or the "prelate of the ocean," the story of whose enthronement in the seat of Buddha is differently related; but whether it was in the sixteenth or in the seventeenth century, the ecclesiastical prince of Lhasa has taken rank amongst the immortal divinities who are reincarnated from generation to generation. The third living Buddha in the hierarchy of the religion is that of Urga in Mongolia; but there are still others, and in Tibet even the superior of a monastery situated on the southern bank of Lake Palti is regarded as a divine Buddha.

The life of most Tibetans is passed in invocations and in conjurations in the form of prayers. The six magic syllables, *Om mani padmé houm*—which most commentators translate by "O jewel in the lotus, thus may he be!" but which others declare to be untranslatable—are the formula which is most often repeated. The sacred inscription is found everywhere, on the walls of houses and temples, beside the roads, on colossal statues rudely hewn in the live rocks. *Manés*, or ramparts built beside the paths, are composed of stones, each one of which bears the sacramental phrase. Brotherhoods have been formed for the sole purpose of carving the sacred inscription in huge characters on the sides of the mountains, so that the traveller passing at full gallop may be able to read the words of salvation. The *korlos*, *khortens*, or prayer wheels, also employed in all other countries, except Japan, where the cult of Buddha prevails, are nowhere else so frequent as in Tibet; even the forces of nature, the wind and water, are used to turn these cylinders, every revolution of which

shows to the all-seeing heaven the mystic words by which human destinies are governed.

The inhabitants of Tibet, Buddhists and Singhalese, Mongols and Chinese, are clearly distinguished from all other peoples of the same religion by their national customs, which the cult has not modified. The Tibetans of the south, as well as their neighbours and racial relatives, the Bhutans, still practise polyandry, in order to remain under the same roof and to avoid dividing the inheritance. The eldest son presents himself at the house of the bride in his own name and in the name of all his brothers, and as soon as a piece of butter has been placed on the foreheads of the conjugal pair the ceremony is valid for the whole family. The priests, who are obliged to remain at a distance from women, do not take part in this purely civil ceremony.[1] The Tibetan woman is highly respected, and is a good housekeeper. She also helps the men in their outside employment, either in tilling the soil or in caring for the flocks; her work, like that of her brothers, is done for the family as a whole. As in China, much heed is paid to politeness in Tibet. When two people meet they salute each other several times, sticking out the tongue and scratching themselves on the right ear, or even exchanging scarfs of white or pink silk, covered with embroidery representing flowers and the sacred formula; letters also are accompanied by these scarfs "of felicity." In this country all ceremonies are regulated in advance; the form and colour of the clothes are prescribed for all occasions of life by rigorous custom. During the year of mourning the men abstain from wearing silken garments and the women leave off their jewels. As soon as a person dies they hasten to pull out the hair from the top of his head in order to facilitate a happy transmigration. The family keeps the corpse for several days at least, or, if the family is rich, even for weeks; afterwards the priests decide whether the deceased shall be buried, burned, thrown into the current of a stream, or exposed on a rock to be devoured by dogs, birds, and beasts of prey.

THE CAPITAL

Lhasa is at once the capital of Tibet and the religious metropolis of all the Buddhists of the Chinese Empire; its name signifies "Throne of God"; for the Mongols it is the *morke-djot*, or "Eternal Sanctuary." Perhaps the number of priests, which is estimated at twenty thousand in Lhasa and vicinity, exceeds that of the civil population; crowds of pilgrims from all over Tibet, and even from beyond the frontiers, flock every year to the temples of the "Buddhist Rome." On the two long tree-lined avenues leading from the city to the palace of the lama, the faithful may constantly be seen turning their long rosaries between their fingers, whilst prelates of the court, magnificently clothed and mounted on richly caparisoned horses, pass proudly in the midst of the multitude. The palace of Potala, in which the sovereign resides, is an assembly of fortifications, temples, and monasteries, surmounted by a dome, which is entirely covered with gold plate. It is surrounded by a peristyle whose columns are likewise gilded. The present edifice, reconstructed by Kanghi and filled with treasures brought by the faithful of Tibet, Mongolia, and China, has replaced the palace which was destroyed by the

[1 Landor, in describing the marriage customs, says that both polyandry and polygamy prevail. If a man marries the eldest daughter of a family all the rest of her sisters become his wives. If he marries the next to the oldest, all younger than she are his wives, and so on. In the same way the bridegroom's brothers become husbands to the bride.]

Sungarians at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The "mountain of Buddha" has been ever since the seventh century the most venerated place of eastern Asia. When the day begins to decline, leaving the profile of the sacred mountain still plainly visible against the blue of the sky, all work stops in the city; the inhabitants gather in groups on the terraces, in the streets, and on the public squares and prostrate themselves, chanting their prayers.

THE GOVERNMENT OF TIBET

In appearance the government of Tibet is purely theocratic. The dalai lama, called also gyalba-rembotché, "jewel of majesty" or "sovereign treasure," holds all power in his hands. He is at once king and god; master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects, he has no limit to his power other than his own good pleasure; nevertheless he consents to let himself be directed by ancient custom in his ordinary decisions. Moreover, his very grandeur prevents him from directly oppressing his people; being obliged to concern himself only with the high spiritual matters of the state, he is replaced in the government proper by a viceroy whom the emperor chooses in a superior council composed of three great priests. This supreme administrator is the *nomakhan* or *gyalbo*, obliged like all other Tibetans to be only the humble servitor of the grand lama. The nomakhan directs the administration, either by himself or through the intermediary of four ministers and sixteen inferior mandarins; the other officials, almost all chosen from the class of lamas, are named by the minister. But at the side of the government are two *kirichais* or *ambans*, Chinese residents, who watch over the high officials, and on grave occasions transmit to them the desires of the emperor. The principle established by Kanghi, and followed by his successors, is that in the affairs of Tibet everything relating to general politics and to war shall be dealt with by the government of Peking, but that the care of the special interests of the land and of the local police shall belong to the authorities of Lhasa, Tashilunpo (Shigatse), and the various other more or less independent provinces of Tibet. All the civil employees are Tibetans. The most serious crises in the government of Tibet occur when the dalai lama deigns to part with his human exterior to take on again the exterior of a child. The *khutuktu*, that is, the chief prelates, unite in a conclave and spend a week in fasting and prayer; then the future pope is designated by the casting of lots. But it is the Chinese embassy which controls this pretended chance; in 1792 it presented the conclave with a magnificent urn of gold, out of which the name of the new master was to be drawn, and ever since the sending of this gift no representative of a family hostile to the empire has ever been appointed by the electors. Moreover, the dalai lama cannot assume his dignity unless provided with a regular diploma signed by the emperor of China. Pope, king, and ministers all receive an annual subsidy from Peking.

All the able-bodied population of Tibet is obliged to constitute a sort of national guard for the defence of the country, but the only permanent troops are composed of strangers, Manchus, Mongols, and Turks, which the Chinese government is said to employ preferably because they are easier to support and are willing to eat the flesh of horses and wild asses (dziggetai); the real reason is that in their quality of foreigners they would not hesitate to massacre the Tibetans at the command of their chiefs. A small number of these soldiers suffices; most of the garrisons are composed of only a few dozen men.[b]

OUTLINE OF HISTORY

The history of Tibet is very ancient, although much of it is legendary. The Chinese annals begin to mention the nomads of the Kuku-nor districts in the eleventh century B.C. The Tibetan annals begin between the fifth and second centuries B.C., and there are lists of kings covering the period down to 914 A.D. The most important event during this time was the conversion to Buddhism, which was finally accomplished in the eighth century. The first king who favoured the new religion was Srong-btsan-sgam-po (630), one of whose wives was the daughter of the Chinese emperor. This king extended his realm by conquests, through Nepal and into India on the south and to Ladak on the west. Muni-btsan-po, who came to the throne in 789, attempted to improve the condition of his subjects by reducing them all to the same level and abolishing all distinctions of rank and property, but his levelling process was not successful. After the death of Glang-dharma (899) the kingdom was divided between his two sons, and became still further split up under their successors. Kublai Khan conquered the east of Tibet in the middle of the thirteenth century, and established Buddhism more firmly than heretofore as the religion of the country. Ever since that time the history of Tibet has been the history of internal disputes between religious sects. In 1270 Kublai Khan gave the chief power over Tibet to Phagspa Lodoi Gyaltshan, chief of the Sakya sect, and lamas of the same sect (so called from the monastery which was their home) ruled until 1340. At that time the authority of rival monasteries began to increase, and whilst the country was in an unsettled, divided state, the reformer, Tsongkapa, appeared and established a new dynasty. The internal difficulties in China during this period opened the field for Mongolian interference in Tibet, under Tengir To. His son, Kushri Khan, conquered the whole of Tibet, and invested the dalai lama with the supreme authority over the whole country (1645). This ruler was the fifth of the dalai lamas of a monastery near Lhasa. Since then the dalai lamas have continued to be the combined spiritual and political leaders of the people, having been confirmed in the supreme office by the Chinese government in 1653. During the eighteenth century the English in India tried to establish friendly relations with the Tibetans, but the assistance given by the English to the Ghurkas, who invaded Tibet from Nepal in 1790, checked any inclinations the Tibetans may have had to cultivate the friendship of the nation of the "sahib" on the south. Since that time the passes between India and Tibet have been jealously guarded. During the last century Russian and English designs in central Asia have caused Tibet to be dragged from the position of isolation and seclusion which she has been trying to maintain. The English have been gradually nearing the Tibetan frontier; they have a resident in Nepal; Sikhim and Darjiling are in their power. In 1886 Sikhim was invaded by the Tibetans, and in 1890, after they had been driven back, the Chinese amban at Lhasa went to Calcutta for the purpose of drawing up a treaty between China and India in regard to the frontier between Tibet and Sikhim and to the commerce between the two countries. In 1902 the Chinese government suggested that a joint Chinese and Indian commission should meet on the frontier to discuss the situation, and in June, 1903, the viceroy informed the senior amban at Lhasa that Colonel Younghusband had been appointed to proceed to Khamba-Jong, near the frontier, there to meet the Tibetan and Chinese commissioners. The latter, however, failed to put in an appearance, and the British commissioner returned to Simla, to receive

instructions from the viceroy. In the mean time it was learned that the dalai lama had sent a present to the czar of Russia, and the Indian government felt that its prestige would be seriously affected unless some demonstration were made against Tibet. Accordingly a "mission" under Colonel Younghusband was sent into Tibet with a military escort, which came in contact with Tibetan soldiers half-way between Lhasa and the Indian frontier, and many of the native troops were shot down by English Maxims. The English expedition reached Lhasa in August, 1904, but found it impossible to communicate with the dalai lama, who fled, presumably into Mongolia. For a time there seemed to be some doubt as to whether negotiations could be carried on in a state without a head, but finally, on September 7th, Colonel Younghusband signed a treaty with the Tibetan officials in the palace of Potala. The Russians have throughout disclaimed any intentions upon Tibet, but the tutor and favourite counsellor of the dalai lama, who has just abdicated, was a Russian Mongolian subject by birth, and used his influence to incline his master favourably to Russia and to destroy the influence of China. Tibet is still recognised as a dependency of China.[a]

NEPAL

Nepal is one of the "unknown countries" of Hindustan. Although the British government has been recognised by the king of the country as suzerain power, and an English resident has the right to live in the capital, guarded by sepoys, nevertheless the frontier of Nepal is strictly forbidden to ordinary travellers as well as to topographers.

The existence of Nepal as a state distinct from the rest of India is explained by the geography of the country. On the north the vast desert plateaus between the Himalaya and the Trans-Himalaya constitute the natural boundary of Nepal, and on the south the marshy forest of the Tarai forms a barrier, at once ethnographical and political, between the region of valleys and that of the plain. Nepal is composed of zones of vegetation built up on the sides of the central Himalayas. The fact that it is a geographical unit is owing to the climate, and not to the slopes of the watersheds. Wars, invasions, and treaties have variously modified the political boundaries; the custom-houses of the Tibetan frontier have had frequently to advance or withdraw their posts.

The variety of races is still very great in Nepal; with the exception of seaport towns it would be impossible to find more representatives of different peoples than in the cities of Nepal.

West of the Gandak the predominant race is that of the Hindu "Aryans." The Nepalese are the only people of India whose territory was not founded by the soldiers of Islam. The inhabitants of the west of Nepal have Hindu names and speak dialects connected with the common Sanskrit stock; they class themselves also as belonging to the two higher classes of Brahmins and Kshatriyas. In reality the race is much mixed, and a number of the Rajputs of Nepal have wholly Tibetan features.

The Khas, who are frequently though incorrectly called Ghurkas, or Goorkhas, are undoubtedly of Hindu origin and of Kshatriya rank. But there are other military tribes which, while calling themselves Hindu, have much better preserved their own traditions and customs. These are the Majars or Magyars, and the Gurungs living north of Ghurka. They speak Khas with their masters, but amongst themselves they always use their Tibetan

idiom. The Khas of Ghurka, the Magyars, the Gurungs, and the Limbus of the eastern districts compose almost the entire armed force of Nepal; but this is not sufficiently large for their warlike instincts. Like the Swiss of former days, they emigrate to serve as mercenaries. These Nepalese, uniformly designated by the name of Ghurkas, are very numerous in the British Indian army, in which they are highly valued for their courage, their endurance, their address, and their promptitude. They are easy to discipline, and perhaps would not be less dangerous against their own country, if war should one day break out between the Anglo-Indian Empire and Nepal.

Some traces of the ancient matriarchal system seem to have been preserved amongst them; according to Kirkpatrick, the women of Newar have the right to marry as many husbands as they please and to repudiate them on the slightest pretext. After the twelfth century of the Christian era Buddhist zealots fleeing from the persecution of the Brahmans came to ask asylum of the Newars, and in return for the hospitality received they brought them their books and knowledge of the arts and sciences of Hindustan. Precious works of this period, of which not even the names had been known, were found in the libraries of Nepal. About two-thirds of the Newars are still Buddhists, but, whilst the neighbouring tribes on the north and east have lamas like the Tibetans and practise a kind of Shamanism, the Nepalese proper have no monasteries and their ceremonies approach those of Hindu cults; Brahmanic divinities and symbols have entered into their temples. The architecture of the two thousand temples or sanctuaries in the valley bears witness to the struggle between the influences of the north and south, and the mixture of the two styles has been accomplished with a certain degree of originality. The ornaments which the Hindu artists first carved recall those that are seen on the temples on the banks of the Ganges, but the use of wood in construction, the projection of the upper stories, and the superposition of roofs are characteristic of Chinese architecture.

The commerce of Nepal is singularly hampered by the rigours of the custom-house. Not only on the frontier, but also at several stations of the interior, taxes are put on merchandise and some goods are wholly prohibited. Nepal, as a military kingdom threatened on both sides by two empires more powerful than itself, can defend itself only by means of customs and passports; but in spite of its dislike for foreign traders it is obliged to receive them. Tibetans come to buy opium to introduce it into their country as contraband; hundreds of Hindus come to the annual fairs of Khatmandu, and English merchants, who are becoming more and more necessary to the Nepalese, have to be paid in local produce, such as the wood and gum of the rubber-plant, building wood, iron and copper objects, wools, horses—sober and tireless little animals—salt and gold dust, different minerals or borax imported from the plains of Tibet. Even Nepal, represented by about fifty wholesale merchants, can send to the Anglo-Indians the products of its industry, notably blankets and paper which is firm as parchment and made from the fibre of the *daphne cannabina*.[b]

The present ruling family dates only from 1768. Since the war of 1814–1816, in which the Ghurkas after a stubborn resistance were driven from the conquests they had made in the plains of India and the adjoining hill states, the relations of Nepal with the British have been friendly. A resident is stationed at Khatmandu, but no interference is exercised with the internal administration. The present maharaja, Prithiwi Vir Vikrama Sah, was born in 1875, and succeeded in 1881. But by custom of old standing, he is a *roi fainéant*, all power being vested in the minister. For many years the minister

was Jung Bahadur, G.C.B., who established his position by murdering his rivals in 1846, and died in 1877. His son and successor was in his turn murdered in 1885 by the head of a rival faction, Vir Shamsher Jung, G.C.S.I., who is the present minister, and has strengthened his position by marrying two of his daughters to the maharaja. In March, 1892, Lord Roberts, then commander-in-chief in India, visited Khatmandu, and reviewed the army.[d]

BHUTAN

Between the two native states of Nepal and Bhutan are interposed British military and commercial posts. On the east, the English, without conquering Bhutan, have at least annexed to their empire the eighteen *dwars* which are naturally dependent upon it, that is, the "gates" of the Himalaya, the only regions of the country whose products have any value and where the inhabitants are gathered in any considerable numbers. Moreover, to assure tranquillity on the frontier, the English government gives the rajah of Bhutan an annual subsidy, the regularity of which depends upon the wisdom of the pensioner.

Deprived now of the dwars, opening upon the plains of Bengal and Assam, Bhutan, or rather Bhut-ant, that is, the extremity of the land of Bhut or Bhot, consists only of narrow valleys, separated one from another by high ranges crossed by different paths.

The Bhutanese belong to the same race as the Tibetans, and their name is derived from the same root as that of the Bods of the plateau and of the Bhutanese of the southern slope in Nepal and Koumaon; they are frequently called Lo. They are small but robust, and might be considered one of the best-looking races of India were it not for the prevalence of the goître among them. The Bhutanese appear to be one of the most oppressed peoples; they own nothing, and their fate depends on the caprice of the lords or the monks who govern them. The English envoys who visit their country describe the condition of the Bhutanese as most miserable; the land does not belong to them and the state inherits all their acquisitions; of their harvest they keep only that which is absolutely necessary to obtain a few *betel* leaves, and to keep the people from starvation; the rest is taken by the governors, who receive no salary but who have the right to take a commission out of the taxes. In order to enjoy the products of their labour in peace, thousands of Bhutanese emigrate annually into the provinces of the Indian Empire, and above all into British Sikhim.

It is not surprising that under such a régime the country should be impoverished. Commerce, which is a monopoly of the government, has never been of importance and has even diminished, although Bhutan possesses great natural riches and has an excellent race of horses—beautiful ponies which have a wonderful power of endurance. The Bhutanese—when they are not afraid of being despoiled of the fruits of their labours—are industrious; they cultivate the terraces, built upon the side of the hills, with great care, weave thick stuffs, produce elegant objects in iron and brass, transform the bark of the *daphne papyrifera* into paper and even into a kind of satin, carve wood with taste, and construct spacious and comfortable châlets which bear some resemblance to those in the Swiss Alps. In several cities there are rich pagodas of Chinese architecture.

The government of the country is modelled on that of Tibet, except that Chinese ministers, the real depositaries of power in the Bodyul (Tibet), have

not yet made their appearance in Bhutan. The titular sovereign, a sort of grand lama, has received the name of *tchoigyal*, in Sanskrit *dharmarajah*, "king of the law." On the death of this Buddha the council of *lenehen*, or ministers, hunts for one or two years to find the child in whom the god has deigned to incarnate himself, and it usually finds him in the family of one of the chief dignitaries of the country. Beside the spiritual sovereign reigns another rajah, the *deb*, who is likewise appointed by the council of ministers, or rather by the party which happens to be in power; in theory the authority of the deb lasts only three years, but he can always maintain himself on the throne if he enjoys the favour of the influential lords.

Between the state, which officially recognises the power of the "king of the law," and the independent tribes of the eastern Himalaya are interposed the domains of the lama rajahs, or priest kings, who call themselves vassals of the dalai lama, but who are in reality sovereigns, thanks to their remoteness from Lhasa and to the difficulty of communication through the passes of the Himalaya. In spite of the rivalries between these petty potentates the country of the Bhotiyas is fairly important as a commercial route between Tibet and Assam.[b]

Little is known concerning the interior of Bhutan or the number of its inhabitants. As for the history of the country, its only importance is due to its geographical position on the boundary between India and Tibet. The land was conquered by Tibetan soldiers in the seventeenth century, and first came into contact with the English towards the close of the eighteenth century. In 1774 the East India Company concluded a treaty of peace with Bhutan, and the country was left undisturbed until 1826, when the British occupied Assam. Then the Bhutanese were accused of taking possession of the dwars, or outlets from their mountains to the outer world, and of committing depredations on British soil. These frontier aggressions and disputes continued until 1865, when the British finally forced the Bhutanese to come to terms, and a treaty of peace was concluded. This ceded the eighteen dwars, which have already been mentioned, to the English, in return for which the Bhutan government received an annual subsidy. Since then nothing of importance has occurred in the history of the country.

FARTHER INDIA

SIAM

Of the countries constituting what used to be called Indo-China, the southeastern peninsula of Asia, which to-day goes by the name of Farther India, Siam is the only one which has preserved its independence. Burma is part of British India; the provinces of Tongking, Laos, Annam, Cochin China, and Cambodia are united in French Indo-China. The Malay Peninsula is divided between Great Britain and Siam, the southern part, or the Strait settlements, being an English crown province, whilst several districts lying between the Siamese possessions in the centre and northeast are under British protection. Siam is important to Europe chiefly because it forms a buffer state between English and French possessions in the Far East, and also because through it it is possible to open up commercial routes into southern China.[a]

Compared with the other river basins of the peninsula, the slope of Indo-China watered by the Menam, or "mother of waters," is not very great

in extent, but it occupies a central position which insures it a place of importance in the history of transgangetic India. The river and several other streams uniting their mouths in one delta enter the sea at the northern extremity of a gulf which penetrates far into the interior. From the Gulf of Bengal to the Gulf of Tongking the coast of Siam forms the geographical centre of Indo-China.

People

Nearly all the inhabitants of Siam belong to the same race; Shans, Laos, and Siamese are all Thais. The Shans proper are very numerous in the region of the Upper Burman Irawadi and of its Chinese affluents, on the banks of the Salween, and large numbers of them have settled in that part of the Sittang basin which has become English territory. The Lovas, better known by the name of Laos, or Laotians, are related to the Shans and live in the northern regions of the land of Siam, chiefly between the Salween and the Mekong. The Siamese proper live in the coast regions; they are the most civilised of the Thais, but not the purest of race, since, owing to the incessant demands of commerce, they represent very different ethnical elements. Chinese, Burmans, and Malays have contributed most towards modifying the Thai type. Taken as a whole the Thais resemble the Chinese much more than they resemble the Indians or Malays, and yet their physiognomy, their customs, and their way of thinking present so many characteristic Indian traits that the Siamese nation to a certain extent justifies its claim to descent from the Brahmans. The Siamese are well named Indo-Chinese; everything about them—manners, customs, civil and religious institutions—participates in that double character. Their festivals are of Brahmanic origin, whilst their mode of government and their laws are clearly borrowed from Chinese institutions. The language, like the other principal idioms of Indo-China, is monosyllabic, and includes no words of more than one syllable except those taken from foreign languages.

The Siamese are for the most part very good-tempered and remarkably patient, but they wholly lack initiative; they work regularly at their customary labours, but are not ingenious enough to discover new methods. No people are more hospitable or more humane; the poor are taken care of everywhere, and travellers find along their routes shelters where they can cook and pass the night; the recommendation made by the Buddhists to place along the road jars of fresh water for thirsty wayfarers is nowhere better observed. Siam is the country of Indo-China in which Buddhism is least mixed with other religious elements; it has not degenerated into Shamanism, as in the valleys of the Himalayas, on the plateau of Tibet, and above all on the steppes of the Mongols and in the forests of the Buriats; it has also held aloof from Hindu idolatry, at least in modern times, for in the sculpture on several temples of the Laos, as in the religious buildings of Cambodia, a confused mixture of Buddhist and Brahmanic motives may be detected. Every son in the family has to pass through a monastic state; between the years of twenty and twenty-one the young men go to a monastery, take off their civil dress, and renounce their rank and dignity during the time of claustration. Even the kings are subject to this rule, and on emerging from the monastery they have to be crowned anew, although they remain none the less high priests and are responsible for the prosperity of the monasteries. The Siamese nation expends annually more than £5,000,000 for the support of priests and monks.[b]

History

Anterior to the establishment of Ayuthia about the middle of the fourteenth century, the annals of Siam are made up of traditional legends and fables, such as most nations are fond of substituting in the place of veracious history. The Siamese group their early ancestors around the first disciples of Buddha, and begin their annals about five centuries before the Christian era. A succession of dynasties frequently shifting their capital cities, in which Buddhistic miracles and the intervention of superhuman agency are constantly exhibited, figure in the first volumes of the Siamese records. There are accounts of intermarriages with Chinese princesses, of embassies, and wars with neighbouring states, interblended with wonders and miraculous interpositions of Indra and other divinities; but from the time when the city of Ayuthia was founded by Phaya-Uthong, who took the title of Phra Rama Thibodi, the succession of sovereigns and the course of events are recorded with tolerable accuracy.[e]

The city continued for about four hundred years to be the capital of the Siamese kingdom, and the dynasty founded by Uthong continued in power, with short intermissions, until the beginning of the seventeenth century. The chief events during this period were wars with Cambodia and other neighbouring states, and the beginnings of intercourse with western nations. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to establish trade relations with Siam in 1511, after they had conquered Malacca. The intercourse of Siam with the West became more active under the celebrated king Narai, who ruled in the second half of the seventeenth century. He encouraged European traders, tolerated Catholic monks and priests in his land, and in 1685 held a grand reception for the ambassador of Louis XIV. He even appointed Constantine Phaulcon, a Greek by birth, to be his prime minister, but this man, although he appears to have been an able ruler, drew on himself the hatred of the mandarins by his European methods and was assassinated. The king Narai died about the same time, his death very probably being due to violence.[a]

The intimate union of Phaulcon with the French no doubt led to his own destruction and that of his master. There are sufficient grounds for believing that Phaulcon was desirous of handing over the sovereignty of Siam to the French king, of which the advent of considerable bodies of French soldiers is unmistakable evidence.[e]

French aspirations in Siam were rudely checked by the deaths of Narai and his prime minister, but they were not extinguished and have come to the front again during the past century. English traders also visited Siam early in the seventeenth century. The period following the death of Narai in 1682 was more or less disturbed by civil war, changes in dynasty, and foreign invasions, until in 1767 the capital, Ayuthia, was destroyed by the Burmans. At this time of need a saviour arose for the Siamese in the person of a man called Phaya Takh, who was Chinese on his father's side, who routed the Burmans, brought the maritime provinces and Cambodia under his rule, and established his capital at Bangkok. But although he was an efficient ruler and succeeded in firmly consolidating his kingdom, he gave dissatisfaction on account of his pride and haughtiness, it even being claimed that he wished to receive divine honours as Buddha. He was overthrown and executed by his prime minister, who in 1782 founded the dynasty still in power. The fourth king of this dynasty, Mongkut, who came to the throne in 1851, was a remark-

able personage for the chief potentate of an eastern monarchy. He was an enlightened ruler, as well as a philosopher and a man devoted to science. He knew Latin and English, and took great pains to acquire a correct style of writing in the latter language. Amusing incidents are related of times when he routed out English-speaking missionaries, and once even the British consul, to consult them concerning some English phrase in the middle of the night. In Sir John Bowring's work on Siam is an appendix on the history of that country written by the king himself, and also a letter concerning his own dynasty, from which the following extract is made: [a] "On the year of Christian era 1781, when two brother kings were sent to tranquel Cambodia, which was in distress or disturbance of rebellion, the King Phya Tarsing, marked 7,[1] remained here. He came mad or furious, saying he is Budh, etc., and put many persons of innocents to death, more than ten thousand men, and compelled the people to pay various amounts of money to royal treasure, with any lawful taxes and reasonable causes; so here great insurgents took place, who apprehended the mad king and put to death, and sent their mission to Cambodia, and invited two kings of war and of Northern Siam to return here for the crown and throne of whole Siam and its dependency.

"Our grandfather was enthroned and crowned in May, 1782, in name of 'Phra Budhyot fa chulatoke,' marked in book 8; his reign continued twenty-seven years; his demise took place on the year 1809, in which our father has succeeded him. His coronation took place on August, 1809; his reign continued happily fifteen years; his expiration took place in the year 1824, in month of July. Our elder brother, the late king, succeeded our royal father; his coronation took place on August, 1824. His name was Param Dkarwik rajah-dhiraj (proper Sanskrit), and in Siamese name Phra Nangklau chau yu Acca. His reign continued twenty-six years; his demise took place on 2nd April, 1851; then my succession of him concluded, and I was crowned on May 15th of that year."[e]

The elder brother referred to was an illegitimate son, who usurped the throne and reigned until his death, the legitimate ruler in the mean while living in the priesthood. At Mongkut's accession in 1851 his younger brother was crowned as second king, and held that office until his death in 1865, when he was succeeded by his son, George Washington. The name given to the son is in a way indicative of the father's sympathies with western civilisation. He was even more remarkable than his elder brother, Mongkut, for his intelligence and general enlightenment, and associated freely with Europeans. His son, George Washington, was also a friend to the Europeans and was much liked by them. He held the position of secondary king until his death in 1885, since which time the office has ceased to exist.

During the reign of Mongkut treaties were made with England in 1855 and 1856, and also with the United States, France, Japan, and the other countries, opening up the commerce of Siam to foreign nations. The principle of extra territorialism was established, according to which foreigners are tried in their own country. Mongkut died in 1868, having overexerted himself in the cause of science by organising a grand expedition to witness an eclipse of the sun. He was succeeded by his son, the present ruler.

Towards the close of the nineteenth century the peace of Siam was disturbed by France, owing to disputes concerning the boundary between Siam and the French province of Annam. The matter became so serious that in 1893 the French government sent two gunboats, which forced their way up

[1 The numbers refer to those in the history of Siam by Bishop Pallegoix. The king here intended is the Phaya Takh mentioned above.]

the Menam to Bangkok. A treaty was finally concluded in October of the same year, according to which all Siamese territory east of the Mekong was ceded to France, and Siam was prohibited from having any forts within a distance of twenty-five kilometres from that river. France was to restore the Siamese port of Chan-ta-bun when the provisions of the treaty had been fulfilled, but she put off doing so on the pretext that Siam was not keeping order on her side the Mekong—which was naturally hard to do without forts or soldiers — and furthermore laid claim to the whole province of Luang Prabang, including the portion west of the Mekong. A new convention was signed in 1902, according to which France was to evacuate Chan-ta-bun in return for the cession of the provinces of Meluprey and Bassac and other territory to the extent of twenty thousand square kilometres. This convention did not meet the approval of the colonial party in France, which wants to annex the whole of Siam. The new treaty, as finally signed at Paris, leaves France practically in control of the whole Mekong valley. An important convention in regard to Siam was signed by France and England in 1896. This assured the independence of the central portion of Siam, including the rich basin of the Menam.

English influence is predominant in Siam. Besides the *wats*, or monastic schools, in which the teaching is mainly elementary, in the capital of Bangkok there are five governmental schools for boys and two for girls, in which the higher courses are conducted entirely in English, and boys of the nobility are frequently sent to England to be educated. The crown prince returned to Siam in 1902, after completing his studies at Oxford. In speaking of the king, Mr. Campbell,[f] in his very interesting book, *Siam in the Twentieth Century*, says: "To those who have come under the charm of his remarkable personality, it is both invidious and difficult to give a just estimate of his character and actions, and the time has probably not yet arrived for doing so. But even though, like his father, he may have failed to fulfil completely the promise of his boyhood and youth, nevertheless his reign has been characterised on the whole by a spirit of liberality and enlightenment, and he is perhaps entitled to a place among the small band of progressive rulers that the east has produced."[a]

French Indo-China

French Indo-China forms the southernmost part of the Asiatic coast of the China Sea. It is situated between Siam and China, near the Malay Peninsula, the isles of the Sonde and the Philippines. Its capital, Saigon, is a distance of two days by boat from Singapore, four days from Batavia, three days from Manila and Hong-kong, six days from Shanghai, and only ten days from Yokohama, whereas thirty days separate it from Marseilles. French Indo-China, therefore, has geographically much more incentive to enter into relations with the ports of the Far East just mentioned than with those of France, and without the French official occupation it would be as foreign to France as are Siam and Malaysia.

French Indo-China is long, narrow in the centre, where it constitutes the central portion of the kingdom of Annam, and very much broadened out at the two ends, the upper one of which constitutes Tongking, while the lower is represented by Cochin China and Cambodia.

The territory of French Indo-China is traversed from north to south by a chain of mountains nearly parallel to the sea of China, which it approaches very closely in central Annam. The country is without doubt one of the

best watered districts in the world. The most important of its rivers is the Mekong, which rises in the upper part of the mountain range of Yunnan and empties into the China Sea at the peninsula of Cochin China, which it has formed from its alluvial deposits. In a straight line its course would measure more than two thousand kilometres. It is obstructed by rocks at many points, and only a limited portion of it is navigable.

The Great Lake has the general form of an elongated oval, narrowed at a point which connects the upper two-thirds with the lower third. Its total surface is not less than three hundred square kilometres, but its waters are sometimes rough enough to make navigation in small boats perilous. During the season when its waters are high it can be frequented by ships drawing from three to four metres, but during the dry season, from March to September, only the small native boats can navigate it. During the season of the low waters the lakes are covered with fishing-boats which get an enormous quantity of fish. These are salted, dried, and exported, not only to Cochin China but also to different parts of China. This fishing is carried on exclusively by Annamites.

Early History

The Annamites of to-day belong to the yellow race. They have all its ethnological characteristics, its language, customs, and political organisation. The history of Annam, moreover, like that of China, is impregnated with a multitude of legends which obscure it to such a degree that its first periods are wholly veiled in mystery. Several races have been thrown together in the territories of what is now Annam, and their deeds have been inextricably confused in the accounts preserved by native historians.

Everything seems to point to the fact that Annam was first peopled by men coming from the isles of the Pacific and belonging to the Malayan race. Later there was a collision of two main currents of immigration, one current formed by people of the Aryan race coming from India, across Burma and Siam; the other, by people of the yellow race coming down from the valleys of China. The Aryans coming from India took possession of Cambodia, Cochin China, and later of southern and central Annam, crowding back the primitive Malay populations into the mountains, where traces of them may still be found. In Cambodia and Cochin China they founded the Khmer Empire, the power and wealth of which is attested by the superb ruins of Angkor, and in Annam they established the kingdom of the Ciampas, the monuments of which recall those of Cambodia. The people of the yellow race coming from China founded first in Tongking and then in northern Annam the Annamite Empire, the first sovereigns of which are attributed by local legends to the imperial family of China.

According to Annamite legends, it seems probable that the colonists coming from China who settled among the primitive inhabitants of the country mixed with them instead of brutally crowding them out, and that their principal rôle was to group the tribes, till then isolated, into one nation more or less regularly organised. It is even probable that this empire was governed now by representatives of the yellow race, lately come, and then by members of the original communities. In fact, Annamite history relates that in the year 1100 B.C. the emperor of the country of Giao-Chi (Annam) having sent an embassy to China, the Chinese had to summon interpreters to read the letter of credit with which they were provided and to translate what they said.

The traditions of Annam show the country as involved in incessant struggles with China during more than ten centuries before our era, then as falling completely under the domination of the Celestial Empire towards the beginning of the Christian era, and from that time as subject to Chinese governors.

A series of rebellions, sometimes repressed, sometimes successful, marks the first centuries of the Christian era. It is during this period that Chinese literature and the teachings of Confucius replaced definitely in Annam the phonetic writing which it appears was peculiar to the Annamites. During this time also the people of the yellow race multiplied, and ended by occupying all the deltas and the most fertile plains of Tongking and of northern Annam.[g]

Until 907 A.D. Annam was governed by dynasties vassal to the Chinese Empire, and from that time until the tenth century by Chinese governors. At the beginning of that century the Annamese chiefs revolted, and after long wars finally established, in the fifteenth century, an autonomous rule, although they were still nominally under Chinese suzerainty. Cambodia threw off the Chinese yoke in 625, and even kept Siam in subjection for a short period. After the thirteenth century the kingdom began to decline, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries its territory was very much reduced by Siam and Cochin China. It was rescued from the former only to become a French protectorate in the nineteenth century.

Foreign Relations

The intercourse of Annam and Cambodia with western nations began in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese established a mission in Cambodia in 1553, but until the middle of the nineteenth century Europeans had little influence in the land. A Spanish Dominican missionary landed in Annam in 1596, and at about the same time Portuguese trading vessels visited these regions. The Dutch entered into commercial relations with Tongking in 1637, and afterwards English and French traders attempted to gain a footing in the country, but soon abandoned the attempt. The Dutch remained until 1700, when they were expelled by the Trinhs, a dynasty which came into power in Tongking in 1545 owing to the impotency of the old ruling dynasty of the Lehs. The Lehs had ruled over Cochin China and Tongking since 1428, in which year the Chinese yoke had been thrown off.

In 1737 a new dynasty arose in Cochin China, that of the Tai-songs, which destroyed the Lehs, the Trinhs, and the Naguyes. The sole survivor of this last dynasty, Naguyen Anh, took refuge with the French bishop of Adran, who obtained for him the support of Louis XVI. In 1802 Naguyen Anh, with the aid of the French, joined Tongking to his dominion, exterminated the Tai-songs, and was crowned emperor of Annam under the name Gia-long. The empire of Annam thus included the provinces Annam, Tongking, and Cochin China. Gia-long was well-disposed towards Europeans, and protected them throughout his reign, but under his son and successor Minh-mang they began to be persecuted.[a]

In 1847, during the reign of Tieu Tri, occurred the first conflict between Annam and France; five Annamite corvettes which had threatened to attack the *Gloire* and the *Victorieuse*, French frigates commanded by Lapierre and Rigault de Genouilly, were destroyed in the bay of Turan. Tieu Tri died of grief. During the reign of Tu Duc [his successor] the persecution of mis-

sionaries became more violent; in 1851 and in 1852 the French missionaries Schaeffer and Bonnard were murdered by his order, and France protested. As her protests were not heeded, M. de Montigny, commander of the *Catinat*, destroyed one of the forts of Turan. In 1857 a Spanish bishop—M. Diaz—having been arrested and killed at Tongking, France and Spain united to obtain reparation for the violence done to their subjects and to the Christians of Annam. On August 31st, 1858, a body of Franco-Spaniards arrived at Turan, took possession of the forts, established themselves on the peninsula which bounds the entrance to the harbour on the south, and maintained themselves there in spite of the efforts of the Annamites to drive them out.[g] By 1861 the three upper provinces of Cochin China were in the possession of the French, and in 1862 a treaty was signed with the king of Annam recognising the French control of Saigon, Mytho, and Bienhoa; by 1867 France had occupied three other provinces in southern Cochin China, and in 1874 a treaty was finally signed abandoning all six provinces to France.

The French, whose designs upon Tongking had been temporarily checked by war at home, began again to push their influence by force of arms, and although meeting with various reverses they finally made a few conquests, which encouraged them to send an ultimatum to Annam, demanding the observance of the treaty of 1874, and the protectorate over Annam, including Tongking. This was refused, and the French stormed Hué, forcing the king—the successor of Tu Duc—to sign a treaty recognising the French protectorate (1884). There now ensued the war between France and China concerning the protectorate over Tongking, which resulted in the treaty of 1885 establishing French authority over that province.

Cambodia became a protectorate of France in 1863; nominally it is still an absolute monarchy, but since the convention with France in 1884 the country is practically a French province. As in Siam at one period, there are two kings in Cambodia. The first, King Norodom, was crowned in 1860; the second is Prince Somdach Prea Maha.

After the convention of 1884 France entered on an aggressive policy of conquest which involved Annam and Tongking in civil war and rebellion. In 1886 Paul Bert was made governor-general, but died in the same year without having been able to counteract the evils of the military régime. It was not until 1891 that, with the appointment of M. de Lanessan as governor-general, order was restored to the disturbed provinces. In 1898 the political and financial unity of Indo-China was definitely established.[a]

The government in its present form was organised by the decrees of October 17th and November 3rd to 12th, 1887, and by those of April 21st, 1891, and July 31st, 1898. Indo-China, financially and politically unified, is, as we have seen, placed under the authority of a governor-general, assisted by a superior council of Indo-China, which, reorganised by the decree of August 8th, 1898, is composed as follows: president, the governor-general; the general commanding as head of the troops; the rear-admiral commanding the naval squadron of the Far East; the lieutenant-governor of Cochin China; the resident superiors of Tongking, Annam, and Cambodia; a representative (appointed by the governor-general) of the government at Laos; the chief of the *controle financier*; the head of the judicial service of Indo-China; the superintendent of the customs and excise of Indo-China; the president of the colonial council of Indo-China; the presidents of the chambers of commerce of Saigon, Hanoi, and Haiphong; the presidents of the united chambers of commerce and agriculture of Annam and Cambodia; the presidents of chambers of agriculture; two influential natives, and the chief of the governor-

general's cabinet. A "permanent commission" of the council has been formed. The superior council meets annually to receive the budget, which "must be accepted by the governor-general at a session of the superior council." It must also be consulted on the distribution of military credits, and on the credits to be devoted to public works.

The governor-general is also assisted by a "council of defence." The general services of the customs, justice, public works, agriculture, and commerce are placed directly in the hands of the governor-general. He presides over the council of ministers—comat—of Annam. The protected governments of Annam and Cambodia are under his control, and, in reality, under his command. He therefore exercises sovereign power throughout Indo-China. He is answerable to the minister of the colonies. There is a *controle financier* in Indo-China, dependent upon the ministry of the colonies. Its returns have to be communicated to the governor-general.

The town of Saigon is officially the capital of Indo-China. The superior council, however, does not necessarily sit at Saigon. It is annually convoked in the capital of one of the local governments, as Hanoi, Pnom-Penh, and Hué.[h]

SOME MINOR STATES

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[The letter *a* is reserved for Editorial Matter]

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BOOK V

THE HISTORY OF CHINA AND JAPAN

CHINA

CHAPTER I

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CHINESE CIVILISATION

THE truly correct enjoy the emoluments of office;
The truly correct stand in awe of heaven's decrees;
The truly correct may become dukes and marquises;
The truly correct practise virtue and uprightness;
The truly correct cause fiends to submit and men to respect them;
The truly correct cause the people to be tranquil, and the country to be settled.

Hung-sin-tshuen.[b]

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

FROM the eastern portion of the Asiatic plateau, with its sacred mountains of Heaven (Tian-Shan), to the border seas of the Pacific stretches the immeasurable empire of China; inclusive of its dependencies it exceeds in area and in population the whole continent of Europe. It consists of a high "transition," or terraced land, and a great, productive plain, intersected by mighty rivers (Hwangho and Yangtse-Kiang) and numerous canals. It is divided into two parts: China proper, cut up into eighteen provinces, and the territories added to it by conquest from time to time towards the north and west (Manchuria, Mongolia, Little Bokhara, Tibet). From the chain of high mountains in the west great arms stretch to the northeast and southeast, so

that the middle plain facing the sea is shut in on three sides by mountainous regions. In this extensive territory, decked with rich fields of wheat and rye, where the fragrant tea-plant blossoms and the silkworm spins his precious threads, where magnificent gardens display the finest fruits and the most beautiful flowers, where in the southern landscapes the palm and other ornamental trees—the orange, fig, chestnut, and pomegranate—rise in the clear air, where nature and heaven have brought together everything that might make human existence comfortable and full of pleasures, there has lived since unthinkable ages, in absolute seclusion from the rest of the world, a people of Mongolian descent. Their civilisation is peculiar and their national type very distinctly expressed in mind and body. From the most ancient writers we hear praise of the overflowing wealth of the land—its extensive cattle ranges, its agricultural products, its quantities of fine silk which formed one of the principal commercial resources of the country. They describe the Seres of the northwestern mountainous "Silk-land" (Serica) as a gentle, righteous, temperate people, loving quiet and a comfortable life, possessing large and wealthy cities, living in complete seclusion, and so scrupulously avoiding all association with other peoples that in their traffic with the Scythians, Parthians, and other neighbouring peoples, they laid down their wares in the desert and there received others in exchange, without direct communication. These are traits which still characterise the Chinese to-day, affording evidence of their primordial unchanging character.

The Chinese, the only people of Mongolian race that has developed beyond the half-wild condition of the nomadic life, may be placed at the beginning of history, because they have from the earliest times hung like a dried branch on the tree of civilisation, not exerting the slightest influence upon the growth of culture among the rest of mankind. China is a world by itself, not only in its human and national life, but also in the natural and industrial conditions of the country. The uniformity which we note with astonishment in the external form and anatomical structure of the people, in its customs and institutions, in its industries and manner of life, is reflected throughout the land itself in its animal and vegetable forms, its climate, and the cultivation of its soil. "In this land," says Ritter, "a people, isolated from the rest of the world like islanders, and egoistically lost in wonderment at itself, developed in singular manner a strong and sharply outlined national type. Within this type the individuality of the personal unit was to an extraordinary degree repressed."

But the condition of the country—its situation, shut off by mountains, seas, and the Chinese Wall, more than three hundred miles long—is not alone responsible for this uniform typical character; the Mongolian descent and the inherent tenacity of the people worked also in the same direction. As the Caucasian race is distinguished from other races, even in bodily structure, by its versatility of form and its variety of feature, so the Mongolian race is distinguished by uniformity of face and figure; and the same difference persists in the diverse mentality of each race. Nevertheless, the Chinese mark the boundary line in civilisation, beyond which the Mongolian race in its development has not progressed. "Nature and history have tried to show in them the utmost that can be made out of Mongolian civilisation." Chinese character bears the stamp of the inevitable; it has a tremendous power to transform into its own substance all foreign elements. No conqueror altered the life of the Chinese people or its political system.

The more ancient history of China, which can be drawn only from native sources, is obscure, untrustworthy, and imperfect. The Chinese lack all

sense of historical values. To the Chinaman, existing institutions and conditions represent eternal, immutable laws. To change them would be regarded as an impious interference with the lawful course of events in the life of the nation. For this reason progress does not find favour among them. According to the Chinese conception, humanity's task is to preserve the original state of things or to restore such customs as may have been done away with. History, therefore, records no development; it is only the anthropological department of natural science, and seeks to represent, while portraying the life of the state, laws as eternal and immutable as those with which astronomy explains the courses of the planets and the movements of the sun. They point to the ancient days as humanity's ideal. Only now and then, and for brief intervals, is this lifeless and rigid civilisation thrilled by some extraneous influence into vibratory motion.

CONFUCIUS (*ca.* 500 B.C.)

The Chinese character as it shows itself in religion, customs, and political life is referred back to the great sage and lawgiver, Kong-fu-tse (Confucius). The old institutions, teachings, and statutes which were introduced under the pious king Yao and other God-fearing rulers of the earliest times had fallen into disuse because of the carelessness, weakness, and viciousness of later emperors. Evil influences had created confusion and discord and the ancient happiness had been clouded. At that time Kong-fu-tse, a man who had grown up in poverty, who had entered deeply into the earlier history of China, and had felt painfully the degeneration of his time as compared with former excellence, became the restorer of the old laws and institutions. He started out with the principle that man is by nature virtuous, and that only good examples are necessary to make a whole people good. He set up the customs and conditions of ancient times and the actions and ways of living of the earlier generations as a mirror of virtuous life, and sought by collecting and arranging the traditions of the people in the writings of the *Kings* to awaken an understanding of right and virtue. Thus he became the founder of a system of doctrines that extended to all the activities of the people and controlled all intellectual and spiritual life. He himself carefully avoided all appearance of innovation. "My teaching," he said, "is that which our forefathers taught and handed down to us; I have added nothing and taken away nothing; I teach it in its original purity; it is unchangeable as the heaven itself from which it comes. I but scatter, like the tiller of the soil, the seed which I have received, unchanged, upon the earth."

Confucius lived from 550 to 479 B.C. At times he was honoured by emperors and rewarded with offices and honours, at others persecuted and driven into exile. Disciples eager for knowledge surrounded him everywhere and accepted from his lips lessons of wisdom and good sense. His name at all times was held in the greatest respect. His memory was honoured by memorial temples. His virtue and wisdom were held to be supernatural. His family was raised to the highest order of nobility. The teachings propounded by him and spread and explained by numerous disciples, especially by Meng-tse (*ca.* 360 B.C.) and Tshu-tse, the "prince of learning" (*ca.* 1150 A.D.), soon became the centre of the intellectual life of China. The most important work of Kong-fu-tse was the promulgation and restoration of the state and popular religion of which the fabled king Fe-hi is regarded as the

founder. This religion is still the dominant one, although the teaching of Lao-tse, and Buddhism, which had entered the country from India, attained some importance.

OFFICIAL RELIGION ACCORDING TO THE SYSTEM OF CONFUCIUS

The Chinese postulate a twofold origin of all being, passive matter and active force, which are interdependent and of which neither can exist without the other. Primitive force (*Yang*) is symbolised by heaven, the creative, masculine principle; and primitive matter (*Yn*) by the earth, the receptive female principle. These come into relation with each other; primitive force acts on primitive matter, impels and shapes it. The product of this union is real being, the world. Since the primitive force revealing itself in heaven (*Tien*) is regarded as the higher power, worship of heaven with the sun and the stars occupies the first place in the beliefs of the people. Heaven with its methodic movement, its eternal order and beauty, which serve as a mirror to the human soul in its moral relations, is the real divinity of the Chinese scriptures. In the second rank is the earth, upon which the life of nature becomes manifest. Heaven is the universal force of life, acting unconsciously; it is the soul of the world. Consciousness of self and individual choice are the attributes of man alone, the third unit in the series of primitive beings. "Heaven and earth," says the Shu-king, "are the father and mother of all things; man alone among all beings has the understanding to discriminate." Man thus takes an intermediate place between higher and lower, between heaven and earth; and since the central point acts as the support and balancing weight of the universe, the eternal order depends upon man's holding fast to the centre. While man by his moral strength steadily maintains his self-won perfection, and as an industrious, order-producing factor, in common with heaven and earth, takes part in the creation and preservation of things, everything will remain in its proper equilibrium; but if man departs from his centre, if he loses moral balance, then the equilibrium of the universe is disturbed and disorderly powers break the eternal harmony.

Chinese religion is therefore, according to its philosophical contents, a natural religion without spiritual depth of thought. It derives its worth and its ethical significance only from its relation to the life of man. The religious conception of the Chinese is unable to grasp the idea of a spiritual personality, an all-powerful creator of heaven and of earth. Under the general conception of heaven, sun, moon, and stars, together with the blue plain of the sky, are worshipped as creative and world-producing forces; and when the Christian missionaries, deceived by the name *Shang-Ti*, "exalted ruler," and by the divine attributes of omniscience, highest love and wisdom, omnipotence, and the like, sought to recognise in Tien a personal god, a supreme being, and to fasten to this all the theistic ideas of Christianity, they soon became aware of their error. According to the Chinese conception the world has no beginning; the original beings, the source of all things—the blue firmament of heaven, and matter, making itself manifest in the earth—have existed through eternity. The notion of a primal spiritual principle, a supreme reason which has created the universe out of nothingness and that preserves it or permeates it, is unknown to the Chinese teachers of religion. Only with the later philosophers does an endeavour make its appearance to unite in a higher conception this divided duality. Unable, however, to produce the idea of an unconditioned spirit, they developed the idea of fate, "such

as looms up like a pale form of the mist in the background of all heathen religions behind the coloured figures of real belief." But the idea of fate is indefinite and lifeless; it is the dim conception of the activity of an inexplicable chance.

The Worship of Spirits

The formless ideas of the gods held by the Chinese sages were, however, too abstract, too lacking in appeal to the senses. The masses needed external, direct manifestations in order to visualise those things which it worshipped as divine. From this sprang the belief in "spirits," particularly that of "patron spirits," the worship of whom was prominent in the religious rites of the people. "The intuitive powers of the human heart," says Gützlaff, "are exercised in the deification of ancestors." The primal, divine cause, which most plainly manifests itself in the starry heavens, may show itself also in single phenomena. Thus not only the heavens and the earth are worshipped, but also the spirits of the stars, of the sun, of mountains and rivers, and above all the souls of dead men, especially of good emperors and virtuous ancestors. These are regarded as patron powers watching over special interests in life, over home and family. To them sacrifices and gifts are offered.

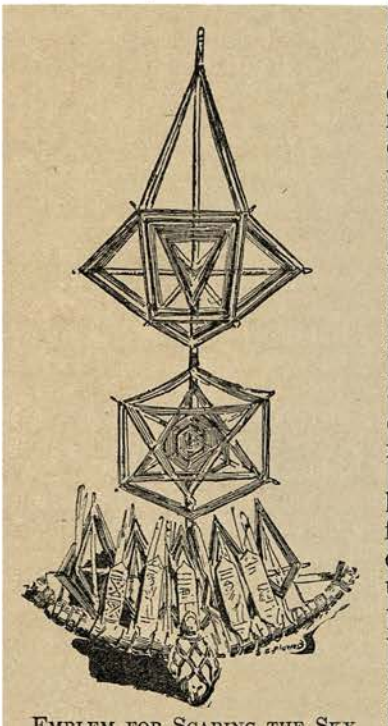
This belief in spirits therefore is associated with some notion as to the condition of the human soul after death. Concerning this important point, however, the doctrine of Kong-fu-tse did not attain clarity. Although, indeed, popular belief is mainly concerned with the souls of deceased virtuous persons, amongst whom Kong-fu-tse himself occupies the chief place, yet the conception of a heavenly world is absent from the Chinese religious beliefs. The reward of the virtuous after death consists in their being again made a part of heaven and living on earth in the memory of men. For this reason no world of heroes has been built up in the Chinese mind. "Lacking in imagination," we are told by Stuhr, "the Chinese were not able to weave a rich world of legend about the lives of their gods and heroes, in which to unfold a wealth of ideas concerning the manifold aspects of life. Except for the ceremonial of the dead, in which honour is rendered to the souls of the deceased, Chinese religious worship is mere nature worship." The patron spirits are of three orders, to which they are assigned by diploma after a formal examination by the emperors.

Moral Teaching and Retribution

We have seen what high importance the doctrine of Kong-fu-tse assigns to man. He is the intermediate one of the primal beings; he is regarded as the "blossom" of nature. Though his body, like other natural substances, is only the product of an "ever circling primitive matter," yet primitive force is preponderant in him and manifests itself in the spirit, conscious of self. Because of this predominant force man carries within himself the fountain of all knowledge, all morality, and all virtue, and is therefore the highest in the order of created beings. In the mind of man the world presents itself in active orderliness and reasonableness. Therefore man, according to the teaching of Kong-fu-tse, is by nature good; reason living in him impels him to a voluntary choice of virtue and piety; in doubtful cases he is guided by the teachings and examples of former times. Since, however, the notion, according to which virtuous actions were represented as a necessity of nature without merit, or freedom of will, was contrary, when strictly applied, to

intuitive knowledge as well as to experience, the destructive course of this reasoning was cut short; the possibility of evil was admitted and its source placed in the material portion of man's nature. And thus belief in freedom of the will, a belief lying deep in popular consciousness, was saved and justified. But the exercise of free will can accomplish evil only; it disturbs and confuses the rational order and quiet working of the life of nature.

For the moral act Chinese religious doctrine has no room; silent resignation to the divine power manifesting itself in nature is the highest duty. A virtuous life for the Chinaman consists in yielding to the laws of the Celestial kingdom, for that kingdom appears to him as the earthly image of the well-ordered universe. He is to hold only to the "true mean," never to exchange the "old man" for a new one, and is to keep himself from all excess. According to this conception retribution must take place on earth; every sin is a disordering of the universal harmony, a breaking through the laws of nature; out of sin must come harm for the individual as well as for the universe, whereas virtuous men are accompanied with good fortune. "If virtue is clear and pure," says the Shu-king, "then is man fortunate in all that he undertakes; but if it is obscured he is unhappy. Good and ill fortune are not bound to man, but both, sent from heaven, are dependent upon his virtue." For this reason Chinese religion consists chiefly of moral teachings and wise sayings for the earthly life. Of a retribution after life there is nowhere a word.



EMBLEM FOR SCARING THE SKY DEMONS

This direct sequence of sin and punishment lets also the natural evils, such as sickness, famine, flood, earthquake, etc., appear as the consequences of disturbance in the order of the universe due to the evil deeds of rulers and peoples; therefore the state is obliged to keep watch over morality just as it does over the obedience paid to civil laws. In the common interest it must punish sin and reward virtue in order to restore the disturbed equilibrium. The "commands of Heaven," which emperor and people must obey, are those laws of reason which everyone carries within himself. On this account much value is assigned in China to public opinion. It is looked upon as the surest indication of the intention of heaven, and the proverb, Vox populi, vox Dei, has its full significance. "What the peoples hold worthy of reward or of punishment," says the Shu-king, "indicates what heaven wishes to have punished or rewarded. There is a close relationship between heaven and the people." Since Chinese religion teaches no immortality, it can be held only as a comfortable concession to the desires of the people that, as was stated above, there is held out to them the prospect of a continuance after death as a reward for virtuous persons, especially to the emperors as the sons and representatives of heaven, and that the souls of ancestors are said to act as protecting spirits for their kin. There is nowhere any mention of the damnation of the bad. Man receives for his behaviour divine justice on earth.

The insipid and unpoetic nature of the Chinaman shows itself particularly in the poverty of his forms of worship and in the sterility of his religious life. No weekly holidays, no sacred feasts break into the monotonous similarity of the days. In restless activity the Chinaman spends his life, without pausing in his pursuit of industry and wealth, without suspending for a moment the struggle and grind of practical existence, to observe any religious festival that might uplift his soul, or to decorate his material business with a single flower of idealism. The Chinese people has no temples where it might pour forth its profounder feelings in rapt prayer before a higher power, or where by formal sacrificial acts it might indicate its voluntary submission; which it might adorn with works of art, the ideal beauties of an imagination filled with God.

It has only halls of recollection for its great men. It has no priest class to order and direct its religious life. All Chinamen are equally entitled and equally able to execute the insignificant religious ceremonies. Only for the sake of better discipline the forms of religious worship are conducted by the officials of the empire. For this reason, too, the national sacrifices at the four seasons are conducted by the emperors, that the blessing of heaven may descend upon the fruit-bearing earth. The "Middle Kingdom" is the "Kingdom of God." Prayer, therefore, is mere empty lip-service, for Chinese divinity has no ears to hear; sacrifice is only a shadow, a mere passionless suggestion of the magnificent religious offerings of antiquity. Even prophecy and the interpretation of signs, which has always played an important rôle in China, has been stripped of all higher dignity. It depends upon the observation and calculation of the phenomena of nature and of the sky; upon it are based the good and the bad days. It is an important task of the government to make known with exactness in a yearly official calendar all the phenomena of the heavens, especially all eclipses of the sun and moon.

The principal offering to heaven is made by the emperor himself as chief priest of the realm, "rather to proclaim his confidential oneness with it than to draw the supernatural over into the natural world." In addition to this nature-worship the emperor sacrifices also in the capital, in an unadorned temple, to the spirits of the ancestors of the royal family. When in later times the journeys became too difficult for the emperors all the sacrificial acts took place in this building.

CHINESE SECTS

In view of the indifference of the Chinese towards everything ideal and supernatural, their want of religious enthusiasm and force and their passionless resignation to reality and material existence, it was not difficult for foreign forms of belief to gain the privilege of existing by the side of the national religion and to find entrance and a home in the minds of some who longed for a loftier conception of life. Yet the religious systems transplanted from other countries, although they adapted themselves in time to the Chinese nature and peculiarities, could never secure general recognition. Their disciples remained a sect, regarded with indifference and tolerated so long as they did not seem dangerous to the existing political system, but they were without noticeable influence on the people as a whole. The doctrines which obtained the widest recognition bore the impress of the religious feeling of India; notably those of Tao, founded by Lao-tse and laid down in the sacred book Tao-te-king, and the religious system of Buddha, called Fo by the Chinese.

Buddhism

Buddhism, in spite of temporary persecution, gained numerous followers among the lower classes; but in China it had "lost the activity of life and had sunk into a turbid mixture with foreign elements" and into a mere system of outward observances. It was only of significance in that it furthered the cultivation of trees and plants, for the reason that the Buddhists, foregoing the bloody sacrifices of animals, "worshipped the pictures and relics of the founder of their religion by offerings of flowers and fragrance." Thus "temples, cloisters, and burial places were surrounded by gardens and ornamented with foreign trees and a carpet of many coloured variously shaped flowers."

The Tao Doctrine

Lao-tse endeavoured to unify Chinese dualism into a single primal existence (Tao) void of consciousness and purpose, and to conceive the manifold variety of things as held together by a single and supreme principle. At the same time he tried to satisfy that longing for immortality which lies deep in the human heart, by holding out to the wise and the virtuous the prospect of living on and of a final return to the primal being. As the only method of attaining this consummate wisdom he recommended, as did the holy penitents of India, the mortification of the flesh, the taming of all desires and passions, and flight out of the unreal world of manifold phenomena. Thus would man become master over the things of nature and would even obtain power over death. By means of the "drink of immortality" the "holy man" is able to break even the might of death. This mystic teaching in time gave rise to a widespread belief in magic and miracles, so that divination, magic arts, and incantation of spirits assumed a wide sway. The Tao sect was sometimes persecuted, sometimes tolerated and even honoured; several emperors, indeed, partook of the "drink of immortality."

Lao-tse taught, says Stuhr, "that heaven and earth were brought forth out of chaos. Chaos was preceded by a single being, silent and immeasurable, unchangeable and ever active. It is the mother of the universe, whose name is unknown, but she may be designated by the word Tao, reason or reasonably acting force. Man's existence is an image of the earth, the earth is an image of heaven, heaven an image of reason, reason an image of itself. Moral perfection consists in freedom from passions, that man may give himself over the more uninterruptedly to the contemplation of the harmony reigning in the universe. There is no greater sin than unrestrained desire and no greater misfortune than want of peace and the torturing unrest of the soul, which are consequences of the unrestrainedness of desire." Lao-tse, like the Brahmans of India, lived in solitude, and he taught the life of contemplation. The belief in miracles and magic, which sprang from the Tao system, reached its climax in the Shamanism of the peoples of the Altai. According to this doctrine it is in the power of the Shamans to conjure up spirits, to tame the elements, to produce health and disease, good and evil fortune; in short, to free man from the shackles of natural forces and to counteract evil spirits.

THE STATE

All Chinese life finds its support and centre in the state. In the state are united all intellectual activities. The state for the Chinaman is a creation of heaven, an essential factor in the harmony of the universe and therefore

the sum of reasonableness and perfection. Man has value only as a citizen of the state. Personal honour has little significance; official stations and functions alone determine a man's position and dignity. To be useful to the state is the highest employment of the Chinaman, and it is therefore the duty of the wise man to seek and accept government offices. The religious life is swallowed up in the life of the state; morality and piety are one with obedience to the laws of the state. These laws, which, according to the Chinese nation, were imparted to man in the sacred primeval period by the celestial rulers Fo-hi, Yao, and Shun, are of more importance than all human authority. They are not the product of the whim of an individual, but are the sum and substance of the divine rationality, the product of the mind of the whole people, and must therefore be obeyed no less by the emperor than by every subject.

The laws of China extend to all the relations of life; they determine the individual's share in the possession of the soil and the taxes to be paid to the state; they regulate the buying and selling of merchandise and determine measures, weights, and market prices; they regulate all life and activity, moral conduct as well as the forms of social convention, for they lay down laws concerning the behaviour of men towards men and of men towards animals and concerning duties towards parents and towards the aged. Nor do they fail to concern themselves with dress and the cut of the hair. Everything is regulated by traditional forms and habits, by precepts and ordinances. Freedom and individual choice, the sources of all true culture and morality, are unknown ideas. But this code of laws, which directs the Chinaman in all his movements, protects him on the other hand against wilfulness and oppression, because its authority is unlimited and no situation lies beyond its scope. In China there is only one natural distinction: emperor and people. All subjects are equal from their birth; there are no hereditary classes, no castes; only material possessions, not rank, are handed down from father to son. Not lineage, but knowledge, works, and conduct determine importance and dignity. Slavery and the eunuch system, the unlovely phenomena in the social life of China, did not exist in the most flourishing periods of the empire. Slavery came into being only as a consequence of increasing overpopulation and poverty; eunuchs were the result of oriental voluptuousness, degeneration, and polygamy.

"According to the old laws," says Wuttke, "the state is sole owner of the soil, and gives possession to the individual only by way of loan. Every father of a family receives a certain amount of arable land from which he gives to the state a tenth of the profits. In those cases where, at a greater distance from the industrial cities, the system of common property can be carried out, the following course is pursued: A rectangular piece of land is divided up into nine equal squares which are managed by nine fathers of families. The middle (ninth) portion belongs to the state and is worked in common. The eight families form a closely united whole. They must assist one another in the planting of the fields, and in need and sickness; represent one another, etc. There is no tax to be rendered to the state except the income of that ninth section of land." If the owner leaves his land untilled, it can be taken from him by legal process. Only in the time of the violent emperor Shi-hoang-ti were the government lands turned into real hereditary and devisable property. Later attempts to replace the original conditions necessarily failed.

At first prisoners of war and criminals were compelled to take part in public works and in consequence were made slaves of the state, until, some

centuries before Christ, the custom originated of securing private slaves by purchase. Since then trade in human beings, whereby children, especially young girls, are frequently sold by their own parents, and poor people sell themselves into slavery, has flourished in spite of many prohibitions. Slaves, however, are protected by law against harshness and ill-treatment. Eunuchs were at first criminals and the relatives of criminals punished by mutilation; it was only in a later period that the class of eunuchs was formed. This class gained great influence, forming as it did the guard of the harems of the aristocracy, and being constantly employed by the imperial court. Its members often held the most important government offices and exerted a baneful influence by trickery and malignity. Already in the *Shu-king*, therefore, there are voiced laments over woman and eunuch rule.

It was a natural consequence of the great importance in which the state and the laws of the state were held that crimes against the government were subjected to severe and cruel punishments, while in other respects the Chinese legal system exhibits a mild and parental character. High treason was a crime also against heaven. In China, moreover, corporal punishments, which are inflicted on the high dignitaries and the notables, are less humiliating than they would be in other countries, because the sense of personal honour does not exist.

The whole life of the state in China is concentrated in the emperor. He is the "Son of Heaven," whose orders and laws must be obeyed like divine commandments and from whom originates all government. He is honoured as a god; before his altars incense is burned; everyone who approaches him must touch his forehead to the ground three times. But the emperor must by excellent qualities make himself worthy of these honours. He must in all things be guided by the laws, customs, and examples of ancient times; he must avoid all arbitrariness, and defer to public opinion; and as supreme judge he is expected not only to punish crime but to reward virtue. "The prince must himself have virtue," says the *Shu-king*, "then he may demand it in others; for to ordain goodness which is lacking to oneself is contradictory and unnatural." A vicious and foolish ruler according to Chinese notions is not entitled to reign over the "Middle Kingdom," since his faults and crimes necessarily pass over to the whole people. As the Son of Heaven, the emperor should reflect its light in his own moral actions; he should be the visible representation of the hidden power of heaven. Should he fail to meet these claims, should he take his own will instead of the eternal orders of heaven as guide to his actions, then the people are no longer in duty bound to render him obedience. For this reason the overthrow and destruction of Chinese dynasties is always brought about by the impious deeds and vices of the rulers. Since might and authority rest less in the person of the emperor than in his office, so the hereditary descent of the crown is not unqualifiedly necessary, but only advisable for the avoidance of quarrels. In the earliest times the emperors were elected. Women are excluded from the government.

Mandarins, Supervisors, and the Army

The administration of the Chinese Empire, with its innumerable cities, towns, and villages and its excessive population, rests upon an organisation carried out in the greatest detail with a strict centralisation and a hierarchy of officials, without any community-life or any trace of self-government. The provinces with their exactly bounded subdivisions are under the management of imperial officials, called, after a Portuguese word, Mandarins. These are

ranked in grades and are strictly isolated from the people, and as organs and servants of the Son of Heaven constitute the government. They must adopt the ancient laws and ordinances of the "celestial kingdom," which by thorough study they make their own, as the guiding principle of all their acts and judgments. Their studies are definitely prescribed, and strict examinations, many of which are held under the direct supervision of the emperor, insure thoroughness and proficiency. The responsibility of the mandarins, who are subjected to severe surveillance and control, is very great; the sacred writings enforce their exact observance of the ancient laws of the realm, even towards the emperor.

WIFE OF A MANDARIN

Since China is a citizen state, the civic mandarins outrank the military mandarins. The army consists of hired troops and militia. Military colonies which were kept employed both in agriculture and in the duties of war served to spread the Chinese dominion, to protect the boundaries, and to cultivate waste regions. Military service, however, never did suit the peaceable Chinese. Arms are a burden to them. And so the *Shu-king*, instead of courageous battle hymns, contains songs of lamentation over the lot of the soldier.

Besides the emperor and the mandarins there has existed from of old a corps of supervisors, men called ko-tao, who are like censors or ephors, and whose duty it is as guardians of the law of the realm, as the "conscience of the state," to insure a conservative government, in harmony with the sacred ordinances of heaven. They are representatives of the idea of the state, and hold a right of veto over the emperor and his counsellors. They are honoured by the people as protectors of the law and feared by officials. Not infrequently they have interfered in affairs of the court, and have protested against the crimes and vices of the emperors with the same sternness and with as little respect of persons as did the prophets against the kings of Israel.

"Only intelligence," says Wuttke, "not birth, qualifies for office. The emperor may have only such servants as bear within themselves the consciousness of the everlasting kingdom." State examinations are held in every official city in a hall dedicated to the memory of Kong-fu-tse; they are under the supervision of the authorities and scholars. The highest examinations are conducted by the emperor himself in his palace. For the further education of the officials monthly lectures are delivered on their duties and the laws.

In the army a strict military discipline is observed. Even the officers receive blows with the rod. The signal for the gathering of the army was even in ancient times given by fires on the mountains. The plaintive songs of the soldiers in the *Chinese Song-Book*, translated by Rückert, give evidence of the national dislike of war.

EDUCATION, AGRICULTURE, AND THE FAMILY

The income of the state, obtained by high tolls and income taxes, is spent with fatherly care for the good of the people. In no way is the guardian-like administration, which endeavours to act in the interests of the people instead of using them as its tool, shown more conspicuously than in the institutions of public utility, in the magnificent magazines and hospitals, in the construction of roads and bridges, in the canals and the apparatus for the prevention of inundation. The solicitude of the government is not restricted to material life; schools, instruction in music, the whole educational system, indeed, is under governmental direction. Education has for its purpose, however, not the development of mental powers along lines of independent thought, not the natural upbuilding of the inner nature, but merely the imparting of ancestral knowledge. For this reason instruction consists chiefly in memorising the school-books prescribed by the government, and is particularly concerned, after the essential rudiments of knowledge have been acquired, with the inculcation of conventional morality, of civic virtue, obedience towards parents and the emperor, observance of the laws of the state, and of a life of quiet orderliness. Great stress is laid upon music. It is considered as an echo of the universal harmony which accustoms the soul to order and accord, and banishes passions and evil desires. The moral and civic laws are set to music and are taught in song. Besides the elementary schools, which are not wanting even in the smallest hamlets, there are many institutions for scientific training. But the rigid mechanism which shows itself in all the activities of Chinese life robs these studies of those results which mental culture when not thus restricted brings with it.

A MANDARIN

A people whose gaze has been directed towards the earth from its youth up necessarily looks upon labour as the chief aim of existence. Therefore the Chinese were at all times characterised by an ant-like activity and a never-tiring industry. But this activity is not spiritualised by thought. It consists only in skilful hand labour, in mechanical dexterity, in painstaking perseverances. Agriculture is looked upon as the oldest and most important occupation; it is the factor of orderliness and moral steadiness in the Chinese national and popular life. The emperor himself presides over it. Few lands can compare with China in horticulture. The extensive fields of grain and rice, the numberless gardens with magnificent flowers, ornamental and odoriferous climbing plants over shady arbours, the hill country laid out in terraces with excellent arrangements for drainage and for irrigation, the plains of blossoming tea and cotton, the rich orchards and groves, all bear witness to the perfection of the cultivation of the soil. Agriculture is the steady, unchangeable foundation of the Chinese state. By its introduction and culti-

vation the conquered neighbouring lands were more firmly united to the empire than would have been possible by methods of war. What the conquerors of the West tried to do with the sword, China attained more permanently and benevolently with the plough.

Besides the cultivation of grain and of tea, the production of silk is the pride of the nation and the source of great profit. Just as the emperor is the patron of agriculture, so the production of silk enjoys the particular care of the empress. She has in her room silkworms that she feeds with leaves from the imperial gardens. In silk-weaving, as in all other branches of industry, the practical skill and graceful dexterity of the Chinese is especially admirable. They surpassed all other nations in the fine weaving of various materials. Their artistic carvings in wood, ivory, and horn and their beautiful china have always won admiration as staples of trade. Silk paper for writing, gunpowder, and printing by means of wooden type, wood-cuts, and many other things were known to the Chinese many hundred years earlier than to the Europeans. But the spirit of development and progress is lacking, and the incentive which contact with foreign inventions and knowledge would afford. For this reason the Chinese after a time fell behind the western civilised countries in all those branches of industry which approach art and are perfected by mental activity. Mechanical activities depending upon manual skill and technical dexterity have been from the earliest times at a high stage of perfection. A great commerce such as the favourable position of the country and its wealth in products of all kinds would have encouraged was prevented by China's policy of isolation. Only at certain places on the coast were foreign trading vessels allowed to land and to load with the wares heaped up there.

The peculiar mental bent of the Chinese and their unique conception of existence come into view most plainly, and, perhaps, in the most advantageous light, in social intercourse and family life. Since man, according to the Chinese idea, is only a portion of the whole and has no worth or significance as a free personality, he can count on respect and recognition only when he adapts his behaviour to existing customs and laws, when he follows the high road of the traditional and the conventional, when he permits his individuality to be swallowed up in the universal. The individual is to distinguish himself in nothing. No alteration is allowed in clothing or fashion, which are prescribed by the state and have remained unchanged for thousands of years. Morality is only of the passive sort. To leave undone that which is evil and of harm to the community is more highly esteemed than the performance of virtue. Piety towards parents, obedience towards those in authority, love for relatives and friends, reverence and politeness in daily intercourse, are the chief duties of the Chinaman.

Marriage and the family as the "centre of the life of society" were worthily developed in China. The union of man and woman in the family is the image of the union of creative primitive force with receptive primitive matter, of the heavens with the earth, whence sprang the universe. Marriage is as old as the state. Fo-hi, who after the great flood erected the system of the state, was the founder also of marriage. This conception, moreover, raised woman in China from the subordinate position in which she appears among the rest of the peoples of ancient times. Though owing obedience to man and subject to him, yet she is held in great respect as an essential member of the family. Womanly virtue and self-sacrificing fidelity were frequently rewarded with triumphal arches. Still, woman, according to oriental custom, is restricted to the house and shut off from association with men, and little care is

expended on her education. Marriage as a divine ordinance is regarded by the Chinaman as an obligation. Only by marrying can he fulfil his destiny on earth. Polygamy is permitted but does not frequently occur. The bride is purchased from her parents by the bridegroom with a bridal gift. The grades of relationship in which intermarriage is prohibited are very far-reaching. The holiest tie in family life is the love of children for their parents, which, therefore, is again and again inculcated as the highest duty.

LEARNING, LITERATURE, ART

Science and knowledge make up the soul of Chinese official and popular life. The wise and the learned are the true statesmen, because only they have the faculty of comprehending the skilfully adjusted machinery of the state and of keeping it upon its unchangeable course. Only they are able to protect from upheaval the heaven-born organism of the national life. A peaceful people needs no heroes, but only wise administrators.

In order to preserve for subsequent generations the old traditions, wherein all lawful and enduring things have their origin, the Chinese in the grey dawn of prehistoric time invented certain signs and characters whereby they indicated certain ideas and words. On the basis of the very ancient Kua, a kind of hieroglyphic which is said to have originated with the mythical king Fo-hi, they built up an idea or picture-writing, whereof every sign indicated a particular conception, independent of the sound of the word and therefore applicable to every language. By means of combination, expansion, and symbolical representation of abstract conceptions, there developed from this primitive hieroglyphic the sign-writing in use to-day, made up of strangely formed characters or artificial ciphers. This is characterised by such an uncertainty, obscurity, and complexity of figures, that merely to learn to read it requires decades, and only the learned know thoroughly the written language. Words do not grow out of a combination of letters or out of a common dominant sound, but each word stands as a complete, indivisible whole. The total number of signs that may be used is about fifty thousand; of these not more than half are actually in use, and for ordinary written communication a knowledge of four thousand is enough. A similar stiffness and clumsiness is shown by the Chinese spoken language, which is no less difficult to understand; "on account of its rigidity it does not express the living thought," but only indicates.

Similar to the earliest speech of children, the Chinese language places single words, almost all of one syllable, beside one another without connection. It knows no organic, living development of a root word through derived forms, nothing of the multiplicity of variations of sounds or of affixes by means of which other languages are able to express a wealth of relations. "The same unchanged word according to the connection is sometimes noun, sometimes adjective, sometimes verb. There are no conjugations or declensions; of the verb there is only the substantive form, the infinitive. Tense cannot be expressed in the verb itself, but only by adding another word which indicates the time. Only intonation and position distinguish the meaning of a word as noun, verb, adjective, numeral, or even as preposition." For this reason, too, the Chinese use only short sentences, as every newly added word makes the difficulty of understanding greater.

Their whole language consists of less than five hundred monosyllabic root words, which by means of various intonations and pronunciations are raised to fourteen hundred and forty-five simple sounds used as words. From these

again, then, combinations of sounds arise. The grammatical relationships are indicated by means of particles. With so small a number of words there must necessarily exist great uncertainty and ambiguity, since the same word pronounced the same way often has different meanings. With those words most in use the number of meanings expressed by each runs up to thirty or forty. This ambiguity the Chinaman endeavours to remove by repetition and a manifold representation of the same thought. In spite of its awkwardness the oldest form of the language has been retained unchanged. The language of the *Kings* differs but little from that spoken to-day. "This system of speech with its curious form of writing," says Gützlaff, "is on the one hand a firm dividing wall against the presumption of foreigners, and on the other hand the great means of union whereby the people with its various dialects is held together and which makes possible a single government."

SINESE

The literature of the Chinese is rich in lessons of practical shrewdness and well-regulated common sense, but is void of all imagination or depth of thought, all poetic inspiration or warmth of feeling. The most important literary work is made up of the *Kings*, the sacred books, collected and arranged by Kong-fu-tse [Confucius], which contain the earliest traditions of the life of the Chinese people. They consist in part of the three *Kings* proper, which, according to their contents, have come down from the time of the original fathers; and of a number of later writings, also held as sacred, and which were composed by Kong-fu-tse himself or by his favourite pupils. The *Kings* are divided into three parts: the *Y-king*, an obscure book, more perverted than elucidated by recent exegesis, and concerned with the phenomena of nature and moral reflections, the authorship of which is ascribed to Fo-hi, the founder of the realm; the *Shi-king*, the book of odes, a selection of old songs for the furtherance of morality and the enrichment of life, made by Kong-fu-tse himself; and the *Shi-king*, or annals of the realm. The national songs of the *Shi-king*, which belong to various ages and authors, are of very mixed contents. Some have for their purpose the spread of religious and moral sentiments; they lament in an elegiac manner the deterioration of old customs and virtues, praise the fortunate times of earlier generations, and express a longing for their restoration; others sing with lyric rapture of the joys of love and the pleasures of life, or burst forth in praise or criticism of the emperors and their

government. In general there reigns in them a delicate morality and natural feeling. The most important of the sacred books is the *Shi-king*, the principal fountain of Chinese national life, and therefore held in high honour by the people. It contains, in addition to the most ancient history, beginning with Yao—intended to add dignity to the entire work—many moral and political reflections, maxims, and useful lessons for public and private life. After the destruction of the book by Shi-hoang-ti, the work remained, in spite of its later restoration, imperfect and full of gaps. Dating from various periods, it contains only a little more than half of the old work.

CHINESE TRIUMPHAL ARCH

Among the rest of the writings accounted sacred, and sometimes designated by the name of *Kings*, the most important are: the *Li-ky*, the book of customs, ceremonies, and eternal conventions; and the four works compiled by Kong-fu-tse himself and his immediate disciples: *Tohio*, "the great lesson," *Tshung-thung*, "the certain mean," and *Luen-yue* and *Hi-tse*, in which is contained the total substance of the teachings of Kong-fu-tse. In spite of the reverence with which the Chinese regard the sacred writings and the explanations and commentaries, composed by Meng-tse and Tshu-tse, yet they are not considered by them as infallible; of a supernatural inspiration they have no conception.

The scientific investigations of the Chinaman are in part directed to universal nature, especially to the star-sown heavens, and in part to the real life of the state and the people. To matters beyond the senses he does not aspire. The observation of nature and of the sky, in which divine existence manifests itself, is in his estimation the only road to truth and reason, and it is therefore a sacred duty. The science of astronomy was always pursued in China with special predilection. The emperors themselves took it up. The astronomers took the place of prophets and priests. This bent soon resulted in knowledge of the courses of the planets and the movements of heavenly bodies, in the calculation of the eclipses of the sun and moon, the division and determination of the cycles of the years and of the moon, and in the foundation of a definite chronology and of a well-ordered calendar. The emperor must be guided in governmental transactions by the constellations. The days when eclipses disturb the order of the heavens are observed with all sorts of peculiar ceremonies as days of mourning. External nature, too, with her five elements (water, fire, wood, metal, and soil), is the subject of scientific investigation and observation. Hence the early acquaintance of the Chinese with magnetism and the compass, with botany and the healing or harmful effects of herbs and roots upon the human body.

As in their study of nature, so too in their philosophical investigations, the Chinese direct their attention mainly towards the real and the established things. The examples and the rules of life laid down by their ancestors, together with knowledge of the material present, make up the substance of their wisdom, which, therefore, consists chiefly of practical observations, wise sayings, rules of life, and lessons in shrewdness. Even the worldly wisdom of the much-admired Tshu-hi, the Chinese Aristotle, which is recognised as the philosophy of the realm, is restricted to a dry moralising without depth, to maxims, and adages regarding every-day conduct. Lessons in virtue and worldly wisdom are the highest to which the Chinese mind is able to rise.

The Chinese love of nature furthered practical knowledge, agriculture, and industry, but it was unfavourable to art and poetry. The endeavour of the true artist to inform nature with spirit, to vivify dead matter by the action of the mind, to introduce the ideal into reality, is altogether foreign to the Chinese way of looking at things. "China has, therefore," says Wuttke, "a highly developed industrial activity, but a very slightly developed art, consisting of profuse ornamentation, but containing little beauty; they pursue a slavish imitation of nature to the uttermost detail, for the life of nature is for them in itself the ideal, but are incapable of an independent creation of the beautiful; anxious and minute exactness in copying takes the place of imaginative work. Even when their productions approach closest to art, they do not show free creative ability. Rules resting upon ancient tradition, laid down not by the artistic feeling, but for it, regulate as state laws the work of the artist. The rules of art are prescribed by the state just as are laws of construction for forges or canals. Art is no more allowed to make progress than is history."

CHINESE PAGODA

Architecture is altogether in the service of practical life and has no inspiration or idealism. Temples are bare memorial halls; triumphal arches are prosaic monuments of record; dwelling houses are low and awkward, with sloping, hollowed-out roofs in the form of tents, made of yellow lacquered bricks. Only in structures of public utility, especially in bridges, have great things been done. On the other hand, Chinese towers, called Tha, do attain originality by expressing the odd character of the people. "These towers," says Kugler in his history of art, "rise upwards in numerous stories; each story is somewhat smaller than the one below it, each is provided with a multi-coloured roof, concave and sloping, and hung about with little bells, which tinkle merrily. The tiles of the roof are covered with a golden, glistening lacquer. The walls

are painted in many colours or inlaid with gleaming plates of porcelain. The porcelain tower of Nanking (built in the fifteenth century) is one of the most famous of this kind of building." Sculpture, as may be seen by numerous works of stone and porcelain, of metal and ivory, is remarkable for its external technical execution, but without any artistic feeling; so, too, it is with painting, on which the Chinese lavish much care. Held in the bonds of the prosaic and commonplace, they slavishly imitate reality and thus make their pictures mere "mirrored images of life." Simple objects of nature, flowers, birds, fish, and the like, are painted very neatly and with great exactness and splendour of colour; on the other hand, their human figures are lacking in movement and their faces in expression. Moreover, their pictures are without perspective and chiaroscuro. The science of music is not much more highly developed, although this has at all times enjoyed the favour of the government. Their music, which is produced by numberless instruments of manifold shapes, and clear, thin tones, is noisy, monotonous, and without inspiration. Notation was introduced only in recent times by the Jesuits; before that all tunes had to be learned by heart.

In a country where the inner life of man is without development, where the individual counts only as a fraction of the universal, there is no soil in which creative poetry can grow. How could a people that does not strive for ideals, for which commonplace reality holds everything that belongs to earthly happiness, find delight in creations of the imagination? Epic poetry with its lofty moral ideas is unknown to the Chinese, because they have no liking for heroic deeds; because to them the magnificent battle of man with fate appears as a sinful rebellion against the inevitability of nature; because they lack the world of religious myths, whence the epic draws its materials; because no heroic age forms the background of their history. No hero poem graces Chinese literature; tales and court stories, novels taken immediately from dull reality, representations and descriptions of social life, wearisome and long-drawn-out, without high morality or poetic inspiration, take the place of epic poetry.

Just as little can the drama flourish in China. A people that does not know real action or development cannot produce action in the drama, "the poetic image of the world's history." Dramatic poetry, therefore, consists only of stage pieces for the entertainment and amusement of the people. Only events transcribed from real life, only light plots and farces, written as pastimes for the audience, are found in the voluminous fiction of the stage. Dramatic art is held in even less esteem than is the art of epic poetry; the theatres, although much frequented, are without influence on the sentiment and culture of the nation. Dramatic poetry, which among the civilised European peoples is a temple of all that is great and ideal, is in China only the unpoetic image of real life, entirely without moral impulse.

Lyric poetry, however, which does not represent action, but thought and feeling, is not wanting in grace, loveliness, and noble sentiment, even though it lacks depth and power. Loveliest are the poems of the *Shi-king*. In general the didactic character is predominant in Chinese lyric poetry, and often the thought is associated with an image taken from nature, which in frequent repetition runs along beside the thought but is not united with it. Maxims and rules of life, in which the practical wisdom of the Chinaman so dearly likes to clothe itself, very frequently form much of the substance of this lyrical-didactic poetry. The highest aim of Chinese conduct, that of self-control and moderation, shows itself even in the poetry, in which strong feeling is avoided as carefully as is passion in real life. Hence coolness and calm

are the chief characteristics of their poetry. The matter-of-fact regularity and orderliness which restrain the Chinaman from too great an indulgence in the pleasures of the senses keep him, too, from all enthusiasm, extravagance, and wild dreaming.

"The country of Sina," says Herder, "is an embalmed mummy, painted over with hieroglyphics and spun about with silk; its inner circulation is like that of a hibernating animal. As the Sinese love immeasurably their gold tinsel and lacquer, the deftly painted lines of their crooked characters, and the jingle of pretty sayings, so the cultivation of their minds resembles this golden tinsel, this lacquer, these characters, and the clinking of their syllables. The gift of productive scholarship nature seems to have denied them, whereas she gives with a lavish hand that quick intelligence displayed in their little eyes, that cunning industry and finesse, that artistic talent for imitation in everything which their greed finds useful to them."[c]

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF CHINA

To insure a good end
You must make a good beginning;
An error of a hair's breadth
May lead to a discrepancy of a thousand *li*.
Hung Lu-tsuen.[a]

EARLY DYNASTIES

THE immense antiquity of the world is amongst western nations a comparatively recent discovery; but, although Chinese thinkers could not have based their theories on geological science, they seem at any rate to have grasped the probability that the human race must have taken more than six thousand years to develop a complicated social organisation.

The first tangible monarch is Hwang-ti, who reigned during the twenty-seventh century before the Christian era. He built roads, invented ships, and organised the empire into administrative departments.[b] To his lady, Se-ling-she, is ascribed the honour of having first observed the silk produced by the worms, of having unravelled their cocoons, and of having worked the fine filaments into a web of cloth. The tomb of Hwang-ti is also preserved to this day in the province of Shensi.

With the reign of Yaou (2356 B.C.) Confucius takes up the strain, and though his narrative will not bear criticism it yet furnishes us with some historical data. The character of Yaou and his successor Shun have been the theme of every writer on history from the time of Confucius downwards. So strong was the force of the examples they set that the nation increased in size and prosperity. Yaou was succeeded by Shun, who for some years had shared with him the responsibilities of government. It was during this period that the "Great" Yu was employed to drain off the waters of the

flood which had visited the north of China. As a reward for this and other services he was raised to the throne on the death of Shun. After him succeeded a number of rulers, each one less qualified to govern than the last, until one Kee (1818 B.C.) ascended the throne. In this man were combined all the worst vices of kings. The people rose against him, and having swept away all traces of him and his bloody house, they proclaimed the commencement of a new dynasty, to be called the Shang dynasty, and their leader, Tang, they named the first emperor of the new line (1766 B.C.).[c] Of him the Chinese write that "he ruled the people gently, and abolished oppressions. In his days the seven years' drought occurred."

At the close of this dynasty, 1153 B.C., the tyrant Chow presided over the empire. The age of this individual agrees with that assigned in sacred history to Samson. The founders of the third dynasty are described as virtuous, patriotic, and brave. About this time, 1121 B.C., foreign ambassadors came, from the modern Cochin China, to court; on returning they missed their way, when the prime minister furnished them with a "south-pointing chariot," by means of which they reached their own country. Thus we see that the polarity of the needle was known and applied to useful purposes in China at that early period. In the twenty-first year of the emperor Ling, of the third dynasty, 549 B.C., Confucius was born.

CHINESE SOLDIER

A little more than two hundred years before the Christian era China became subject to a fourth dynasty, called Tsin. The ruler of Tsin conceived the insane idea of establishing a dynasty which should extend from the beginning to the end of time. With this view he collected and burned all the records of previous ages, and buried alive four hundred and sixty learned men, wishing to make posterity believe that the dominion of the world commenced with himself. The object of obliterating all remembrance of antiquity was, however, defeated by the subsequent discovery of the books of Confucius, and the intention of perpetuating his rule was frustrated by the demise of his son, whereupon his dynasty became extinct. During the lifetime of this monarch the famous Chinese Wall was erected, in order to keep out the Tatars, who then infested the northern frontier. Almost every third man was drafted throughout the empire for the accomplishment of this undertaking.

Since the days of Tsin a succession of dynasties has swayed the destinies of China, among the most celebrated of which are Han, Tang, Sung, and Ming, with the two Tatar dynasties Yuen and Tsing. The dynasty Han, lasting from 205 B.C. to 226 A.D., is distinguished for the military prowess and courage at that time displayed; hence the Chinese are still fond of calling themselves

sons of Han. After the downfall of this race of kings six smaller dynasties followed, of which little remarkable is recorded. During the Tang dynasty, from 620 to 906 A.D., learning was extensively cultivated, and the literary examinations were then first established. Between the ages of Tang and Sung five smaller dynasties intervened, during which period printing was invented by one Fung-taou, 924 A.D., while the practice of binding the feet of women appears to have commenced about the same time. At the close of the Sung dynasty, 1275 A.D., Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, visited China. While the Mongolian Tatars had possession of China the grand canal was dug, and the Yellow River was brought back to its former bed, by which means much land was brought under cultivation and former inundations prevented. Under the reign of the Ming dynasty, from 1368 A.D. to 1643 A.D., the Portuguese visited China, and settled themselves at Macao.[d]

Tsung-ching was the last emperor of the Ming dynasty. In his reign rebel bands began to assume the proportion of armies. Out of this seething mass of insubordination two leaders showed themselves conspicuously. These were Le Tsze-ching and Shang Ko-he. They divided the empire between them, and agreed that Shang should take possession of Szechuen and Hukwang, and that Le should make himself master of Honan. Bent on this mission Le besieged Kaifung-fu, the capital of the province, and so long and closely did he beleaguer it that in the consequent famine human flesh was regularly sold in the market. At length an imperial force came to raise the siege; fearful of meeting Le's army in the field, they cut through the dikes of the Yellow River, "China's Sorrow," and flooded the whole country, including the city. The rebels escaped to the mountains, but upwards of two hundred thousand inhabitants perished in the flood (1642). Fu Le determined to attack Peking. A treacherous eunuch opened the gates to him, on being informed of which the emperor committed suicide. When the news of this disaster reached the general commanding on the frontier of Manchu Tatary, he concluded a peace with the Manchus, and invited them to dispossess the rebel Le Tsze-ching. The Manchus entered China, and after defeating a rebel army, they marched towards Peking. Le Tsze-ching, after having set fire to the imperial palace, evacuated the city, but was overtaken and his force was completely routed.

THE MANCHU DYNASTY

The object for which the Manchus had been introduced into the empire having been accomplished, the Chinese wished them to retire, but they declared themselves unwilling to leave it, and having taken possession of Peking they proclaimed the ninth son of Teen-ning emperor of China, under the title of Shun-che, and adopted the name of Ta-tsing, or "Great pure," for the dynasty (1644). Meanwhile the Tatar army appeared at the walls. But there was no need for them to use force. The gates were thrown open, and they took possession of the city. As the Tatars entered the city the emperor left it, and finally threw himself into the Yang-tse Kiang and was drowned. Thus ended the Ming dynasty, and the empire passed again under a foreign yoke.

All accounts agree in stating that the Manchu conquerors are descendants of a branch of the family which gave the Kin dynasty to the north of China. The accession to the throne of the emperor Shun-che did not at first restore peace to the country. The adherents of the Ming dynasty defended themselves vigorously but unsuccessfully against the invaders. About this time

Koxinga [the son of a pirate who had won political power and had then been murdered], having driven the Dutch out of Formosa, established himself as king and held possession of the island until the reign of Kang-he, when he resigned in favour of the imperial government. Gradually opposition to the new régime became weaker and weaker, and the shaved head with the pig-tail—the symbol of Tatar sovereignty—became more and more universally adopted. Little is known of Shun-che, but he appears to have taken a great interest in science. When he was gathered to his fathers (1661), Kang-he, his son, reigned in his stead. The dictionary of the Chinese language, published under his superintendence, proves him to have been as great a scholar as his conquests show him to have been famous as a general. He died in 1721. Under his rule Tibet was added to the empire, which extended from the Siberian frontier to Cochin China, and from the China Sea to Turkestan. Almost the only national misfortune that visited China while he sat upon the throne was an earthquake at Peking, in which four hundred thousand people are said to have perished. Kang-he was succeeded by Yung-ching. He died in 1735, and Keen-lung, his son, reigned in his stead.

Keen-lung and Kea-king

This monarch despised the conciliatory measures by which his father had maintained peace with his neighbours. On but a slight provocation he marched an army into Ili, which he converted into a Chinese province, and he afterwards added eastern Turkestan to the far-reaching territories of China. During his reign it was that the Mohammedan standard was first raised in Kansu. But the Mussulmans were unable to stand against the imperial troops. Keen-lung wrote incessantly, and did much to promote the cause of literature by collecting libraries and republishing works of value. His war against the Ghurkas was one of the most successful of his military undertakings. His generals marched seventy thousand men into Nepal to within sixty miles of the British frontiers, and having subjugated the Ghurkas they received the submission of the Nepalese, and acquired an additional hold over Tibet (1792). In 1795 Keen-lung abdicated in favour of his fifteenth son, who adopted the title of Kea-king as the style of his reign.

During the reign of Keen-lung the relations of the East India Company with his government had been the reverse of satisfactory. The British government consequently determined to send an embassy to the court of Peking, and Lord Macartney was chosen to represent George III on the occasion. But the concessions he sought for his countrymen were not accorded to him. Kea-king's reign, which extended over a period of five-and-twenty years, was disturbed and disastrous. The condition of the foreign merchants at Canton had in no wise improved. The mandarins were as exacting and unjust as ever, and in order to set matters on a better footing the British government despatched a second ambassador in the person of Lord Amherst to Peking in 1816. However, he declined to perform the kowtow, and was consequently dismissed from the palace on the same day on which he arrived. Kea-king died in the year 1820, leaving a disturbed country and a disaffected people.[c]

CONDITIONS LEADING TO THE TAIPING REBELLION

It now becomes requisite to glance at the condition of the people about the period when the Taiping rebellion began to spread, and for this purpose it will be sufficient to embrace the events of the preceding twenty years.

In a letter written in 1833 by one of the Roman Catholic missionaries from Kiangsi, it is stated that, so great was the general destitution in the province, the people were selling their wives and children, and many were living on the bark of trees. In the following year an earthquake in Honan destroyed ninety-five villages.

During the years 1839–40–41 the whole province of Szechuen, the largest in the empire, became the theatre of misery and anarchy. The war with Great Britain, which began in 1841, did not tend to improve matters. The circumstances which led to this war had their origin in the changes brought about by the expiry of the East India Company's charter. Trade relations with China were always comparatively satisfactory, provided that no other element was introduced into them, which was the case during the long succession of years that witnessed the commercial reign of the East India Company; but in the year 1834 their charter ceased, and the British merchants and other residents became represented by a commissioner appointed by the home government, and from this time there ensued a series of misunderstandings and annoyances, partly caused by the opium traffic, but principally through the non-recognition on the part of the Chinese of the political position held by the commissioner. It was considered advisable by the British government to send a powerful force to bring the Chinese to a due comprehension of England's power, and to place her commerce upon a permanent basis.

A KOREAN BOOKMAKER

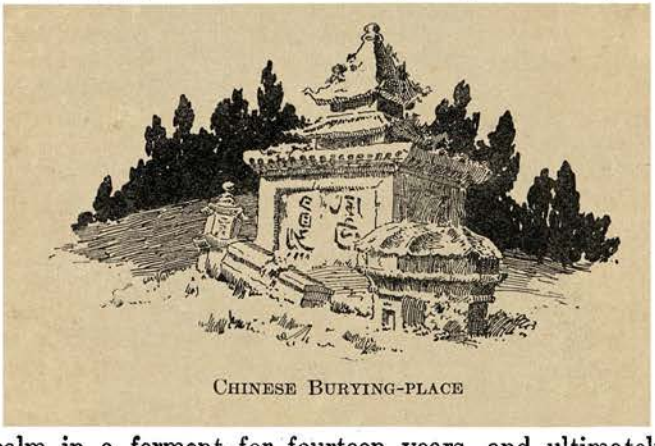
The result of this war was most disastrous to the Tatar power. The Chinese government, seeing at last the hopeless nature of the struggle, proposed to come to terms, and a treaty was signed in September, 1842. The treaty gave the English permission to trade freely at the five ports of Shanghai, Ningpo, Fuhchow, Amoy, and Canton, ceded the island of Hong-Kong, and indemnified England for the expenses of the war with a sum equalling £4,200,000. Nothing could have so much opened the eyes of the Chinese to the weakness of their Manchu rulers as this war.

HUNG-SIU-TSUEN

Whatever may be the opinions held with regard to the Taipings, their creeds, and their actions, there can be no doubt that their leader, Hung-siu-tsuen, was sincere in his own belief. The only way of accounting for his actions is by acknowledging him to be true to his own convictions.[e] He was a disappointed literatus. He did not fail once, but many times, to qualify for the civil service. Hard study, bitter disappointment, and strained circumstances combined to undermine his constitution and shake his reason. Becoming cataleptic, he saw in one of his trances a strange vision, which, being repeated several times, persuaded him that destiny had great things in store for him. While under the bewildering influence of these visions some Christian tracts fell into his hands, and, on reading them, sudden illumination came to him. He found stories there of men caught up to heaven, where

vital truths were made clear to them, and of others who, conversing face to face with God on mountain-tops, returned with a gospel for their fellows. Nor did he find anything to indicate that a human being in the nineteenth century would be guilty of blasphemy did he imagine himself the object of divine favour such as had been vouchsafed to human beings in earlier eras. What he did find, as he supposed, was that the Bible enabled him to interpret his vision. He became a convert to Christianity, such as he found it in the tracts which had come into his hands. As to the nature of his Christianity, however, there are differences of opinion.

He cannot be said to have at first adopted the rôle of general religious propagandism. By slow processes, a little band of believers drew together, and their union was cemented by community of suffering, for iconoclastic zeal betrayed them into acts that drew down upon them the vengeance of the law. Fortuitous events precipitated the crisis. The religious clan established by Hung and his co-workers served as a rallying-point for many hakkas [quasi-gipsies] who had been driven from their temporary settlements, and thus the Shang-ti worshippers—for so they called themselves—ultimately became objects of hostility to the landowners of the province, to the followers of Buddhism and Taoism, and to the civil authorities. Driven by these circumstances into open rebellion, they commenced a movement which ultimately swept throughout nearly the whole empire, costing the lives of millions of people, pushing the Manchu dynasty to the verge of ruin, keeping the realm in a ferment for fourteen years, and ultimately betraying England and France into a course which, if it be finally declared erroneous, can never be too much regretted.

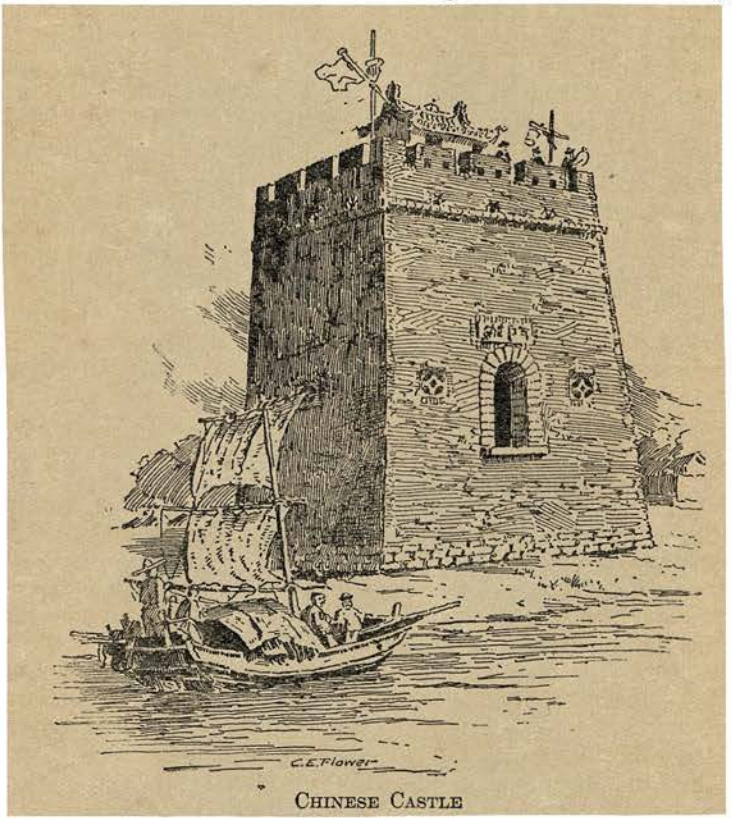


CHINESE BURYING-PLACE

THE PROGRESS OF TAIPING POWER; THE TRIADS

Within three years from the time of raising their standard the *Taiping* forces obtained possession of Nanking, the southern capital of China, the city under whose walls the first foreign treaty had been signed eleven years previously. Eleven years had now elapsed since the conclusion of the Nanking treaty. British trade with China was beginning to assume considerable dimensions. Hong-Kong promised to become a valuable possession, and Shanghai showed signs of growing into a prosperous settlement. The Taipings could no longer be ignored, especially as the commanding position they

had gained on China's great waterway gave them power to obstruct a large part of the supplies of tea and silk which formed the chief staples of the export trade. England, therefore, had to consider her attitude towards the insurgents, and the result of her reflection was that, a month after the establishment (March, 1853) of the Taiping ruler's court at Nanking—for Hung was now a monarch with the title of "Heavenly King" (tien-wang)—Sir George Bonham proceeded to that city from Hong-Kong in H.B.M.S. *Hermes*. His excellency, who, as governor of Hong-Kong, represented Great Britain in China, was received with cordiality by the leaders of the rebels. At first there was a moment's hesitation while religious beliefs were compared, but



CHINESE CASTLE

so soon as the Taipings had assured themselves that the essentials of their newly adopted faith were identical with those of their visitors' creed, relations of amity were at once established. The English were made free of the whole city, were assured that the Taipings desired nothing better than the most intimate intercourse, and were treated with unvarying kindness during the five days of their sojourn. Her Britannic majesty's government, speaking through its representative, Sir George Bonham, declared to the Taiping chief that England would remain perfectly neutral.

Beyond Nanking the Taipings made no substantial progress northward. In the interests of their cause they should have marched at once upon Peking. Had they done so, the fall of the Manchu dynasty could scarcely have been averted. Their leader proposed to himself the less formidable though still

[1853 A.D.]

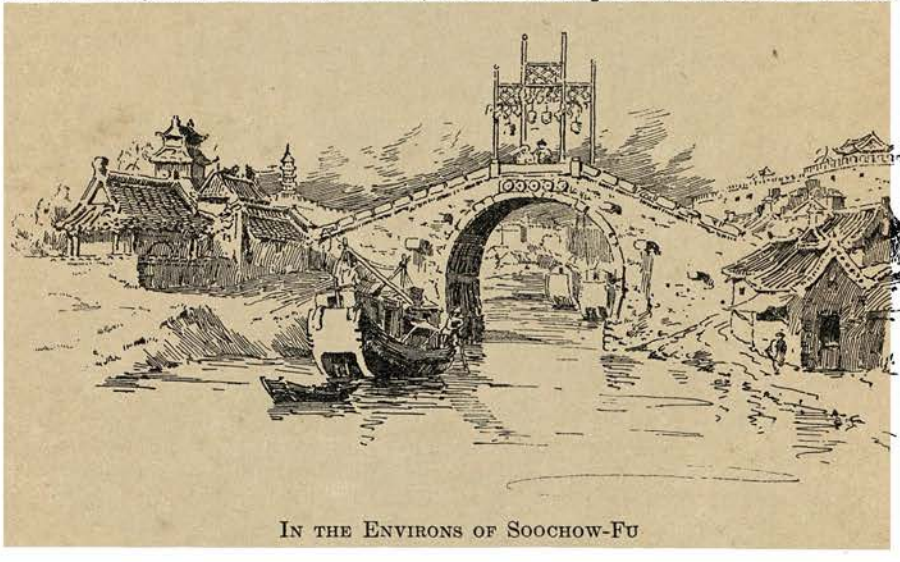
immense enterprise of subduing that moiety of the empire which lies southward of the Yangtse. Li, an ex-charcoal-seller, now styled the "Loyal King," was, however, placed at the head of a small body of seven thousand men, with general orders to operate on the northern bank of the Yangtse. This intrepid commander, whose name deserves a place beside those of the great captains of the world, crossed the river in May, 1853, and deliberately set his face towards Peking. He accomplished a march which was one of the most extraordinary achievements on record. But Li's splendid effort failed, and the failure may be said to have saved the Manchu dynasty.

In the same year (1853) the Triads [a secret society] rose in rebellion. Their original impulse to make common cause with the Taipings had been checked partly by a difference of political aim, partly by a divergence of religious views. But when the "Heavenly King" established himself in Nanking, his brilliant successes incited the Triads to renewed action. Desiring at all events to share in the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, they attacked Amoy and Shanghai, and, having captured the two cities, tendered their allegiance to the Taiping leader. With him, however, religion seems to have been as potent as ambition. The co-operation of the Triads must have strengthened him materially, yet he declined to accept it unless they, on their side, agreed to accept Christianity such as he and his followers professed. But the Triads, failing immediate support, were driven from Amoy and Shanghai. As to Amoy, nothing need be noted except that, after holding the place for three months the Triads evacuated it (November, 1853), and the imperialist forces, marching in, perpetrated a wholesale butchery.

FOREIGN INTERESTS IN SHANGHAI

At Shanghai the Triads, unaided by the Taipings, found themselves presently besieged by a Manchu army. At that time there were two settlements at Shanghai; one occupied chiefly by Anglo-Saxons, the other by the French, the latter being in comparatively close proximity to the walled city where the Triads had established themselves. This local division did not imply any open discord between the various nationalities. The French have always shown a disposition to develop along independent lines in the Far East. At Shanghai they obeyed that instinct, and secured a special settlement of their own. They had not come to the aid of England in her struggle to open China to foreign trade, yet they insisted on regarding as a "concession" the area set apart for their use in Shanghai, and this self-asserted title of ownership has never been seriously challenged by China. Between the British and the Americans some little friction occurred as to their respective rights of occupation, but they ultimately settled down in friendly union, and, in obedience to England's policy of extending to all occidental states an absolutely equal share in every privilege obtained by her diplomacy or won by her arms, the Anglo-Saxon settlement at Shanghai opened its door without discrimination of race, and rapidly became a great centre of commerce and progress. The only direction in which English land-fever showed itself was in the determination to have a race-course and a cricket-ground. Consul Alcock, a gravely sedate person, was shocked at the aggressive tactlessness of his compatriots when they demanded a three-mile race-course at the newly opened port on the Yangtse. But his countrymen carried their point. On this race-course the imperialist forces encamped when they invested Shanghai in 1853, seeking to recover the walled city from the Triads. At that time the sympathies of

the Anglo-Saxons were with the insurgents. The governor of Hong-Kong, having just visited Nanking, had brought back most attractive reports of the friendly demeanour of the Taipings. Moreover, foreigners had free access to the walled city occupied by the Triads, and foreign missionaries could preach to large and attentive audiences there. Hence, when the imperialist forces encamped on the race-course, when they set up rifle-targets in such a position as to endanger the lives of foreigners, and when they allowed their own anti-foreign feeling to be occasionally translated into acts of violence on the part of individual "braves," the situation seemed to the British and the Americans to have become intolerable. The consuls of the aggrieved nationalities notified the Chinese general that he must remove his camp at once, and that failure to comply would be followed by an armed attack the same day. The Chinese commander-in-chief probably viewed this threat as a jest. Generals do not, at a few hours' notice, move encampments of several thousands



IN THE ENVIRONS OF SOOCHOW-FU

of soldiers posted in pursuance of a strategical purpose. He saw that to make good their menace the consuls could not muster more than a handful of mariners, together with, perhaps, a few merchant-soldiers and some civilian volunteers. However, the consuls marshalled their army of three hundred men, and rushed, as it seemed, to their destruction. But the Chinese made practically no resistance. It was not their cue to fight. A great issue depended on the course adopted by the Manchu general. He chose the right course for his government, though probably the wrong one in the interests of human progress—removed his troops from the race-course and placated his intrepid assailants.

THE CUSTOMS SERVICE

France was not the only power that found itself advantaged at the close of the seventeen months (September, 1853, to February, 1855) comprised in the Triads' tenure of Shanghai. Hers was a territorial gain which has never profited her materially. But England and America owed to the trouble two results, one of which proved of incalculable benefit to China herself, as well as

to every nation trading with her, and without the other Shanghai would have lacked the autonomic sentiment which has contributed materially to its well-being. A tentative scheme of municipal government had been drafted in 1845, but it proved quite inadequate to meet the requirements of the disturbed time in 1853, when tens of thousands of Chinese refugees sought shelter and security within the limits of the foreign settlement. The system was therefore largely extended, and, at the same time, the small foreign community undertook the duty of self-defence by forming a volunteer corps, which then and on many subsequent occasions contributed much to the security of the settlement. But the signal outcome of the crisis was the organisation of a customs service under foreign supervision. No one could have clearly foreseen that the

CHINESE TRADING-SHIP

customs officials would ultimately become China's diplomatic agents, fiscal and financial advisers, scientific assistants, and public advocates; that they would, in short, be far more to her than all the Jesuits had been. That remarkable development of functions was not a natural outcome of the system, but rather a most improbable consequence of the ability of the men attracted to its ranks. From the moment when a number of Europeans and Americans were permitted to become servants of China and to collect for her a principal part of her revenues under an arrangement conceived and proposed by foreign governments, from that moment her Manchu rulers might consider themselves taken under foreign guardianship. If the Peking statesmen themselves did not understand something of the incalculable advantages thus conferred on them, they must have been temporarily visited by a sudden lapse of habitual astuteness. The knell of the Taiping cause may truly be said to have sounded in 1854.*f*

THE COLLAPSE OF THE TAIPING REBELLION

The decade 1854–64 witnessed low-water mark in the political fortunes of the Manchu dynasty. In the northwest a Mohammedan rebellion broke out in the province of Kan-su. This was followed by a revolt of the whole of the central Asian tribes, which for two thousand years had more or less acknowledged the imperial sway. To add to these misfortunes, and even when they were at their height, the Chinese government embroiled itself in a foreign war. Redress being refused for long-standing grievances, a combined British and French expedition was sent to operate in the north. The emperor fled to Mongolia, Peking was surrendered, and terms of peace were dictated within the walls of the capital (October 24th, 1860).

This last calamity, which might have seemed to some the worst of all, was in reality the salvation of the country. The foreign powers had gone there for the sole purpose of establishing fair and equitable terms of trade—terms which would be just as advantageous to the people of China as to themselves. The treaty having once been made with the imperial government, it was their interest to uphold its authority, and to see a speedy end to the forces of anarchy and disorder. No sooner, therefore, had the war with China been finished than Great Britain and France proceeded to lend the Chinese active assistance. The services of General Gordon at this juncture are too well known to need further mention. With the first of his victories the tide began to turn, and from that time fortune smiled on the imperial arms. By degrees the Taiping rebellion was crushed; indeed, the movement had for some years been collapsing through internal decay, and with the fall of Nanking, in 1864, it finally disappeared. The next ten years (1864–74) witnessed a general revival of the strength of the empire.

THE ACCESSION OF KWANG SU

Kwang Su acceded to the throne in January, 1875. He was not then four years old, and his accession attracted little notice outside of China, as the supreme power continued to be vested in the two dowager empresses whose long regency had been only nominally determined in favour of the emperor Tung Chi when the latter attained his majority in 1873—the empress Tsu An, principal wife of the emperor Hsien Fung, and the empress Tsu Tsi, secondary wife of the same emperor, and mother of the emperor Tung Chi. The emperor Tung Chi succumbed to an ominously brief and mysterious illness. The dowager empresses solved the question of the succession by placing Kwang Su on the throne, a measure which was not only in itself arbitrary, but also in direct conflict with one of the most sacred of Chinese traditions. The solemn rites of ancestor-worship, incumbent on every Chinaman, and, above all, upon the emperor, can be properly performed only by a member of a younger generation than those whom it is his duty to honour. The emperor Kwang Su, being a son of Prince Chun, brother to the emperor Hsien Fung, and thus first cousin to the emperor Tung Chi, was not therefore qualified to offer up the customary sacrifices before the ancestral tablets of his predecessors. The accession of an infant in the place of Tung Chi achieved, however, for the time being what was doubtless the paramount object of the policy of the two empresses, namely, their undisturbed tenure of the regency, in which the junior empress Tsu Tsi, a woman of unquestionable ability and boundless ambition, had gradually become the predominant partner.

MURDER OF MR. MARGARY

The first question that occupied the attention of the government under the new reign nearly led to a war with Great Britain. The Indian government was desirous of seeing the old trade relations between Burma and the south-west provinces, which had been interrupted by the Yunnan rebellion, re-established, and for that purpose proposed to send a mission across the frontier into China. The Peking government assented and issued passports for the party. Mr. A. R. Margary, a young and promising member of the China consular service, was told off to accompany the expedition, which was under the command of Colonel Browne. Mr. Margary was treacherously murdered by Chinese, and almost simultaneously an attack was made on the expedition by armed forces wearing Chinese uniform (January, 1875). Colonel Browne with difficulty made his way back to Bhamo, and the expedition was abandoned.

Demands were made on the Peking government for a thorough inquiry on the spot in the presence of British officers. The Chinese reply was that the murder and the attack were alike the work of irresponsible savages. Enough evidence was collected on the Burma side to show that the orders for the attack emanated from the provincial government of Yunnan, if not from higher quarters. After infinite shuffling and delay an imperial commission was despatched to hold an inquiry. The trial proved an absolute farce. Eleven half-naked savages were produced as the culprits, and the only evidence tendered was such as had manifestly been manufactured for the purpose. The British officials protested and withdrew from the burlesque. The trial, however, proceeded, and the eleven hillmen were sentenced to death. With this it was hoped the British sense of justice would be satisfied. Sir Thomas Wade, then British minister at Peking, promptly declared that if this report were published or acted on he would at once haul down his flag, rightly deeming that such a reparation was a greater insult than the original offence.

Tedious negotiations followed, which more than once threatened to end in a rupture, but finally an arrangement was come to on the basis of guarantees for the future, rather than vengeance for the past. The arrangement was embodied in the Chefoo convention, dated September 13th, 1876. The terms of the settlement comprised: (1) a mission of apology from China to the British court; (2) the promulgation throughout the length and breadth of the empire of an imperial proclamation, setting out the right of foreigners to travel under passport, and the obligation of the authorities to protect them; and (3) the payment of an indemnity. The convention comprised besides a number of clauses which, though meant to improve commercial relations, were severely criticised by the mercantile communities. The stipulation most objected to was one by which the Chinese government were debarred from levying likin within the area of the foreign concessions, thereby implying, it was argued, the recognition of the right to levy it *ad libitum* elsewhere. Ratification of this article was refused by the British government, and additional articles were subsequently signed in London relative to the collection of likin on Indian opium and other matters.

IMPERIAL CONSOLIDATION

By degrees the emperor's authority was established from the confines of Kan-su to Kashgar and Yarkand, and Chinese garrisons were stationed in touch with the Russian outposts in the region of the Pamirs (December, 1877).

There remained only the northeastern province of Kuldja, occupied by Russia, but under a promise made in 1871 to restore it when China was in a position to maintain order. This promise Russia was now called upon to redeem. She showed no desire to comply with the request. China despatched Chung-how, a Manchu of the highest rank, who had been notoriously concerned in the Tientsin massacre of 1871, to St. Petersburg to negotiate a settlement. A document was signed (September, 1879), termed the Treaty of Livadia, whereby China recovered a considerable portion of the disputed territory, on her paying to Russia 5,000,000 rubles as the cost of occupation.

The treaty was, however, received with a storm of indignation in China. Li Hung Chang and Tso Tsung-tang took up the cry. Chung-how was placed under arrest as soon as he returned. Memorials poured in from all sides denouncing the treaty and its author. Foremost amongst these was one by Chang Chih-tung, then occupying a subordinate post in the Hanlin, and who afterwards became the most distinguished of the viceroys. Its publication raised him at once into eminence. Prince Chun, the emperor's father, came into prominence at this juncture as an advocate for war. Li Hung Chang, though he had been one of the first to raise the storm, became alarmed at the near prospect of war, for which he well knew China was unprepared. A visit from General Gordon, and the sound, though probably unpalatable, advice which he gave, weighed in the same direction. It was decided to send the Marquis Tseng, who in the mean time had become minister in London, to Russia to negotiate a new treaty. He avoided his predecessor's mistakes, and produced a treaty which, though not very materially different from the old, inasmuch as it still left Russia in possession of part of the Ili valley, was universally accepted. This was ratified August 19th, 1881.

THE TRIBUTARY STATES; KOREA AND JAPAN

The Chinese government could now contemplate with satisfaction the complete recovery of the whole extensive dominions which had at any time owned the imperial sway. The regions directly administered by the officers of the emperor extended from the borders of Siberia on the north to Annam and Burma on the south, and from the Pacific Ocean on the east to Kashgar and Yarkand on the west. But even that did not complete the tale, for outside these boundaries there was a fringe of tributary nations which still kept up the ancient forms of allegiance, and which more or less acknowledged the dominion of the central kingdom. Most of China's subsequent misfortunes have been in connection with one or other of these tributary states. The principal tributary nations then were Korea, Luchiu, Annam, Burma, and Nepal. The dynastic records enumerate several others, including even England, Lord Macartney's mission of 1793 having been gravely described as bringing tribute, but these were more or less accidental. The tie which bound these states to their suzerain was of the loosest description. China accepted their homage with calm superiority, but conceived herself to be under no reciprocal obligation.

Such was the attitude which China still maintained when foreign nations first began to come into contact with these tributary states. She did not recognise that the position of suzerain involved responsibilities as well as rights, and to this non-perception are to be attributed all the vagaries of her diplomacy and the complications in which she became involved. Korea was the first of the dependencies to come into notice. In 1866 some Roman

Catholic missionaries were murdered, and about the same time an American vessel was burned in one of the rivers and her crew murdered. China refused satisfaction, both to France and America, and suffered reprisals to be made on Korea without protest. America and Japan both desired to conclude commercial treaties for the opening up of Korea, and proposed to negotiate with China. China refused and referred them to the Korean government direct, saying she was not wont to interfere in the affairs of her vassal states. As a result Japan concluded a treaty in 1876, in which the independence of Korea was expressly recognised. This was allowed to pass without protest, but as other nations proceeded to conclude treaties on the same terms China began to perceive her mistake, and endeavoured to tack on to each a declaration by the king that he was in fact a tributary—a declaration, however, which was quietly ignored.

Japan was the only power with which controversy immediately arose. In 1882 a faction fight, which had long been smouldering, broke out, headed by the king's father, the Tai Won Kun, in the course of which the Japanese legation was attacked and the whole Japanese colony had to flee for their lives. China sent troops, and by adroitly kidnapping the Tai Won Kun, order was for a time restored. The Japanese legation was replaced, but under the protection of a strong body of Japanese troops. Further revolutions and riots followed, in which the troops of the two countries took sides, and there was imminent danger of war. To obviate this risk, it was agreed in 1885 between Count Ito and Li Hung Chang that both sides should withdraw their troops, the king being advised to engage officers of a third state to put his army on such a footing as would maintain order, and each undertook to give the other notice, should it be found necessary to send troops again. In this way a *modus vivendi* was established which lasted till the events which preceded the outbreak of war in 1894. Chinese influence continued predominant, but the unhappy kingdom was constantly disturbed by faction.

CONSTRUCTION IN THE INTERIOR

We can glance only briefly at the domestic affairs of China during the period 1875–82. The years 1877–78 were marked by a famine in Shansi and Shantung, which for duration and intensity has probably never been equalled. The Russian scare had taught the Chinese the value of telegraphs, and in 1881 the first line was laid from Tientsin to Shanghai. Further construction was continued without intermission from this date. A beginning also was made in naval affairs.

In 1881 the senior regent, the empress Tsu An, was carried off by a sudden attack of heart disease, and the empress Tsu Tsi remained in undivided possession of the supreme power during the remainder of the emperor Kwang Su's minority. Li Hung Chang, firmly established at Tientsin, within easy reach of the capital, as viceroy of the home province of Chih-li and superintendent of northern trade, enjoyed a large share of his imperial mistress's favour.

TONGKING AND HANOI

By a treaty made between France and Annam in 1874, the Red River, or Songkoi, was opened to trade together with the cities of Haiphong and Hanoi. The object of the French was then, as it is now, to find a trade route

to Yunnan and Szechuen from a base of their own, and it was hoped the Red River would furnish such a route. Tongking at the time, however, was infested with bands of pirates and cut-throats, conspicuous among them being an organisation called the Black Flags. The Annamese government undertook by the treaty to restore order, and France had promised help. Some years having passed without any improvement, France, which meanwhile had kept a small guard at Haiphong, sent reinforcements (1882), nominally to assist the Annamese troops in putting an end to disorder. The Annamese officials, however, declined to receive them as friends, opposed their progress, and the expedition took the form of a military occupation.

China meanwhile began to take alarm at the near approach of a strong military power to her southern frontier. When the treaty of 1874, which gave France trading privileges, was communicated to her, she seems to have treated it with indifference. Now, however, she began to protest, claiming that Annam was a vassal state and under her protection. France took no notice of the protest; she found, however, that she had undertaken a very serious task in trying to put down the forces of disorder in Tongking. The Black Flags were, it was believed, being aided by money and arms from China, and as time went on, her troops were more and more being confronted with regular Chinese soldiers.

Operations continued with more or less success during the winter and spring of 1883–84. Both sides, however, were desirous of an arrangement, and in May, 1884, a convention was signed between Li Hung Chang and a Captain Fournier, who had been commissioned *ad hoc*, whereby China agreed to withdraw her garrisons and to open her frontiers to trade, France agreeing, on her part, to respect the fiction of Chinese suzerainty, and guarantee the frontier from attack by brigands. The arrangement was satisfactory to both sides, but it was completely frustrated by a series of misunderstandings which led to a renewal of hostilities. The French fleet attacked and destroyed with impunity the forts which were built to guard the entrance to the Min River, and could offer no resistance to a force coming from the rear. After this exploit the French fleet left the mainland and continued its reprisals on the coast of Formosa. Keelung, a treaty port, was bombarded and taken, October 4th. A similar attempt, however, on the neighbouring port of Tamsui was unsuccessful. The fleet thereafter confined itself to a semi-blockade of the island, which was prolonged into 1885, but led to no practical results.

By way of bringing pressure on the Chinese government, the French at this time declared rice contraband of war, in order to stop the supplies going forward to the capital by sea. Even this, though raising an interesting point in international law, had no practical effect. Meanwhile the Chinese had been greatly emboldened by the successful defence of Tamsui, and the failure of the French to push home such successes as they had gained. Preparations on a great scale were made to continue the war. The new-born native press from this time forward began to count as a factor in the situation. Troops were massed on the frontier of Tongking, and the French forces which had pushed their way as far as the border were compelled by overwhelming masses of the enemy to fall back on their base in the delta of the river. Negotiations for peace, however, which had been for some time in progress through the mediation of Sir Robert Hart, were at this juncture happily concluded (April, 1885), and the French cabinet was thereby relieved from a very embarrassing situation. The terms were practically those of the Fournier convention of the year before, the demand for an indemnity having been quietly dropped.

The Moral Results of the Struggle

China, on the whole, came out of the struggle with greatly increased prestige. She had tried conclusions with a first-class European power and had held her own. Incorrect conclusions as to the military strength of China were consequently drawn, not merely by the Chinese themselves—which was excusable—but by European and even British authorities, who ought to have been better informed. China was lulled into a false security which proved disastrous when the day of trial came. A new department was created for the control of naval affairs, at the head of which was placed Prince Chun, father of the emperor, who since the downfall of Prince Kung in 1884 had been taking a more and more prominent part in public affairs. A tour made by Prince Chun in the spring of 1886, in the course of which he visited Port Arthur and Chifu, escorted by the fleet, attracted much attention, as being the first time that a prince so near the throne had emerged from palace seclusion and exchanged friendly visits with foreign admirals and other representatives.

ANTI-FOREIGN AGITATIONS

From 1885 to 1894 the political history of China does not call for extended notice. Two incidents, however, must be recorded, the first being the conclusion of a convention between Great Britain and China, in which the latter undertook to recognise British sovereignty in Burma, to delimit the frontier, and to promote overland trade intercourse between the two countries. Great Britain, on the other hand, consented to the continuance of the customary decennial tribute mission to be despatched by the "highest authority in Burma," the members, however, to be Burmese, and she also consented not to press a mission which the Indian government was proposing to send to Tibet and to which China had agreed. The recognition of Chinese suzerainty implied in the sending a tribute mission was sharply criticised, but in point of fact it has never been acted on and is now forgotten. The other incident was the temporary occupation of Port Hamilton by the British fleet (May, 1885). Rumours of Russian intrigues in Korea, coupled with recent proceedings in Afghanistan, made it appear desirable that Great Britain should have a naval base farther north than Hong-Kong. For this purpose a small group of islands at the southern point of the peninsula of Korea, forming the harbour known as Port Hamilton, was occupied. Objections, however, were raised by the Chinese government to their continued occupation, and Great Britain expressed her willingness to withdraw on receiving sufficient guarantees against their cession to any other power. A trilateral agreement was thereupon come to, by which Russia bound herself to China to respect the integrity of Korean territory, and Great Britain thereupon agreed to evacuate Port Hamilton, which was carried out in February, 1887.

In 1890 occurred an event which, though seemingly insignificant, marks a turning-point in Chinese history, *viz.*, the resignation of Admiral Lang from the command of the Chinese fleet. One of the lessons which the Chinese government seemed to have learned from the French war was the recognition of the value of a strong fleet. A really efficient squadron had been got together and put under the joint command of Admiral Ting and his British colleague Admiral Lang. By tact and judgment the latter had so far avoided directly raising the question of who was really chief. Order and discipline were well maintained, and both men and officers were steadily improving

in the knowledge of their profession. During a temporary absence of Admiral Ting, however, the Chinese second in command claimed the right to take charge—a claim which Admiral Lang naturally resented. The question was referred to Li Hung Chang, who decided against Admiral Lang, whereupon the latter, feeling that his authority to maintain discipline was gone, threw up his commission. His resignation was accepted, and he left, never to return. From this point the fleet on which so much depended began to deteriorate. What the dismissal of Admiral Lang cost her was soon to be proved in the fatal battle of the Yalu.

Meanwhile rumours of risings and rebellions were prevalent. In 1891 there was a series of violent anti-foreign outbreaks. Many missionary establishments in the interior were destroyed. The agitation, however, gradually died out and things reverted to the normal condition. There appeared even a prospect of considerable railway development—the leading officials having at last come round to the opinion that railways might be beneficial, at least for strategic purposes.

WAR WITH JAPAN

We pass on to 1894, a year which was fraught with momentous consequences to China, inasmuch as it witnessed the outbreak of the Japanese war. In the spring the state of Korea began to attract attention. A series of chronic rebellions had baffled the authorities, and help from China was asked for. China responded; Japan replied by sending troops also, nominally to guard her legation. The rebellion was stamped out, and then China proposed that both sides should withdraw. Japan made a counter proposal that both should join in imposing such reforms on Korea as would prevent a recurrence of these internal dissensions. This, in turn, China refused. Again Japan retorted, denying the alleged suzerainty, and intimating that whether China joined or not she proposed to prosecute her schemes of reform, and would keep her troops there until the necessary guarantees had been obtained for the security of her trade. At the same time categorical schemes of civil and military reform were laid before the Korean government, and the Japanese force in Seoul was largely increased. By the beginning of July she had over ten thousand men there. The Chinese government thereupon proceeded to send more troops to reinforce General Yeh, who was stationed at Asan, a short distance south of Seoul.

The first battle was fought at Asan on the 27th of July. The Japanese attack was repulsed, but the Chinese evacuated their position during the night and retreated northward. A series of desultory skirmishes followed, but the only real stand the Chinese made was at Pieng-an. The division under General Tso offered a stubborn resistance till their leader was killed, when they turned and fled. The defeat became a rout, and left the road to China open to the victorious Japanese. Two days afterwards, on the 17th of September, the naval engagement of Yalu was fought. The Chinese fleet was hopelessly outmanœuvred by the Japanese and lost heavily. Five vessels were sunk, burned, or driven ashore. Night coming on, the Japanese drew off, and the remainder of the Chinese squadron was allowed to seek shelter in Port Arthur. They did not venture to put to sea again, and were captured or destroyed in the harbour of Wei-hai-wei in February of the following year. On land the Japanese continued their progress, crossed the Yalu River, and entered Chinese territory on October 24th. City after city fell into their hands, and Newchwang, a treaty port, was occupied on March 4th.

[1894-1895 A.D.]

Meanwhile a second Japanese army had landed on the Liaotung peninsula, and captured the naval stronghold of Port Arthur on November 22nd. A third expedition was launched against Wei-hai-wei, where the Chinese fleet had now sought refuge. On February 12th, 1895, the fortress and fleet were surrendered. Admiral Ting and the general commanding committed suicide.

The Treaty of Shimonoseki; European Intervention

Further resistance was hopeless, and negotiations were opened for peace. After two abortive missions, which the Japanese refused as being unprovided with sufficient powers, Li Hung Chang was sent as plenipotentiary, and on April 17th, 1895, the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed. The terms included the cession of Liaotung peninsula, then in actual occupation by the Japanese troops, the cession of the island of Formosa, an indemnity of H. taels 200,000,000 (about £30,000,000), and various commercial privileges.

The signature of this treaty brought the European powers on the scene. It had been for some time the avowed ambition of Russia to obtain an ice-free port as an outlet to her Siberian possessions—an ambition which was considered by British statesmen as not unreasonable. It did not, therefore, at all suit her purposes to see the rising power of Japan seated along the gulf of Liaotung, and by implication commanding the whole of the coast-line of Korea. Even before proceeding to Shimonoseki, Li Hung Chang is believed to have received assurances from Russia that she would not allow any cession of territory in that region to become operative. At any rate, in the interval between the signature and the ratification of the treaty, invitations were addressed by Russia to the great powers to intervene with a view to its modification on the ground of the disturbance of the balance of power and the menace to China which the occupation of Port Arthur by the Japanese would involve. France and Germany accepted the invitation; Great Britain declined. In the end the three powers brought such pressure to bear on Japan that she gave up the whole of her continental acquisitions, retaining only the island of Formosa. The indemnity was on the other hand increased by H. taels 30,000,000.

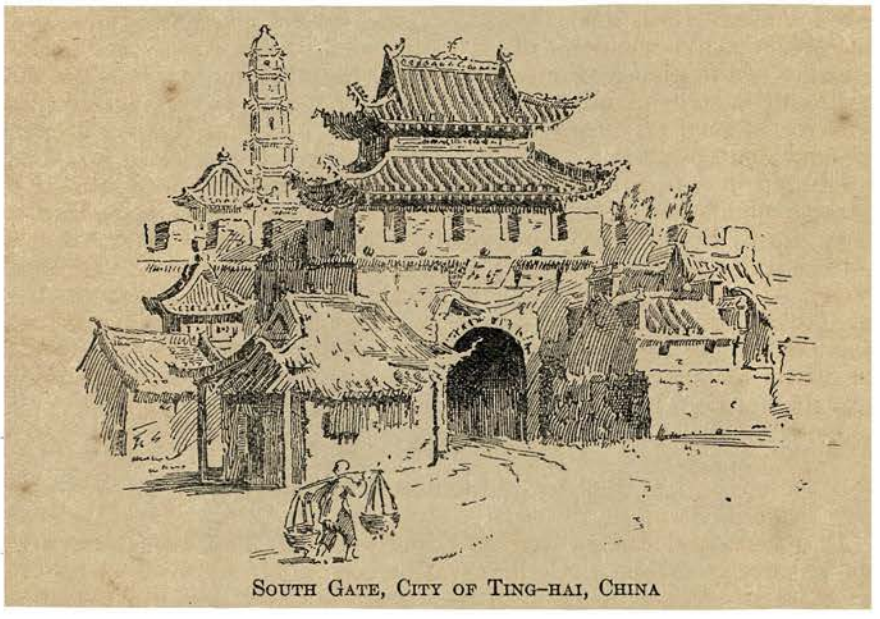
For the time the integrity of China seemed to be preserved, and Russia, France, and Germany could pose as her friends. Great Britain, who had taken no hand in the retrocession, was looked on with coldness, and China even bore her a grudge because she had not at an early period stepped in and put a stop to the war. Li Hung Chang, who had had his honours restored, was personally grateful to Russia for having extricated him from a very awkward position, and cherished the general grudge against England in an unusual degree, a state of mind of which Russia is believed to have taken full advantage during that statesman's sojourn at the Russian court as special representative of the Chinese emperor at the czar's coronation.

Ample evidence was indeed soon forthcoming that Russia and France had not been quite disinterested in rescuing Chinese territory from the Japanese grasp, for each began to claim a reward as evidence of the imperial gratitude. Russia obtained the right to carry the Siberian railway, which for the past four or five years she had been pressing on with eagerness, across Chinese territory from Stretenesk to Vladivostok, thus avoiding a long détour, besides giving a grasp on northern Manchuria. France obtained, by a convention dated June 20th, 1895, a rectification of frontier in the Mekong valley and certain railway and mining rights in Kiangsi and Yunnan. Both powers obtained concessions of land at Hankow for the purposes of a settle-

ment. Russia was said to have negotiated also a secret treaty, frequently described as the "Cassini Convention," but more probably signed by Li Hung Chang at Moscow, giving her the right in certain contingencies to Port Arthur, which was to be refortified with Russian assistance. And by way of further securing her hold, Russia guaranteed a four-per-cent. loan of £15,000,000 issued in Paris to enable China to pay off the first instalment of the Japanese indemnity.

MEKONG VALLEY DISPUTE

The convention between France and China of June 20th, 1895, brought China into sharp conflict with Great Britain, and gave rise to important negotiations. China, having by the Burma convention of 1886 agreed to



SOUTH GATE, CITY OF TING-HAI, CHINA

recognise British sovereignty over Burma, her quondam feudatory, also agreed to a delimitation of boundaries at the proper time. Effect was given to this last stipulation by a subsequent convention concluded in London (March 1st, 1894), which traced the boundary line from the Shan states on the west as far as the Mekong river on the east. In the Mekong valley there were two semi-independent native territories over which suzerainty had been claimed in times gone by both by the kings of Ava and by the Chinese emperors. These territories were named Meng Lun and Kiang Hung—the latter lying partly on one side and partly on the other of the Mekong river, south of the point where it issues from Chinese territory. The boundary line was so drawn as to leave both these territories to China, but in consideration of the fact that Great Britain was surrendering to China territory over which she might claim sovereignty as successor to the kings of Ava, and in respect of which sovereign rights had in point of fact been recently exercised, it was stipulated that China should not alienate any portion of these territories to any other power without the previous consent of Great Britain. The power contemplated, though not named, was France, who by a treaty with

[1895–1898 A.D.]

Siam, concluded in 1893, had pushed the boundary of her Annamese possessions up to the left bank of the Mekong, and it was desired to interpose this particular territory as a sort of buffer, so as to avoid any conflict of French and British interests in this remote and difficult region.

This object was frustrated by the convention between France and China of 1895. Yielding to French pressure, and regardless of the undertaking she had entered into with Great Britain, China so drew the boundary line as to cede to France that portion of the territory of Kiang Hung which lay on the left bank of the Mekong. Compensation was demanded from China for this breach of faith, and at the same time negotiations were entered into with France for the better determining of the interests of the two countries in Siam and the territories lying between Siam and the Chinese frontier. These resulted in a joint declaration by the governments of France and Great Britain, dated January 15th, 1896, by which it was agreed, as regards boundary, that the Mekong from the point of its confluence with the Nam Huok northwards as far as the Chinese frontier should be the dividing line between the possessions or spheres of influence of the two powers. It was agreed also that any commercial privileges obtained by either power in Yunnan or Szechuen should be open to the subjects of the other. The negotiations with China resulted in a further agreement, dated February 4th, 1897, whereby considerable modifications in favour of Great Britain were made in the Burma boundary drawn by the 1894 convention. The net result of these various conventions is that from the gulf of Tongking westwards, as far as the Mekong, the French Annamese possessions are coterminous with the southern frontier of China, and from the Mekong as far as the confines of Assam the British Burmese possessions are coterminous with the southwestern frontier. In the middle, where the possessions meet, the Mekong, from the frontier of China down to the northern boundary of Siam, is the dividing line.

KIAOCHOW, PORT ARTHUR, WEI-HAI-WEI

While Russia and France were profiting by what they were pleased to call the generosity of China, Germany alone had so far received no reward for her share in compelling the retrocession of Liaotung; but in November, 1897, she proceeded to help herself by seizing the bay of Kiaochow in the province of Shantung. The act was done ostensibly in order to compel satisfaction for the murder of two German missionaries, but it soon was found that she was determined to hold the place in any event. A cession was ultimately made by way of a lease for a term of ninety-nine years—Germany to have full territorial jurisdiction during the continuance of the lease, with liberty to erect fortifications, build docks, and exercise all the rights of sovereignty.

In December the Russian fleet was sent to winter in Port Arthur, and though this was at first described as a temporary measure, its object was speedily disclosed by a request made in January, 1898, by the Russian ambassador in London, that two British cruisers, then also anchored at Port Arthur, should be withdrawn "in order to avoid friction in the Russian sphere of influence." They left shortly afterwards, and their departure in the circumstances was regarded as a blow to Great Britain's prestige in the Far East. In March the Russian government peremptorily demanded a lease of Port Arthur and the adjoining anchorage of Ta-lien-wan—a demand which China could not resist without foreign support. After an acrimonious corre-

spondence with the Russian government Great Britain acquiesced in the *fait accompli*. The Russian occupation of Port Arthur was immediately followed by a concession to build a line of railway from that point northwards to connect with the Siberian trunk line in north Manchuria. As a counterpoise to the growth of Russian influence in the north, Great Britain obtained a lease of Wei-hai-wei, and formally took possession of it on its evacuation by the Japanese troops in May, 1898.

"OPEN DOOR" AND "SPHERES OF INFLUENCE"

After much hesitation the Chinese government had at last resolved to permit the construction of railways with foreign capital. A keen competition thereupon ensued between syndicates of different nationalities. Germany had insisted upon obtaining as part of the Kiaochow settlement certain preferential railway and mining rights in the province of Shantung. France had previously obtained a similar recognition for the southern provinces of Kwangsi and Yunnan, and Russia indicated clearly that she considered Manchuria as her particular field of exploitation. Great Britain, though intimating her preference for the "open door" policy, yet found herself compelled to fall in with the general movement towards what became known as the "spheres of influence" policy, and claimed the Yangtse valley as her particular sphere. This she did by the somewhat negative method of obtaining from the Chinese government a declaration that no part of the Yangtse valley should be alienated to any foreign power.

A more formal recognition of the claim, as far as railway enterprise was concerned, was embodied in an agreement (April 28th, 1899) between Great Britain and Russia, and communicated to the Chinese government, whereby the Russian government agreed not to seek for any concessions within the Yangtse valley, including all the provinces bordering on the great river, together with Chekiang and Honan, the British government entering into a similar undertaking in regard to the Chinese dominions north of the Great Wall. (A supplementary exchange of notes of the same date excepted from the scope of this agreement the Shan-hai-kwan-Newchwang extension, which had already been conceded to the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Bank.) A similar promise of non-alienation in respect of the province of Fuhkien was made to the Japanese government (April, 1898), which thus ear-marked that province as the Japanese sphere.

As a general partition seemed thus to be in progress, the Italian government stepped in and applied for a lease of a coaling station at Sanmun, on the coast of Chekiang, together with a grant of railway and mining rights in that province. The manner in which the request was put forward gave offence to the yamen, and a blunt refusal was returned. The incident gave rise to much feeling both in Peking and Rome. The Italian minister was recalled, but his successor fared no better. China, apprehending a repetition of the Kiaochow incident, sent orders to the local troops to resist a landing if such should be attempted on the part of the Italian men-of-war. No landing, however, was attempted, and though negotiations were continued the demand has not been further pressed.

In 1899 Talienwan and Kiaochow were respectively thrown open by Russia and Germany to foreign trade, and, encouraged by these measures, the United States government initiated in September of the same year a correspondence with the great European powers and Japan, with a view to

securing their definite adhesion to the "open door" policy. The British government gave an unqualified approval to the American proposal, and the replies of the other powers, though more guarded, were accepted at Washington as satisfactory.

A further and more definite step towards securing the maintenance of the "open door" in China was the agreement concluded in October, 1900, between the British and German governments. The signatories, by the first two articles, agreed to endeavour to keep the ports on the rivers and littoral free and open to international trade and economic activity, and to uphold this rule for all Chinese territory as far as (*wo* in the German counterpart) they could exercise influence; not to use the existing complications to obtain territorial advantages in Chinese dominions, and to seek to maintain undiminished the territorial condition of the Chinese Empire. By a third article they reserved their right to come to a preliminary understanding for the protection of their interests in China, should any other power use those complications to obtain such territorial advantages under any form whatever. On the submission of the agreement under the fourth and last article to the powers interested, Austria, France, Italy, and Japan accepted its principles without express reservation—Japan first requesting and obtaining assurances that she signed on the same footing as an original signatory. The United States accepted the first two articles, but expressed no opinion on the third. Russia construed the first as limited to ports actually open in regions where the two signatories exercise "their" influence, and favourably entertained it in that sense, ignoring the reference to other forms of economic activity. She fully accepted the second, and observed that in the contingency contemplated by the third she would modify her attitude according to circumstances.

Meanwhile negotiations carried on by the British minister at Peking during 1898 resulted in the grant of very important privileges to foreign commerce. The payment of the second instalment of the Japanese indemnity was becoming due, and it was much discussed how and on what terms China would be able to raise the amount. The Russian government, as has been stated, had made China a loan of the sum required for the first portion of the indemnity, *viz.*, £15,000,000, taking a charge on the customs revenue as security. The British government was urged to make a like loan of £16,000,000 both as a matter of friendship to China and as a counterpoise to the Russian influence. An arrangement was come to accordingly, on very favourable terms financially to the Chinese, but at the last moment they drew back, being overawed, as they said, from further action, by the threatening attitude of Russia.

Taking advantage of the position which this refusal gave him, the British minister obtained from the Tsung-li-Yamen, besides the declaration as to the non-alienation of the Yangtse valley above mentioned, an undertaking to throw the whole of the inland waterways open to steam traffic. The Chinese government at the same time undertook that the post of inspector-general of customs should always be held by an Englishman so long as the trade of Great Britain was greater than that of any other nation. Minor concessions were also made, such as the opening of new ports, but the opening of the waterways is by far the greatest advance that has been made since 1860. The privilege is hampered as yet by the obstruction of the likin service, but as the Chinese have applied for a general revision of the treaty tariffs it may be presumed that the occasion will be used to put the inland revenue tariff on a more satisfactory footing.

RAILWAY CONCESSIONS

The Chinese government had been generally disposed to railway construction since the conclusion of the Japanese war, but hoped to be able to retain the control in their own hands. The masterful methods of Russia and Germany had obliged them to surrender this control so far as concerned Manchuria and Shantung, the lines in which were left to be financed and worked by the powers interested. In the Yangtse valley, Sheng, the director-general of railways, had been negotiating with several competing syndicates, playing one off against the other to force better terms. One of these was a Franco-Belgian syndicate, which was endeavouring to obtain the trunk line from Hankow to Peking. A British company was tendering for the same work, and as the line lay mainly within the British sphere it was considered not unreasonable to expect it should be given to the latter. At a critical moment, however, the French and Russian ministers intervened, and practically forced the yamen to grant a contract in favour of the Franco-Belgian company. The yamen had only a few days before explicitly promised the British minister that the contract should not be ratified without his having an opportunity of seeing it.

As a penalty for this breach of faith, and as a set-off to the Franco-Belgian line, the British minister required the immediate grant of all the railway concessions for which British syndicates were then negotiating, and on terms not inferior to those granted to the Belgian line. In this way all the lines in the lower Yangtse, as also the Shansi Mining Companies' lines, were secured. A contract for a trunk line from Canton to Hankow was negotiated in the latter part of the same year (1898) by an American company, which completed the list for the time being.

THE REFORM MOVEMENT

There can indeed be little doubt that the powers, engrossed in the diplomatic conflicts of which Peking was the centre, had entirely underrated the reactionary forces gradually mustering for a final struggle against the aggressive spirit of western civilisation. The lamentable consequences of administrative corruption and incompetence, and the superiority of foreign methods which had been amply illustrated by the Japanese war, had at first produced a considerable impression not only upon the more enlightened commercial classes, but even upon many of the younger members of the official classes in China. The dowager-empress, who, in spite of the emperor Kwang Su having nominally attained his majority, had retained practical control of the supreme power until the conflict with Japan, had been held, not unjustly, to blame for the disasters of the war, and even before its conclusion the young emperor was adjured by some of the most responsible among his own subjects to shake himself free from the baneful restraint of "petticoat government," and himself take the helm.

In the following years a reform movement, undoubtedly genuine, though opinions differ as to the value of the popular support which it claimed, spread throughout the central and southern provinces of the empire. One of the most significant symptoms was the relatively large demand which suddenly arose for the translations of foreign works and similar publications in the Chinese language which philanthropic societies had been trying for some time

[1898 A.D.]

past to popularise, though hitherto with scant success. Chinese newspapers published in the treaty ports spread the ferment of new ideas far into the interior. Fifteen hundred young men of good family applied to enter the foreign university at Peking, and in some of the provincial towns the Chinese themselves subscribed towards the opening of foreign schools. Reform societies, which not infrequently enjoyed official countenance, sprang up in many of the large towns, and found numerous adherents amongst the younger *literati*.

Early in 1898 the emperor, who had gradually emancipated himself from the dowager-empress's control, summoned several of the reform leaders to Peking, and requested their advice with regard to the progressive measures which should be introduced into the government of the empire. Chief amongst these reformers was Kang Yu-wei, a Cantonese, whose scholarly attainments, combined with novel teachings, earned for him from his followers the title of the "modern sage." Of his more or less active sympathisers who had subsequently to suffer with him in the cause of reform, the most prominent was Chang Yin-huan a member of the grand council and of the Tsung-li-Yamen, who had represented his sovereign at Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1897.

The Reform Edicts

It soon became evident that there was no more enthusiastic advocate of the new ideas than the emperor himself. Within a few months the vermilion pencil gave the imperial sanction to a succession of edicts which, had they been carried into effect, would have amounted to a revolution as far-reaching as that which had transformed Japan thirty years previously. The fossilised system of examinations for the public service was to be altogether superseded by a new schedule based on foreign learning, for the better promotion of which a number of temples were to be converted into schools for western education; a state department was to be created for the translation and dissemination of the standard works of western literature and science; even the scions of the ruling Manchu race were to be compelled to study foreign languages and travel abroad; and last, but not least, all useless offices both in Peking and in the provinces were to be abolished. A further edict was reported to be in contemplation, doing away with the *queue*, or pig-tail, which, originally imposed upon the Chinese by their Manchu conquerors as a badge of subjection, had gradually become the most characteristic and most cherished feature of the national dress.

Had China possessed a governing class imbued with similar enlightened patriotism to that which induced the Japanese daimios in 1869 to sacrifice their feudal rights in the interests of national regeneration, even the crude series of imperial edicts drawn up by Kang Yu-wei might have proved the starting-point of a new era. But the bureaucracy of China, which had battened for centuries on corruption and ignorance, had no taste for self-sacrifice. Other vested interests felt themselves equally threatened. The priests, whose temples were to be alienated; the military mandarins, who were led to believe that the army was going to be handed over to foreign instructors; and, above all, the imperial clansmen and bannermen, the eunuchs, and other hangers-on of the palace, whose existence was bound up with all the worst traditions of oriental misgovernment, were all equally alarmed, and behind them stood the whole latent force of popular superstition and an unreasoning and blind conservatism.

THE COUP D'ÉTAT

The dowager-empress saw her opportunity. The Summer Palace, to which she had retired, had been for some time the centre of resistance to the new movement, and in the middle of September, 1898, a report became current that, in order to put an end to the obstruction which hampered his reform policy, the emperor intended to seize the person of the dowager-empress and have her deported into the interior. Some colour was given to this report by an official announcement that the emperor would hold a review of the foreign-drilled troops at Tientsin, and had summoned Yuan Shih-kai, their general, to Peking in order to confer with him on the necessary arrangements. But the reformers had neglected to secure the goodwill of the army, which was still entirely in the hands of the reactionaries.

During the night of the 20th of September the palace of the emperor was occupied by the soldiers, and on the following day Kwang Su, who was henceforth virtually a prisoner in the hands of the empress, was made to issue an edict restoring her regency. Kang Yu-wei, warned at the last moment by an urgent message from the emperor, succeeded in escaping, but many of the most prominent reformers were arrested, and six of them were promptly executed. The *Peking Gazette* announced a few days later that the emperor himself was dangerously ill, and his life might well have been despaired of had not the British minister represented in very emphatic terms the serious consequences which might ensue if anything happened to him. Drastic measures were, however, adopted to stamp out the reform movement in the provinces as well as in the capital. The reform edicts were cancelled, the reformers' associations were dissolved, their newspapers suppressed, and those who did not care to save themselves by a hasty recantation of their errors were imprisoned or proscribed. In October the reaction had already been accompanied by such a recrudescence of anti-foreign feeling that the foreign ministers at Peking had to bring up guards from the fleet for the protection of the legations, and to demand the removal from the capital of the disorderly Kansu soldiery which subsequently played so sinister a part in the troubles of June, 1900. But the unpleasant impression produced by these incidents was in a great measure removed by the demonstrative reception which the empress Tsu Tsi gave on October 15th to the wives of the foreign representatives—an international act of courtesy unprecedented in the annals of the Chinese court.

Manchu Ascendency

One of the most significant features of the *coup d'état* of 1898 was the decisive part played in it by the Manchus, whose ascendency in the councils of the dowager-empress became more and more marked. Manchus were substituted for Chinamen in many of the higher offices of the state, and even Li Hung Chang's position was shaken. Though he was the only prominent Chinese statesman who had actively supported the empress, he was temporarily removed from the capital, under pretext of a special mission to inspect the course of the Yellow River in Shantung. The reactionary tide continued to rise throughout the year 1899, but it did not appear materially to affect the foreign relations of China.

On January 24th, 1900, the *Peking Gazette* published an imperial edict appointing as heir-presumptive to the throne Pu Chün, a son of Prince Tuan (himself son to Prince Tun and grandson to the emperor Tao-kwang), which

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was generally regarded in China as a preliminary step to the formal deposition of the emperor Kwang Su. Influential memorials from Chinese officials deprecating any such measure would seem to have deterred the empress from following up her original intention, but the choice of two rabid anti-foreign officials as tutors to Pu Chün, together with the prestige conferred upon Prince Tuan, one of the most reactionary of the Manchu princes, afforded a startling indication of the spirit which already prevailed in court circles.

THE BOXER MOVEMENT

A few weeks earlier the brutal murder of Mr. Brooks, an English missionary, in Shantung, had compelled attention to a popular movement which had been spreading rapidly throughout that province and the adjoining one of Chih-li with the connivance of certain high officials, if not under their direct patronage. The origin of the "Boxer" movement is obscure. Its name is derived from a literal translation of the Chinese designation, "The fist of righteous harmony." Like the kindred "Big Sword" society, it appears to have been in the first instance a secret association of malcontents chiefly drawn from the lower classes.

The Tsing dynasty was reaching what would seem to be the allotted span of Chinese dynasties. Whether the empress Tsu Tsi and her Manchu advisers had deliberately set themselves from the beginning to avert the danger by deflecting what might have been a revolutionary movement into anti-foreign channels, or whether with oriental heedlessness they had allowed it to grow until they were powerless to control it, they had unquestionably resolved to take it under their protection before the foreign representatives at Peking had realised its gravity. The outrages upon native Christians and the threats against foreigners generally went on increasing. The Boxers openly displayed on their banners the device: "Exterminate the foreigners and save the dynasty," yet the representatives of the powers were unable to obtain any effective measures against the so-called "rebels," or even a definite condemnation of their methods.

Diplomacy at Bay

Four months (January–April, 1900) were spent in futile interviews with the Tsung-li-Yamen. In May a number of Christian villages were destroyed and native converts massacred in the neighbourhood of the capital, and Favier, the venerable head of the Roman Catholic missions in China, described the situation as the gravest within his long memory. On the 2nd of June two English missionaries, Mr. Robinson and Mr. Norman, were murdered at Yung Ching, forty miles from Peking. The whole country was overrun with bands of Boxers, who tore up the railway and set fire to the stations at different points on the Peking-Tientsin line. Fortunately a mixed body of marines and blue-jackets of various nationalities had reached Peking on June 1st, for the protection of the legations. The whole city was in a state of turmoil. Prince Tuan and the Manchus generally, together with the Kansu soldiery under the notorious Tung-fu-hsiang, openly sided with the Boxers. The European residents and a large number of native converts took refuge in the British legation, where preparations were hastily made on all sides in view of a threatened attack. On the 11th the chancellor of the Japanese legation was murdered by Chinese soldiers.

On the night of the 13th most of the foreign buildings, churches, and mission houses in the eastern part of the Tatar city were pillaged and burned and hundreds of native Christians massacred. The work of destruction continued for days unchecked by any Chinese authority, and on June 20th the German minister, Baron von Ketteler, was murdered, and there is little doubt that the same fate had been prepared for all the other foreign representatives, who were expected to visit the yamen, as negotiations were proceeding with regard to a summons sent to them on the previous day to leave Peking within twenty-four hours. At 4 P.M. on the afternoon of the 20th the Chinese troops opened fire upon the legations, and the eight weeks' siege began which will remain memorable in history as one of the most splendid instances of what the heroism and intelligence of a handful of Europeans can achieve against Asiatic hordes.

The Action of the Powers

Meanwhile Peking had been completely cut off since the 14th from all communication with the outside world, and naval and military forces were being hurried up by all the powers to the gulf of Pechili. On June 10th Admiral Seymour had already left Tientsin with a mixed force of two thousand British, Russian, French, Germans, Austrians, Italians, Americans, and Japanese to repair the railway and restore communication with Peking. But his expedition met with unexpectedly severe resistance. Great anxiety prevailed for some days as to its fate, and no definite tidings of its whereabouts were received until it had fought its way back to within a day's march of Tientsin. When it reached Tientsin again on June 26th the British contingent of nine hundred and fifteen men had alone lost one hundred and twenty-four killed and wounded out of a total casualty list of sixty-two killed and two hundred and eighteen wounded.

The Chinese had in the mean time made a determined attack upon the foreign settlements at Tientsin, and communication between the city and the sea being also threatened, the allied admirals had demanded on the 16th the surrender of the Taku forts at the mouth of the Pei-ho. The Chinese replied to the ultimatum by opening fire with great vigour during the following night, whereupon a flotilla of British, French, German, Japanese, and Russian gunboats bombarded the forts, which were captured by landing parties early on the 17th. The situation at Tientsin, nevertheless, continued precarious, and it was not till the arrival of considerable reinforcements that the troops of the allied powers were able to assume the offensive, taking the native city by storm on July 14th, at a cost, however, of over seven hundred killed and wounded. Even in this emergency international jealousy had grievously delayed the necessary concentration of forces. Three British brigades were ordered up from India, a few French colonial regiments were sent on from Saigon, the Americans detached a body of troops from the Philippines, the Russians despatched a brigade from Port Arthur, though their military resources were severely taxed by the simultaneous outbreak of hostilities in Manchuria, and preparations were made in Germany, France, and Italy to send out fresh contingents, the German force alone numbering over twenty thousand men.

But the situation required immediate action. No power was so favourably situated to take such action as Japan, and the British government, who had strongly urged her to act speedily and energetically, undertook at her request to sound the other powers with regard to her intervention. No definite objec-

tion was raised, but the replies of Germany and Russia barely disguised their ill-humour. Great Britain herself went so far as to offer Japan the assistance of the British treasury, in case financial difficulties stood in the way, but on the same day on which this proposal was telegraphed to Tokio (July 6th) the Japanese government had decided to embark forthwith the two divisions which it had already mobilised. By the beginning of August one of the Indian brigades had also reached Tientsin, together with smaller reinforcements sent by the other powers, and thanks chiefly to the energetic counsels of the British commander, General Sir Alfred Gaselee, a relief column, numbering twenty. thousand men, at last set out for Peking on August 4th, a British naval brigade having started up river the previous afternoon. It arrived within striking distance of Peking on the evening of the 13th. The Russians tried to steal a march upon the allies during the night, but were checked at the walls and suffered heavy losses. The Japanese attacked another point of the walls the next morning, but met with fierce opposition, whilst the Americans were delayed by getting entangled in the Russian line of advance. The British contingent was more fortunate, and, skilfully guided to an unguarded water-gate, General Gaselee and a party of Sikhs were the first to force their way with trifling loss through to the British legation. About 2 P.M. on the afternoon of August 14th the long siege was raised.

The Siege of the Legations

For nearly six weeks after the first interruption of communications no news reached the outside world from Peking except a few belated messages, smuggled through the Chinese lines by native runners, urging the imperative necessity of prompt relief. During the greater part of that period the foreign quarter was subjected to heavy rifle and artillery fire, and the continuous fighting at close quarters with the hordes of Chinese regulars, as well as Boxers, decimated the scanty ranks of the defenders. The supply of both ammunition and food was slender. But the heroism displayed by civilians and professional combatants alike was inexhaustible. Some of the legations were totally or partially destroyed. In their anxiety to burn out the British legation, the Chinese did not hesitate to set fire to the adjoining buildings of the hanlin, the ancient seat of Chinese classical learning and the storehouse of priceless literary treasures and state archives. The *fu*, or palace, of Prince Su, separated only by a canal from the British legation, formed the centre of the international position, and was held with indomitable valour by a small Japanese force under Colonel Sheba, assisted by a few Italian marines and volunteers of other nationalities and a number of Christian Chinese. The French legation on the extreme right and the section of the city wall held chiefly by Germans and Americans were also points of vital importance which had to bear the brunt of the Chinese attack.

Little is known as to what passed in the councils of the Chinese court during the siege. But there is reason to believe that throughout that period grave divergencies of opinion existed amongst the highest officials. The attack upon the legations appears to have received the sanction of the dowager-empress, acting upon the advice of Prince Tuan and the extreme Manchu party, at a grand council held during the night of June 18th–19th, upon receipt of the news of the capture of the Taku forts by the international forces. The emperor himself, as well as Prince Ching and a few other influential mandarins, strongly protested against the empress's decision, but it was acclaimed by the

vast majority of those present. The moderate party was probably not in a position to do more than act as a drag upon the more violent faction. Three members of the tsung-li-yamen were publicly executed for attempting to modify the terms of an imperial edict ordering the massacre of all foreigners throughout the provinces, and most of the Manchu nobles and high officials, and the eunuchs of the palace, who have played an important part in Chinese politics throughout the dowager-empress's tenure of power, were heart and soul with the Boxers. But it was noted by the defenders of the legations that Prince Ching's troops seldom took part, or only in a half-hearted way, in the fighting, which was chiefly conducted by Tung-fu-hsiang's soldiers and the Boxer levies. The modern artillery which the Chinese possessed was only spasmodically brought into play. Nor did any of the attacking parties ever show the fearlessness and determination which the Chinese had somewhat unexpectedly displayed on several occasions during the fighting at and around Tientsin.

Nevertheless, the position of the defenders at the end of the first four weeks of the siege had grown well-nigh desperate. Suddenly, just when things were looking blackest, on the 17th of July the Chinese ceased firing, and a sort of informal armistice secured a period of respite for the beleaguered Europeans. The capture of the native city of Tientsin by the allied forces had shaken the self-confidence of the Chinese authorities, who had hitherto not only countenanced but themselves directed the hostilities. By a curious coincidence, it was just at the time when the besiegers were relaxing their efforts that the intense anxiety of the civilised world with regard to the fate of the besieged reached its culminating point. Circumstantial accounts of the fall of the legations and the massacre of their inmates were circulated in Shanghai and telegraphed to Europe, and coupled with the despairing tone of the few messages which had been smuggled out of Peking in June—more especially Sir Robert Hart's message of June 24th—and with the admissions made by Chinese provincial officials, these reports found general credence. It was not till the following week that an authentic message received through the Chinese legation at Washington proved these fears to be premature.

Desultory fighting continued, and grave fears were entertained that the approach of the relief column would prove the signal for a desperate attempt to rush the legations before effectual assistance could reach them. The attempt was made, but failed. The relief, however, came not a day too soon. Of the small band of defenders, which, including civilian volunteers, had never mustered five hundred, sixty-five had been killed and one hundred and thirty-one wounded. Ammunition and provisions were almost at an end. Even more desperate was the situation at the Pei-tang, the Roman Catholic northern cathedral and mission house, where, with the help of a small body of French and Italian marines, Favier had organised an independent centre of resistance for his community of over three thousand souls. Their rations were absolutely exhausted when, on August 15th, a relief party was despatched to their assistance from the legations.

The ruin wrought in Peking during the two months' fighting was appalling. Apart from the wholesale destruction of foreign property in the Tatar city, and of Chinese as well as European buildings in the vicinity of the legations, the wealthiest part of the Chinese city had been laid in ashes. The retribution which overtook Peking after its capture by the international forces was terrible. Order was, however, gradually restored, first in the Japanese and then in the British and American quarters, though several months elapsed before there was any real revival of native confidence.

The Flight of the Chinese Court

So unexpected had been the rapid and victorious advance of the allies that the dowager-empress with the emperor and the rest of the court did not actually leave Peking until the day after the legations had been relieved. But the northern and western portions of the Tatar city had not yet been occupied, and the fugitives made good their escape on the afternoon of the 15th in the direction of the Western Hills. When the allies some days later marched through the Forbidden City, they found only a few eunuchs and subordinate officials in charge of the imperial apartments.

At the end of September Field-Marshal Count von Waldersee, with a German expeditionary force of over twenty thousand men, arrived to assume the supreme command conferred upon him with the more or less willing assent of the other powers. As a matter of fact, his authority was never practically recognised by either the French or the American commanders, and was only effectively exercised over the British and the small Italian and Austrian contingents. A large portion of the Japanese troops was shipped back to Japan soon after the relief of the legations, and the bulk of the Russian forces was withdrawn into Manchuria. There were indeed no longer any important military operations to be carried out. After a few punitive expeditions had been sent to Paoting-fu and other districts in the neighbourhood of Peking, where exceptionally brutal outrages had been committed during the summer, the duties of the foreign troops were henceforth chiefly in the nature of police work. The Germans arrived too late to take any part in the relief of Peking. The removal by the Germans of the ancient astronomical instruments from Peking was condemned even in the German press as an act of unjustifiable vandalism. Towards the end of February, 1901, preparations were made at the German headquarters for an extensive forward movement in the direction of Singanfu, but it was ultimately abandoned, owing to the refusal of the other powers, and more especially of Great Britain and Japan, to countenance such an adventurous enterprise.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Great anxiety prevailed as to the effect of the flight of the Chinese court in other parts of the empire. The anti-foreign movement had not spread much beyond the northern provinces, in which it had had the open support of the throne and of the highest provincial officials. But amongst British and Americans alone, over two hundred defenceless foreigners had fallen victims to the treachery of high-placed mandarins. The Roman Catholic missionaries and communities throughout the north had met, or been threatened, with the same fate, and sporadic outbreaks such as that which had occurred at Su-chan, south of the Yangtse, showed that there were explosive materials scattered all over the empire. In the Yangtse valley order had been maintained by the energy of the viceroys of Nanking and Wu-chang, who had acted throughout the critical period in loyal co-operation with the British consuls and naval commanders. After some hesitation, an Indian brigade, followed by French, German, and Japanese contingents, had been landed at Shanghai for the protection of the settlements, and though the viceroy, Liu Kun-yi, had welcomed British support, and even invited the joint occupation of the Yangtse forts by British and Chinese troops, the appearance of other European forces in the Yangtse valley was viewed with great suspicion. In the south

there were serious symptoms of unrest, especially after Li Hung Chang had left Canton for the north, in obedience, as he alleged at the time, to an imperial edict which, there is reason to believe, he invented for the occasion.

The Chinese court, after one or two intermediate halts, had retired to Singan-fu, one of the ancient capitals of the empire, situated in the inaccessible province of Shen-si. The influence of the ultra-reactionaries, headed by Prince Tuan and General Tung-fu-hsiang, still dominated its councils, although edicts, illusory if genuine, were from time to time stated to have been issued for the punishment of some of the leading officials concerned in the anti-foreign outrages, and credentials were sent to Prince Ching and to Li Hung Chang, who, after waiting for some weeks upon events at Shanghai, had proceeded to Peking, authorising them to treat with the powers for the re-establishment of friendly relations.

THE ANGLO-GERMAN AGREEMENT

On October 16th the Anglo-German agreement was signed. Germany would seem to have been chiefly actuated by the desire to forestall any isolated action on the part of Great Britain in the Yangtse valley. The German government a few months later openly denied that the agreement applied to Manchuria, in spite of the contrary opinion entertained by the British government. It has given Germany a claim to a footing in the Yangtse valley which it is difficult to reconcile with the policy propounded by British ministers when they published the Yangtse "assurance," obtained in 1898 from the tsung-li-yamen. In one of his statements to the Reichstag, the imperial chancellor referred to the Anglo-German agreement as "the Yangtse agreement," and that designation has ever since been universally adopted in Germany.

The Negotiations

The conferences held between the foreign ministers in the Chinese capital had constantly to be supplemented by references to their governments and by prolonged correspondence between the different cabinets. While for various reasons Russia, Japan, and the United States were inclined to treat China with great indulgence, Germany insisted upon the signal punishment of the guilty officials, and in this she had the support not only of the other members of the Triple Alliance, whose interests in China were only of secondary importance, but also of Great Britain, and to some extent even of France, the protector of the Roman Catholic church in the eastern countries.

It was not until after months of laborious negotiations that an agreement was finally arrived at with regard to the general tenor of the demands to be formally made upon the Chinese government. They were embodied in a joint note signed by all the foreign ministers on December 20th and 21st, 1900. The preamble announced that the allied powers consented to accede to China's petition for peace on "irrevocable conditions" therein stated. These were substantially as follows: Honourable reparation for the murder of Baron von Ketteler and of M. Sugiyama was to be made in a specified form, and expiatory monuments were to be erected in cemeteries where foreign tombs had been desecrated. "The most severe punishment befitting their crimes" was to be inflicted on the personages designated by the decree of September 21st, and also upon others to be designated later by the foreign ministers, and the official examinations were to be suspended in the cities where foreigners had been

murdered or ill-treated. An equitable indemnity, guaranteed by financial measures acceptable to the powers, was to be paid to states, societies, and individuals, including Chinese who had suffered because of their employment by foreigners, but not including Chinese Christians who had suffered only on account of their faith. The importation or manufacture of arms or *matériel* was to be forbidden; permanent legation guards were to be maintained at Peking, and the diplomatic quarter was to be fortified, while communication with the sea was to be secured by a foreign military occupation of the strategic points and by the demolition of the Chinese forts, including the Taku forts, between the capital and the coast. Proclamations were to be posted throughout China for two years, threatening death to the members of anti-foreign societies, and recording the punishment of the ringleaders in the late outrages; and the viceroys, governors, and provincial officials were to be declared by imperial edict responsible, on pain of immediate dismissal and perpetual disability to hold office, for anti-foreign outbreaks or violations of treaty within their jurisdictions. China was to facilitate commercial relations by negotiating a revision of the commercial treaties. The tsung-li-yamen was to be reformed, and the ceremonial for the reception of foreign ministers modified as the powers should demand. Compliance with these terms was declared to be a condition precedent to the arrangement of a time limit to the occupation of Peking and of the provinces by foreign troops.

The Manchurian Convention

Under instructions from the court, the Chinese plenipotentiaries affixed their signatures on January 14th, 1901, to a protocol, by which China pledged herself to accept these terms in principle, and the conference of ministers then proceeded to discuss the definite form in which compliance with them was to be exacted. No attempt was made to raise the question of the dowager-empress's responsibility for the anti-foreign movement, as Russia had from the first set her face against the introduction of what she euphemistically termed "the dynastic question." But even with regard to the punishment of officials whose guilt was beyond dispute, grave divergencies arose between the powers. The death penalty was ultimately waived in the case even of such conspicuous offenders as Prince Tuan and Tung-fu-hsiang, but the notorious Yü Hsien and two others were decapitated by the Chinese, and three other metropolitan officials were ordered to commit suicide, whilst upon others sentences of banishment, imprisonment, and degradation were passed, in accordance with a list drawn up by the foreign representatives.

The question of the punishment of provincial officials responsible for the massacre of scores of defenceless men, women, and children was unfortunately reserved for separate treatment, and when it came up for discussion, it became impossible to preserve even the semblance of unanimity, the Russian minister at once taking issue with his colleagues, although he had originally pledged himself as formally as the others to the principle. Count Lamsdorff frankly told the British ambassador at St. Petersburg that Russia took no interest in missionaries, and as the foreigners massacred in the provinces belonged mostly to that class, she declined to join in the action of the other powers. Fortunately the rest of the powers, including even Japan, who, as a non-Christian state, might have been excused for adopting the same attitude as Russia, preserved a united front, and though the satisfaction ultimately obtained was not altogether adequate, the list of punishments proposed by the British minister, Sir Ernest Satow, was presented to the Chinese plenipo-

tentiaries with the signatures of all the foreign representatives except the Russian.

The real explanation of Russia's cynical secession from the concert of powers on this important issue must be sought in her anxiety to conciliate the Chinese in view of the separate negotiations in which she was at the same time engaged with China in respect of Manchuria. When the Boxer movement was at its height at the end of June, 1900, the Chinese authorities in Manchuria had wantonly declared war against Russia, and for a moment a great wave of panic seems to have swept over the Russian administration, civil and military, in the adjoining provinces. The reprisals exercised by the Russians were proportionately fierce. The massacre at Blagovestchensk, where five thousand Chinese were flung into the Amur by the Cossacks, was only one incident in the reign of terror by which the Russians sought to restore their power and their prestige. The resistance of the Chinese troops was soon overcome, and Russian forces overran the whole province, occupying even the treaty port of New-Chwang.

The Russian government officially repudiated all responsibility for the proclamations issued by General Gribski and others, foreshadowing, if not actually proclaiming, the annexation of Chinese territory to the Russian empire. But Russia was clearly bent on seizing the opportunity for securing a permanent hold upon Manchuria. In December, 1900, a preliminary agreement was made between M. Korostovetz, the Russian administrator-general, and Tseng, the Tatar general at Mukden, by which the civil and military administration of the whole province was virtually placed under Russian control. In February, 1901, negotiations were opened between the Russian government and the Chinese minister at St. Petersburg for the conclusion of a formal convention of a still more comprehensive character. The Russian government refused to disclose its terms, but the draft prepared by the Russian foreign office was informally communicated through Chinese channels to the British and other friendly governments.

In return for the restoration to China of a certain measure of civil authority in Manchuria, Russia was to be confirmed in the possession of exclusive military, civil, and commercial rights, constituting in all but name a protectorate, and she was also to acquire preferential rights over all the outlying provinces of the Chinese Empire bordering on the Russian dominions in Asia. The clauses relating to Chinese Turkestan, Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, and Mongolia were subsequently stated to have been dropped, but the convention nevertheless provoked considerable opposition both in foreign countries and amongst the Chinese themselves. On April 3rd the Russian government issued a circular note to the powers, stating that, as the generous intentions of Russia had been misconstrued, she withdrew the proposed convention.

The Peace Protocol

The work of the conference at Peking, which had been temporarily disturbed by these complications, was then resumed, and soon reached a stage which brought the possibility of an early evacuation within the range of discussion. Early in April Count von Waldersee invited all the foreign commanders to meet him and discuss the feasibility of a partial withdrawal of troops. The question of indemnities, however, gave rise to renewed friction. Each power drew up its own claim, and whilst Great Britain, the United States, and Japan displayed great moderation, other powers, especially Germany and Italy, put in claims which were strangely out of proportion to the services

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rendered by their military and naval forces. It was at last settled that China should pay altogether an indemnity of 450,000,000 taels, to be secured (1) on the unhypothecated balance of the customs revenue administered by the imperial maritime customs, the impost duties being raised forthwith to an effective 5 per cent. basis; (2) on the revenues of the "native" customs in the treaty ports; (3) on the total revenues of the salt gabelle. Finally, after more than sixty plenary conferences and innumerable meetings of sub-committees had been held by the diplomatists in Peking, the peace protocol was drawn up in a form which satisfied all the Powers as well as the Chinese court. The formal signature was, however, delayed by a fresh difficulty concerning Prince Chun's penitential mission to Berlin. The prince, an amiable and enlightened youth, half-brother to the emperor, had reached Basle, towards the end of August on his way to Germany, when he was suddenly informed that he and his suite would be expected to perform *katow* before the German emperor. The prince resented this unexpected demand, and referred the matter to his home government for instructions. The Chinese court appear to have remained obdurate, and the German government perceived the mistake that had been made in exacting from the Chinese prince a form of homage which Western diplomacy had for more than a century refused to yield to the Son of Heaven, on the ground that it was barbarous and degrading. The point was waived, and Prince Chun was received in solemn audience by the Emperor William at Potsdam on September 4th. Three days later, on the 7th of September, the peace protocol was signed at Peking by the two Chinese plenipotentiaries and the representatives of Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, the United States, Japan, Austria Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Spain.

In accordance with the terms of the protocol, all the foreign troops, except the legation guards, were withdrawn from Peking on September 17th, and by September 22d from the rest of Chi-li, with the exception of the garrisons at the different points specified by the treaty along the lines of communication. On the 7th of October it was announced that the Chinese court had left Si-nghan-fu on its way back to the northern capital. A month later (November 7th) Li Hung Chang died at Peking. His death removed, if not the greatest of Chinese statesman, at any rate the one who had enjoyed a larger share of the empress-dowager's confidence, and who had figured in the eyes of the outside world more prominently than any other during that long chapter of wasted opportunities which had opened for the Chinese empire after the suppression of the great Taiping rebellion, and which was brought to a close by the Boxer movement, the international occupation of Peking, and the peace protocol of 1901.

With this settlement a new era opened. What it will produce none can venture to foretell. On the one hand, the Powers had been induced to display great leniency with regard to the punishment of the court and the high officials implicated in the anti-foreign outrages of 1900; and on the other, the pecuniary compensation they exacted was calculated to weigh heavily on the Chinese people, and on the innocent not less than on the guilty. In the north of China the excesses committed by some of the foreign contingents unquestionably lowered the reputation of all the Powers collectively, notwithstanding the high standard of discipline maintained by the British, American, and Japanese forces, and by the later French contingent sent out direct from France. It must be noted also, that amongst progressive Chinese officials a widespread feeling of disappointment prevailed that the Powers should have failed to avail themselves of the opportunity to insist upon the intro-

duction of administrative reforms into China. The necessity of such reforms had been more widely realized by the Chinese themselves during the crisis than at any previous moment in the history of China, and several high officials, like the Yangste viceroys, the viceroy of Canton, and the governor of Shantung, Yuen Shih-kai—one of the ablest of the young Chinese mandarins—repeatedly memorialized the throne in this sense. Imperial edicts were from time to time issued from Si-nghan-fu announcing important reforms, especially in the system of education and qualification for the public service, but their value remained speculative so long as most of the appointments made by the court continued to be bestowed upon members of the old reactionary party.*g*

CHINA DURING THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

The punitive expedition undertaken by the Powers at the time of the Boxer uprising gave rise to complications which ultimately resulted in the humiliation of one of these Powers. In the course of the operations against the Boxers the Russians occupied Manchuria, and, when peace was restored neglected to evacuate that province. Both China and Japan protested; Russia made repeated promises, but not only failed to carry them out but even began encroachments upon Korea. Finding at last that Russia was playing a double game and that she had no intention of retiring, Japan, believing her own safety at stake, declared war against Russia in February, 1904.

This war, an extended account of which will be found in the section on Japan, was watched with the closest attention by the Chinese. Public sympathy was openly with Japan, more especially when the Japanese government assured the government at Peking that Japan "was waging the war not for the purpose of conquest but solely in defence of her legitimate rights and interests, and consequently that the Imperial government has no intention to acquire territory as a result of the conflict at the expense of China." Nevertheless, the Chinese government immediately after the opening of hostilities issued a proclamation of neutrality. In order to make her neutrality more effective, the great neutral Powers, at the suggestion of John Hay, the American Secretary of State, called upon the two belligerents to restrict the war, so far as Chinese territory was concerned, to Manchuria. To this both agreed, but neither kept the promise in the fullest sense, and throughout the war there was grave danger that China might become involved in it. At the beginning of hostilities the Russian gunboat *Mandjur*, which was lying at Shanghai, refused for a long time either to quit the harbor or to disarm, but finally did the latter. Likewise, after the naval battle of August 10th, 1904, the Russian cruiser *Askold* and the destroyer *Grosvoi* took refuge in the same port, and for a considerable time refused to disarm, but finally complied. After the same battle another destroyer, the *Rechitelni*, took refuge at Chefoo, and there was seized by the Japanese. On land, also, Russian troops and perhaps the Japanese were more than once guilty in their operations of crossing the boundary between China and Manchuria. The Chinese government was too weak to resist these violations of her neutrality, nor did she do more than protest when the Russians set up at their consulate at Chefoo a wireless telegraphy station by means of which they were able to keep up communication with the beleaguered town of Port Arthur.

THE EFFECTS OF THE WAR UPON CHINA

The outcome of the war appears to have been of even greater advantage to China than to Japan. It served to check the Russian designs upon northern China; and by revealing the unexpected strength of the Japanese and the equally unexpected weakness of Russia, it also served to postpone indefinitely what a few years ago was regarded as possible and perhaps even probable, namely, the partition of China among the various European powers. Because of these great services rendered by the island kingdom, China was more willing to transfer to Japan the Russian leases to the Port Arthur peninsula and the Manchurian railway. These matters were arranged in a treaty which was signed in December, 1905.

The war appears to have rendered still another service to China by stimulating a desire among her citizens to imitate Japan in her efforts to acquire some of the ways of Western civilisation. Keen observers claim to discern an unwonted activity in China. "'China for the Chinese' is the cry—in other words, an end of exploitation and spoliation by anybody, and the building up of such a national power and spirit as will enable the Chinese themselves to develop their country and hold their own among the nations. Such an ambition has been awakened partly by the success of Japan, partly by the restriction of Chinese immigration to other countries; but most of all, perhaps, by the defeat of Russia's grabbing policy and the now necessary holding aloof of other European nations from the same game. The Chinese are asking themselves, too, why the Japanese should exploit their commerce and industry. Why should they not develop themselves and make the profit? They have been from immemorial times better merchants than the Japanese. Why should they not learn the use of modern industrial methods and machinery? It is conceivable that by such a study of modern military, educational, commercial, and industrial methods as some of the leaders in China are now making, the nation may in time be modernised by the Chinese as Japan has been by the Japanese." As signs of the change which they believe to be impending the observers referred to above point to the fact that a modern army, drilled by Japanese officers, has been formed; that the empress dowager has adopted reform ideas; that a commission, which in February, 1906, reached the United States, has been sent out to study the institutions of the Western nations; and to the fact that reforms of various sorts are being attempted. As an illustration of the quickness with which the Chinese can, when they try, master Western ways of accomplishing results, a recent instance is in point. During the year 1905, as a protest against certain harsh features of the American exclusion acts, the Chinese instituted a boycott of American goods, with the result that a sentiment was created in America in favor of a modification of the obnoxious acts.

Should China indeed enter the path which Japan has so successfully trodden, the part she would be able to play in the world's affairs is well-nigh inconceivable. The area of the empire as a whole amounts to 4,376,400 square miles, or almost one and a half times that of Europe. The natural resources of this vast territory are generally supposed to be superior to those of any other one country, with the possible exception of the United States. A large part of the soil is exceedingly fertile and produces a great variety of agricultural products. All of the eighteen provinces contain deposits of coal; in eastern Shansi there is a field of anthracite which covers an area of about 13,500 square miles, and in southeastern Hunan deposits of anthracite and bituminous

coal cover an area of about 21,700 square miles. Iron ores are also abundant and in some places they occur in close proximity to deposits of anthracite. Petroleum, tin, lead, silver, antimony, gold, and other minerals occur in various parts of the empire. The total population amounts to about 426,000,000, or about five times that of the United States, and of this population 407,000,000 are concentrated in the 1,532,420 square miles of China proper. Among this vast population education of a certain type is very generally diffused, though higher education is confined to a special literary class. Although not so warlike as the Japanese, the Chinese have shown themselves good soldiers when led by capable officers such as General Gordon. In some of the arts of peace, and particularly in commercial lines, they are superior to the Japanese; and in general intelligence they are also considered by many to be superior to their island neighbours. In fact, an American historian who recently spent some months in the Far East has gone so far as to say that in general intelligence the average Chinaman is superior to the average man of any other country. With such resources and such a population, what might China not accomplish if she were to adopt the industrial machinery by which the Western races have harnessed the powers of Nature?

That there will be any immediate deep-reaching change in the underlying character of Chinese civilisation is not probable—the inertia of such a vast population is too great for us to expect such a sweeping change; but that the Chinese will in the near future adopt more and more of the military and of the mechanical or manufacturing side of the civilisation of the West is practically certain. By so doing they will render themselves able to resist the European policy of "benevolent assimilation," and preserve their own civilisation. There are those even in the Occident who believe that this is a consummation to be desired. Not all nations need be moulded in the same form of civilisation, and the attempt to force all into that of Europe is not necessarily productive of the happiest results.[a]

CHAPTER III

A SUMMARY OF EARLY JAPANESE HISTORY

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ETHNOLOGY has failed to identify the inhabitants of Japan with any other race occidental or oriental. That they migrated from the adjacent continent is not doubtful, but from what part of it there are no conclusive evidences. Their own perception of the fact that an imperial people should have a recognised origin seems to have been inspired by the perusal of Chinese history. China taught them the art of reading and supplied them with their first literature—the only foreign literature they possessed during fourteen centuries. Therefore, since they were without any traditions as to their own *provenance*, and since Chinese annals showed them the need of such traditions, they naturally went to these annals for aid in their perplexity, and finding recorded therein a faith that islands inhabited by immortals lay somewhere in the eastern ocean and had been earnestly sought for by ancient sovereigns and philosophers of the Middle Kingdom, they seemed to have identified their country with these islands, ascribed to their primeval ancestors a divine origin, and called Japan "sacred." A cluster of picturesque myths gradually grew up to embellish this theory, and ultimately becoming the basis of the national religion—*Shinto* (the way of the deities)—continues to command reverence to-day, the lower orders not venturing to scrutinise them, the upper recognising their political value.

It is probable that the Japanese are a mixed race. Among them are to be found Mongolian types and Malayan types, the former constituting the patricians of the nation, the latter the plebeians. There appear to have been two or more tides of Mongoloid immigration. They gradually swept over the islands, driving before them a people (the *Ainu*) who had come from Siberia and who had themselves been preceded in some very remote era by colonists (the *Koro-pok-guru*, or pit-dwellers) from the same place. There are evidences that the earliest Mongoloid immigrants, though standing on a plane considerably above the general level of contemporary Asiatic civilisation, were still in the bronze age, whereas the advent of the second group carried the nation suddenly into the iron age, with corresponding development of industrial capacity in other directions. The two streams did not flow from different sources; they were not distinct races but widely separated effluents from the same parent river. Where that river had its fount there is no clear indication, but it is evident that during the centuries between the first and

second Mongoloid migrations the mother country had far excelled its original offshoot, so that with the advent of the second band of colonists the condition of the Japanese underwent marked change. So far as can be discerned from the scant indications available, the newcomers did not force their civilisation upon their predecessors. The latter, even at that early era, seem to have been guided by the eclectic instincts that inform the whole history of the Japanese; they accepted the new readily because they recognised its merits. But the south-Asian immigrants, the Malayan adventurers, when they reached the southern island of the Japanese group—borne thither on the bosom of the "Black Tide" (*Kuro-shiwo*), which sweeps northward from the Philippines—commenced a career of conquest and overthrew the Mongoloid colonies established on the main island. Such, at any rate, is the sequence of events as suggested by tradition. Yet amongst the Japanese of the present day the supremacy of the northern or Mongoloid type appears to have been immemorially established. Perhaps the explanation is that although the onset of the impetuous southerners was at first irresistible, they ultimately coalesced with the tribes they had conquered, and in the end the principle of natural selection replaced the vanquished on their due plane of eminence. Whatever may be the truth as to these points, the Japanese with whom written history deals—history dating from the seventh century of the Christian era—were a united family of Mongoloids and Malays, having for sole enemies the aboriginal Ainu.

The Ainu, as described by tradition, were a flat-faced, heavy-jawed, hirsute people, belonging to a very low order of humanity. They burrowed in the ground for shelter; they recognised no distinctions of sex in apparel or of consanguinity in intercourse; they clad themselves in skins, drank blood, were insensible to benefits and perpetually resentful of injuries, used stone implements, and never ceased to resist the civilised immigrants. Their present representatives, a few thousands residing in the northern island of Ezo, whither they were gradually driven, are timid, gentle, submissive folk, retaining few if any of the faculties essential to survival in a racial struggle, incapable of progress, indifferent to improvement, and presenting a more and more vivid contrast to the energetic, intelligent, and ambitious Japanese.

These latter, on the contrary, whether history or tradition be consulted, stood on a high plane of civilisation already at the commencement of the Christian era; high, that is to say, by comparison with any contemporary nation except the Chinese. They had iron swords and spears and iron-tipped arrows; wore helmets and breastplates of the same metal; used peaked saddles, snaffle bits, European-like stirrups and horse-trappings having ornaments of *repoussé* iron covered with sheets of gilt or silvered copper; dressed themselves in a loosely fitting tunic of woven stuff confined at the waist by a girdle and in loose trousers reaching nearly to the feet; had for ornaments necklaces of silver, or glass beads; finger-rings of silver, copper, bronze, or iron, plated with precious metal; buttons, metal armlets, bands or plates of gilt copper which were fastened to the tunic; ear-rings and tiaras of gold. Their food consisted of fish, flesh, and cereals. They drank some kind of fermented liquor. Their household utensils were of baked pottery. They believed in a future state; worshipped ancestors, did not practise idolatry, and were remarkably clean in their habits.

The term "family" correctly describes the early colony of Japanese. Its head was rather a military patriarch than an autocratic ruler, and the administrative offices were divided among his principal followers as hereditary rights. Thus there grew up gradually a large official aristocracy, consisting

first of individuals, then of families, and finally of clans, with the inevitable result that certain clans asserted their supremacy and usurped the functions of sovereignty, though never failing to recognise its nominal source. That feature meets the student in every page of Japanese history; the theory of the sovereign's supremacy is uniformly recognised, but the exercise of sovereign power is in the hands of an oligarchy.

It was not until the third century that the interval between Chinese and Japanese civilisation began to be bridged by the advent of a number of Chinese immigrants, and the effect upon the manners and customs of the nation did not show conspicuously until Buddhism, three hundred years later, brought to the people a noble creed to replace the meagre cult of *Shinto*, and opened to them, at the same time, a hitherto unimagined mine of literature and art. Buddhism certainly owed much of its rapidly acquired vogue in Japan to the strenuous patronage of occupants of the throne, especially emotional empresses; but even though imperially opposed it could scarcely have failed to win converts, for it found the Japanese with a material civilisation conspicuously superior to their rudimentary morality, and it offered to them a wealth of refinement which appealed irresistibly to their æsthetic instincts. Nothing, indeed, could have been more striking than the contrast that *Shinto* and Buddhism presented to their adherents: the former cold, inornate, severe; the latter glorious in its massive and magnificent temples, its majestic images, its gorgeous paraphernalia, its rich sacerdotal vestments, and the picturesque solemnity of its services. Japan accepted Buddhism as the faith of civilised Asia; accepted it more for the sake of the converts it had won and the outward attractions it possessed than for the sake of her own conversion or the beauty of the foreign faith's ethics. One great obstruction to the propagandism of the Indian creed should have been that it preached the supremacy of a new god and took no cognisance whatever of the divinities from whom the Japanese claimed descent. In short, it asked the occupants of the Japanese throne to patronise a faith which seemed to annul their own sovereign title. Yet during nearly a century and a half this anomaly attracted no practical attention, and when it did become a burning question, a clever Buddhist priest averted polemics by declaring that all the members of the *Shinto* pantheon were incarnations of Buddha. It is impossible to reconcile these events with the idea that any theory about celestial lineage had become a cardinal tradition in Japan prior to the advent of Buddhism, and there is here another warrant for concluding that the political aspects of *Shinto* were developed simultaneously with the compilation of the nation's first historical annals at the close of the sixth century, and that they did not immediately assume paramount importance.

Already in the fourth century, that is to say, some two hundred years before the coming of Buddhism, there had been a wave of Chinese and Korean immigration into Japan, which brought with it many adjuncts of material civilisation, such as the science of canal-cutting as well as of road-making, and improved methods of sericulture and silk-weaving. Buddhism supplemented these in numerous directions, and the Japanese showed themselves perfectly receptive. They adopted everything good unhesitatingly. Wholesale changes resulted. The administration was remodelled on Chinese lines; the codes of official and social etiquette were recast in accordance with Chinese practice; cities were built after Chinese plans; literature and art were virtually created by Chinese influence; costumes took Chinese shapes; and Chinese standards of taste were accepted as final. The term "a nation of imitators" would have applied to the Japanese of those early centuries

with greater justice than it applies to-day. But the Japanese did not imitate China more closely than all western Europe imitated Greece and Rome. Indeed, as between these two phases of history the credit for originality must be conceded to the Japanese; for whereas occidental Europe, during many centuries, failed to excel its models, Japanese artists, in the course of two cycles, surpassed their originals so greatly and added such a strong impress of their own genius that modern critics have found difficulty in tracing the stages of the evolution. It was so even with Buddhism itself. In its transmission through the Japanese mind the foreign faith took many bright colours. Death ceased to be a passage to mere non-existence and became the entrance to actual beatitude. The ascetic selfishness of the contemplative disciple was exchanged for a career of active charity. The endless chain of cause and effect was shortened to a single link. The conception of one supreme all-merciful being forced itself into prominence. The gulf of social and political distinctions that yawned so widely between the patrician and the plebeian, and all the other unsightlinesses of the world, became subjective *cèdela* destined to disappear at the first touch of moral light.

But these modifications of Buddhism were the product not only of many centuries but also of circumstances which, as they lie at the root of the nation's history, must be studied.

In the earliest times to which authentic annals extend, the crown had the right of eminent domain, and during the era of patriarchal government large tracts of land were bestowed by the sovereign upon the great families who discharged administrative duties and held hereditary offices. Among the heads of these families sharp struggles for political supremacy took place from time to time, and one after another they grasped the reality of governing power, leaving its shadow only to the sovereign, between whom and the nation they interposed an atmosphere of sacred seclusion. Many abuses naturally disfigured such a system. The lower orders, who tilled the ground or engaged in manufacturing industry, fell to a status little better than that of serfs, nearly all the products of their toil being appropriated to defray the outlays of the oligarchy. By study, first, of the ethics of Confucianism and Buddhism, and, secondly, of Chinese civilisation, this unsatisfactory state of affairs was revolutionised, and in the middle of the seventh century, the last of the usurping clans having been broken, Japan's earliest system of centralised government under an actually ruling emperor was inaugurated. Its existence as a practical fact did not extend beyond a cycle, but that brief interval sufficed to work large changes. One of these was that all lands throughout the country were resumed by the crown, and were then redistributed on the principle that every unit of the nation had a natural title to the usufruct of the soil. It was an excellent system, well thought out and wisely organised, but having an exotic philosophy for basis, it soon felt the influence of tendencies which, after a thousand years of cumulative operation, were not likely to be eradicated in a few decades by any new civilisation. Ranks, hereditary and official, had to be considered in the new allotment, and thus the foundations were again laid for large estates in provincial districts. Soon, too, the old strife recommenced between rival clans, and ultimately one, the Fujiwara, gained an ascendency which remained almost unchallenged during three centuries.

Nevertheless, the imperial capital long continued to be the source of power and authority, provincial affairs being administered by governors who received their appointments from Kioto and retained them for a set term of years only. At that time social castes had not yet come into existence,

except in the sense that all who could trace their descent from the original oligarchs, the sons of the deities, belonged to a special class, while the bulk of the nation was broadly divided into "nobles" and "ignobles," the latter consisting of persons pledged to some form of servitude, whether by voluntary contract or by sentence of a law-court; the former of persons not labouring under any such disadvantage. Events, however, now began to create a situation that defied the control of the central government. It has been shown that before the arrival of the Mongoloid and Malayan colonists the islands were inhabited by men of Siberian origin, the Ainu, who belonged to a lower type of humanity. Such of these as lived in the immediate vicinity of the new colony were speedily dispossessed. But in proportion as they were pushed farther north the aborigines clung with greater tenacity to the soil, and since the central authorities lacked military machinery for conducting campaigns in remote parts of the country, it became necessary to organise local soldiery. Further, by way of reward for driving out these aborigines, the lands taken from them were conferred on their conquerors as tax-free estates, and thus there sprang into existence the two basic elements of a military feudalism, territorial magnates owing their authority to the sword, and territorial troops obedient to that authority.

Nor were these provincial magnates men originally of inferior rank, so that their assumption of independent power might have seemed anomalous. They were princes of the blood who, having laid aside their princely titles, received family names for the purposes of their new functions. Only two of these families need be mentioned, for they wholly overshadow all others. They are the Taira and the Minamoto. The Taira can scarcely be classed with the founders of military feudalism. It is true that they deposed the Fujiwara clan from its three centuries of supremacy in Kioto, and that they stripped the sovereign of all executive power. But the same facts stood on record in the case of the Fujiwara themselves and of their predecessors, for strife of clans and usurpation of governing authority were no novelties in the history of Japan. The innovation made by the Taira was that they established their ascendency by the sword, whereas the Fujiwara had relied on court influence alone. And by the sword, after a brief tenure of power, the Taira themselves were overthrown, giving place, in the twelfth century, to the Minamoto, who thenceforth, with brief intervals, exercised administrative sway until the middle of the nineteenth century, the imperial court continuing always to be the nominal source of authority, though stripped of all its reality. It is also to be noted that the Taira did not devise any special title to represent their autocracy, nor did they remove the seat of executive authority to any great distance from Kioto. These things stand in the record of the Minamoto, whose chieftain was called *shogun* (generalissimo), and whose capital was first at Kamakura, some three hundred miles from Kioto, and ultimately still farther north at Yedo (now Tokio). A feature that assisted decentralisation of administrative power was the granting of tax-free estates, as noted above. The estates themselves did not much affect the central government's revenue, since they were generally in regions where taxes had not previously been collected. But their indirect influence was considerable, inasmuch as their owners were able to offer land on terms that attracted thither multitudes of the heavily taxed peasants from other regions.

One important outcome of feudalism was the division of the nation into four classes: military men, agriculturists, artisans, and tradesmen (*shi-no-ko-sho*). That the idea of this classification came originally from China there can be no question, but its practical application in Japan is clearly traceable to

the fact that such of the peasants as had special physical qualities were drafted into the local soldiery, and thus gradually a stigma of inferiority attached to those who, continuing to till the ground, were inferentially less highly endowed. No claim of racial superiority can be asserted on behalf of the samurai, as the military men called themselves. They were essentially a part of the people of Japan, differentiated by accident, not by nature. That the artisan ranked higher than the trader was because artists were included among artisans, and because the functions of production have always seemed more honourable in eastern eyes than the functions of barter. It may perhaps be asserted of Japanese samurai, agriculturists and artisans alike, that they all excelled in honesty and in freedom from sordid motives. The samurai, setting out from the simple principle that life must always be held at the service of a liege, gradually elaborated a code of military ethics (*bushido*) having for bases the sanctity of a promise and the superiority of death to dishonour; a code which produced extraordinary displays of devotion, loyalty, and courage. The farmer, who stood next on the social scale and who knew that from his own class the samurai had originally been drafted, took pride in reducing to a minimum the ethical interval between himself and the soldier. The artisan held firmly to the faith that any concession to sordid instincts must be fatal to the successful exercise of the constructive arts. Only the tradesman lacked high ideals. He understood the value of credit and developed a system of confidence which could not have coexisted with any large practice of chicanery; but except as an instrument for cementing combinations or organising trusts he does not seem to have appreciated the uses of honesty.

Of the seven centuries that comprise the life of military feudalism in Japan, more than four witnessed an almost continuous succession of civil wars. The country became an arena where every man fought for his own hand. With monotonous iteration the same feature presented itself, delegated authority rebelling against its source. Circumstances belied their proverbial faculty of creating men to deal with them until the sixteenth century, when a triumvirate of great captains and statesmen saved Japan from permanent division into a number of principalities. These illustrious leaders were Oda Nobunaga, Hashiba Hideyoshi (commonly called the *Taiko*), and Tokugawa Iyéyasu. The work of each supplemented that of the other, but neither their qualities nor their achievements can be spoken of here. Iyéyasu founded the Tokugawa dynasty of shoguns who had their court in Yedo, whence, during more than two centuries and a half, they ruled a nation that enjoyed unbroken peace.

One of the most important incidents of the era was the inauguration of foreign intercourse in the sixteenth century, and the accompanying advent of Christianity, the sequel of which events was that Japan, segregating herself from the outer world, incurred the reproach of being an unprogressive, illiberal country. History, as it is now disclosed, dispels that delusion. The facts are that on the first arrival of foreign ships the Japanese welcomed them heartily. Instead of betraying a disposition to restrict the comings and goings of Western traders, Japan quickly recognised the benefits of over-sea commerce and engaged in it with enthusiasm. Portuguese ships were made free to visit any part of the realm. To the Dutch and the English, later visitors, similar liberty was granted, nor was there any imposition of onerous taxes or duties. Yet, eighty-seven years after this auspicious inauguration of trade and intercourse, Japan reversed her policy, adopted an exclusive attitude, substituted distrust and aversion for the confidence and amity of her previous

mood, and asserted her right of isolation with unrelenting imperiousness. What factor was responsible for this remarkable change? Christianity. Close upon the footsteps of the pioneers of trade came the propagandists of Christianity, the Christianity of mediæval Europe. They, too, were received hospitably and they won converts. But the mood ultimately educated by the conduct of these propagandists differed widely from the mood they found on their coming. The fact has to be closely noted. If the Portuguese and Spanish apostles of the Nazarene, together with their Japanese disciples, fell victims at the last to the wrath of the nation whose heart they had come to win, the cause is to be sought in their own intolerance, in their own merciless bigotry, in their own intrigues and in those of their foreign rivals, rather than in any innate prejudice or conservatism of the Japanese. They taught to Japan the intolerance she subsequently displayed towards themselves, and they provoked its display by their own imprudence.

Nor should it be forgotten that these representatives of Europe who visited Japan in the sixteenth century had nothing to offer her in the way of a higher civilisation. From her point of view they were rude, truculent, debauched men, essentially dirty in their habits, overbearing in their methods, greedy of gain, and deficient in most of the graces of life. Chinese civilisation had been accepted with open arms eight centuries previously for the sake of its manifest excellences. European civilisation, as represented by self-seeking tradesmen, rough mariners, and propagandists of a mercilessly fanatic religion, deterred by its superficial inferiorities. Two admirable adjuncts alone it offered—firearms and the science of military fortification—both of which the Japanese appropriated eagerly.

Under the Tokugawa administration, established by Iyéyasu, the third of the great triumvirate mentioned above as Japan's saviours, the country enjoyed peace for two centuries and a half. There was much progress, but it was in the nature of improvement rather than of innovation. Living entirely removed from that international friction under which the Occident's inventive genius burst so often into bright flame, the Japanese were content to develop along the lines of their old civilisation. But suddenly in the middle of the nineteenth century the West revealed itself to them again. Some glimpses of the great world that lay beyond their own sun-bathed shores had been caught by Japanese students looking through the narrow window of the Dutch factory at Deshima; and the Tokugawa rulers having outlived their prestige and their power, intrigues to overthrow them had long been in the air. But neither the vague perceptions of students nor the aspirations of politicians would have quickly materialised had not Americans and Europeans come, and first by forcing open Japan's doors, secondly by inflicting crushing yet conspicuously easy defeats on her two greatest feudatories, showed her beyond all doubt that she lay at the mercy of the nations she had ignored and that her only protection was to be sought in mimicry.

CHAPTER IV

OLD JAPAN

THE most interesting portion of Japanese history is that of the rise and fall in the Middle Ages of the warlike families which in turn seized the power and overawed the crown. Of these the Taira clan stands pre-eminent, though much of its history is mixed up with that of its rival, the Minamoto clan. The two came first into notice in the tenth century, and quickly increased in influence and strength. It would appear, indeed, that the court strove to play off the one against the other, being moved by fear that the power of either might become too great. Thus, if one of the Taira rebelled, the Minamoto were authorised by the emperor to subdue him; while, if any members of the latter clan proved unruly, the Taira were only too glad to obtain an imperial commission to proceed against them. This gave rise to incessant intrigue and frequent bloodshed, ending at last, in the middle of the twelfth century, in open warfare. Taira no Kiyomori was at that time the head of his clan; he was a man of unscrupulous character and unbounded ambition, and constantly strove to secure offices at court for himself, his family, and his adherents. In 1156–59 severe fighting took place at the capital between the rival clans, each side striving to obtain possession of the person of the sovereign in order to give some colour of right to its actions. In 1159 Kiyomori eventually triumphed, and the sword of the executioner ruthlessly completed the measure of his success in the field. Nearly the whole of the Minamoto chiefs were cut off—among them being Yoshitomo, the head of the clan. A boy named Yoritomo, the third son of Yoshitomo, was, however, spared through the intercession of Kiyomori's stepmother; and Yoshitsuné, also Yoshitomo's son by a concubine, was, with his mother and two brothers, permitted to live. Yoritomo and his half-brother Yoshitsuné were destined eventually to avenge

[1180-1219 A.D.]

the death of their kinsmen and completely to overthrow the Taira house, but this did not take place till thirty years later. In the mean time Kiyomori's power waxed greater and greater; he was himself appointed daijô-daijin (prime minister), and he married his daughter to the emperor Takakura, whom, in 1180, he forced to abdicate in favour of the heir-apparent, who was Kiyomori's own grandson. After raising his family to the highest pinnacle of pride and power, Kiyomori died in 1181, and retribution speedily overtook the surviving members of his clan. The once almost annihilated Minamoto clan, headed by Yoritomo, mustered their forces in the Kuan-to and other eastern regions for a final attempt to recover their former influence. Marching westwards under the command of Yoshitsuné, they started on one grand series of triumphs, terminating (1185) in a crowning victory in a sea-fight off Dannoura, near Shimonoseki, in the province of Choshiu. The overthrow of the Taira family was complete; the greater number perished in the battle, and many were either drowned or delivered over to the executioner. The emperor himself (Antoku, eighty-second of his line), then only in the seventh year of his age, was drowned, with other members of the imperial house. The Taira supremacy here came to an end, having existed during the reigns of nine emperors.

The period of the Minamoto supremacy lasted from this time until the year 1219. Yoritomo was the leading spirit, as his sons Yoriiyé and Sanétomo, who succeeded him in turn, did not in any way attain to special fame. Having secured himself against molestation from the Taira, Yoritomo directed his efforts systematically to the consolidation of his power in the East. Commencing from the Kuan-to, he soon overawed the whole of the northern provinces, and also extended what was virtually his dominion to the westwards in the direction of Kioto. Kamakura, a town on the seashore in the province of Sagami, an old seat of the Minamoto family, was made his metropolis. The site of this town faces the sea, and is completely shut in on the rear by a semicircular ridge of steep hills, through which narrow cuttings or passes lead to the country beyond. Under Yoritomo Kamakura prospered and increased in size and importance; a large palace was built, barracks were erected, and it became the capital of the east of Japan. In the year 1192 the emperor Takahira (also known as Go-Toba no In) issued a decree creating Yoritomo Sei-i-tai-shogun (literally, "barbarian-subjugating generalissimo") and despatched an imperial envoy from Kioto to Kamakura to invest him with the office. He and each *shogun* who came after him were thus nominated commanders-in-chief, holding the office by order of and investment from the emperor, to preserve peace and tranquillity on the eastern marches of Japan. This has given rise, in numerous works on Japan published by different authors (Doctor Kämpfer among them), to the common assertion that Japan possessed two emperors—the one "spiritual," residing at Kioto, and the other "temporal," residing at Kamakura and afterwards at Yedo. This idea, though entirely erroneous, is not unnatural; for, although each successive shogun owned allegiance to the emperor and was invested by the latter, still his own position as supreme head of the military organisation of the country and his influence over the powerful territorial nobles made him *de facto* almost the equal of a sovereign in his own right. This condition of affairs continued until the revolution of 1868, when the shogun's power was shattered, the military domination swept away, and the mikado reinstated in his early position of supreme authority. Yoritomo's two sons Yoriiyé and Sanétomo were in turn invested with the office of shogun; they both dwelt at Kamakura. In 1219 Sanétomo was killed by Yoriiyé's son, in revenge

for the supposed murder of Yoriiyé himself, and as he died without issue, the main line of the Minamoto family thus came to an end.

Upon this commenced the supremacy of the Hojo family, who had for years been adherents of the Minamotos. The heirs of the latter having failed, the office of shogun was conferred upon different members of the illustrious house of Fujiwara, who all resided at Kamakura. The military administration, however, was invariably in the hands of the Hojos, who acted as regents of the shogun; their supremacy lasted from 1225 to 1333 through what are commonly called the "seven generations of the Hojo family." The event of principal importance during this period was the repulse of the Mongol invasion, which occurred in the year 1281. Kublai Khan, founder of the Yuen dynasty in China, had for some years back repeatedly sent to demand submission from Japan, but this being refused about ten thousand of his troops attacked Tsushima and Oki in 1274. This expedition was repulsed, and some envoys despatched to Japan in 1275, and also in 1279, were decapitated by the regent, Hojo no Tokimuné. Exasperated at this defiance, the Mongol chief collected a mighty armament, which was despatched to Japan in 1281. The numbers of this invading force are by Japanese writers estimated at no less than one hundred thousand Chinese, Mongol, and Korean troops. They descended upon the coast of Kiusiu, where several engagements were fought; eventually a severe storm destroyed and dispersed the fleet, and the Japanese, taking advantage of this favourable opportunity, vigorously attacked and completely annihilated the invaders, of whom but three are said to have escaped to tell the tale. It is not surprising that no further attempt to conquer Japan should have been made by the Mongols. In 1331, towards the close of the Hojo supremacy, the succession to the crown was disputed, and from that time until 1392 there existed two courts, known as the northern and the southern; in the latter year, however, the southern dynasty (established at the town of Nara, near Kioto) handed over the regalia to the emperor Go Komatsu, who from that time was recognised as the legitimate mikado. During the period of anarchy and civil war that took place in this century, Kamakura was attacked and destroyed, in 1333, by Nitta Yoshisada, head of a family descended from the Minamoto clan. The rule of the Hojos was thus terminated, and by 1338 the family had well-nigh disappeared.

During the confusion and disturbance created by the contest between the rival courts, and also throughout the whole of the fifteenth century, Japan was devastated by fire and sword in civil wars of the most terrible description. Several families endeavoured in succession to acquire the supremacy, but none were able to wield it long. The dynasty of shogun (the Ashikaga line) proved bad rulers, and though the families of Nitta, Uyésugi, and others came prominently into notice, they were unable to pacify the whole empire. In the early part of the sixteenth century what was termed the "later Hojo" family arose in the Kuan-to, and for "four generations" established their chief seat at the town of Odawara, in the province of Sagami, immediately to the east of the Hakone hills. At this time, too, lived the famous generals Ota Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hidéyoshi. The latter is perhaps best known to Europeans as the Taiko Hidéyoshi, or simply as Taiko-sama, "my lord the Taiko." Taiko, it may here be remarked, is not a name (as commonly supposed), but a title, and signifies literally "great lord." Another common error is to speak of Hidéyoshi as the shogun; he never held that office. The sixteenth century also saw the first persecutions directed against the native Christians; the religion had been introduced by the Portuguese in 1549, when

[1586-1868 A.D.]

Xavier first came to Japan. In 1586 Ota Nobunaga was assassinated, and the taiko succeeded him in the chief military power. In 1590 the family of the "later Hojo" was overthrown by him, and the town of Odawara taken. Hidéyoshi then bestowed upon his general Tokugawa Iyéyasu the eight provinces of the Kuan-to, at the same time directing him to take up his residence at Yedo, which was at that period a town of very small importance. Hidéyoshi died in 1594.

The Tokugawa dynasty lasted from the appointment of Iyéyasu to the office of shogun in 1603 until the resignation of the last shogun, Yoshinobu (usually called Keiki) in 1867. This dynasty comprised fifteen generations of the family, and is undoubtedly the most important throughout the whole of Japanese history. Iyéyasu was a consummate politician as well as a successful general, and to him the powerful territorial nobles (*daimiô*) throughout the whole country speedily submitted, some from motives of personal interest, and others under compulsion after a crowning victory obtained over them by the Tokugawa chief at Sékigahara, on the confines of the provinces of Mino and Omi, in 1600. This famous battle completely established the supremacy of Iyéyasu, and his rule was gladly accepted by the country as putting an end to the scenes of bloodshed and anarchy from which all classes had so severely suffered for well-nigh two centuries back. Under this dynasty of shogun Yedo became a large and populous city, as the presence of their court gave a grand impetus to trade and manufactures of all kinds. The attendants of the mikado at Kioto were the old *kugé*, or court nobles, descended from cadet branches of the imperial line; they were, as a rule, of anything but ample means, yet their rank and prestige received full recognition from all classes. The court of the shogun at Yedo was, on the contrary, mainly composed of men who were more noted for their territorial possessions and influence than for ancient lineage, for skill in warlike accomplishments rather than in literature and art. This court of Yedo was formed from the territorial nobles (daimiô), the petty nobility of the Tokugawa clan (called *hatamoto*), and lower attendants, etc., known as *goké-nin*. The hatamoto were originally no less than eighty thousand in number, and were in fact the soldiers composing the victorious army of Iyéyasu and ennobled by him; they resided continuously in Yedo, very rarely even visiting their country fiefs. The daimiô, on the other hand, were forced to attend in Yedo only at certain stated intervals, varying considerably in different cases, and spent the rest of their time at their castle-towns in the provinces—their wives and families remaining behind in Yedo, virtually as hostages for the good behaviour of the heads of their respective clans. The feudal system was thus introduced by Iyéyasu, but he was too wary to force his yoke in a precipitate manner upon the great nobles. He gathered around him his own immediate adherents, upon whom he conferred the more important positions of trust (notably in regard to the garrisoning of a cordon of minor strongholds around his own castle at Yedo). It was, however, reserved for his grandson Iyémitsu (1623–1650) to complete the system thus inaugurated; by the latter the nobles were treated solely as feudal vassals, and many very stringent regulations for their guidance and direction were put into force. A similar course was adopted by the successors of Iyémitsu, and this system prevailed until the fall of the Tokugawa dynasty in 1868. Under their rule, however, Japan enjoyed the benefit of almost uninterrupted peace for more than two hundred and fifty years; the burden imposed by them was only cast off after fifteen members of the clan had succeeded to the chieftainship.[b]

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The first account of Japan given by any European writer is found in the works of Marco Polo, who remained for seventeen years (1275–1292) at the court of Kublai Khan, and describes an expedition undertaken by that ruler against Japan which ended in failure.[a]

"Zipangu," says Marco Polo, "is an island in the eastern ocean situated at the distance of about fifteen hundred miles from the mainland, or coast of Manji.[1] It is of considerable size; its inhabitants have fair complexions, are well made, and are civilised in their manners. Their religion is the worship of idols. They are independent of every foreign power, and governed only by their own kings. They have gold in the greatest abundance, its sources being inexhaustible; but as the king does not allow of its being exported, few merchants visit the country, nor is it frequented by much shipping from other parts. To this circumstance we are to attribute the extraordinary richness of the sovereign's palace, according to what we are told by those who have access to the place. The entire roof is covered with a plating of gold, in the same manner as we cover houses, or, more properly, churches, with lead. The ceilings of the halls are of the same precious metal; many of the apartments have small tables of pure gold, considerably thick; and the windows, also, have golden ornaments. So vast, indeed, are the riches of the palace that it is impossible to convey an idea of them. In this island there are pearls, also, in large quantities, of a pink colour, round in shape, and of great size, equal in value to white pearls, or even exceeding them. It is customary with one part of the inhabitants to bury their dead, and with another part to burn them. The former have a practice of putting one of these pearls into the mouth of the corpse. There are also found there a number of precious stones."[d]

Europeans began to visit the island in the sixteenth century. Portuguese trading vessels came first in 1542, and in 1549 the Jesuit missionary Xavier with two companions landed in Satsuma and were at first well received by the king, although afterwards a royal edict forbade the acceptance of the new doctrine, and Xavier went to Hirado, where he met with more success, probably because the marked respect shown by the Portuguese there to the priest convinced the prince of that province that Xavier was a man of much influence at home. As is pointed out by Messrs. Murdoch and Yamagata[e] in their *History of Japan:*

"The simple fact was that in matters of religion the average intelligent Japanese among the upper class was an indifferentist—a Laodicean or a Gallio who cared for none of these things. To him a new religion was of far less consequence or interest than a new sauce would have been to an Englishman of the time of Voltaire. His attitude towards it, in fact, is exceedingly well indicated by Nobunaga's reply to those who questioned him about the advisability of admitting Christianity into his dominions—that the establishment of one more sect in a country counting some thirty-odd sects already could not be a matter of any real consequence. On the other hand, to any new product or new notion in the sphere of practical utility and to the advantage the country might draw from it, the Japanese mind was then, as it is now, keenly alive and alert. Hence every Japanese princelet was eager to see the Portuguese ships in his harbours, but he wished them to bring him guns and

[1] The true distance is about five hundred miles; but, possibly, by miles Marco Polo may have intended Chinese *li*, of which there are nearly three in our mile.

[1542-1549 A.D.]

gunpowder, not crosses and missals—merchants, and not priests, unless these latter could teach his subjects something of real practical consequence."[a]

JAPAN AS SEEN BY THE PORTUGUESE

Japan, as found by the Portuguese, embraced three large islands, besides many smaller ones. Ximo (or Kiusiu), the most southern and western of the group, and the one with which the Portuguese first became acquainted, is separated at the north by a narrow strait from the much larger island of Nippon,[1] forming with its western portion a right angle, within which the third and much smaller island of Shikoku is included. These islands were found to be divided into sixty-six separate governments, or kingdoms, of which Nippon contained fifty-three, Kiusiu nine, and Shikoku four—the numerous smaller islands being reckoned as appurtenant to one or another of the three larger ones. These kingdoms, grouped into eight, or rather nine, larger divisions, and subdivided into principalities of which, in all, there were not less than six hundred, had originally (at least such was the Japanese tradition) been provinces of a consolidated empire; but by degrees and by dint of civil wars, by which the islands had been, and still were, very much distracted, they had reached, at the period of the Portuguese discovery, a state of almost complete independence. Indeed, several of the kingdoms, like that of Figen, in the west part of Kiusiu, had still further disintegrated into independent principalities.

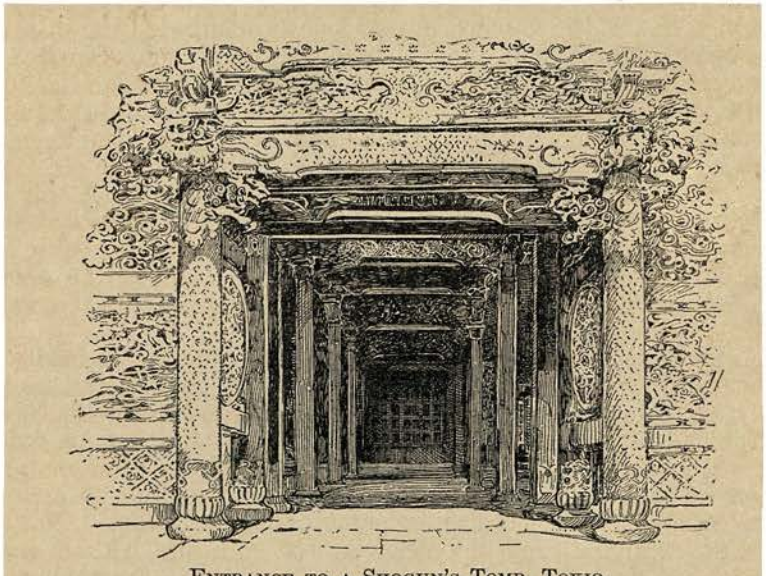
It still frequently happened, however, that several provinces were united under one ruler; and such was especially the case with five central provinces of Nippon, including the great cities of Miako (Kioto), Ozaka, and Sakai, which five provinces formed the patrimony of a prince, who bore the title of *Kubo-Sama* —sama meaning lord, and kubo general or commander. This title the Portuguese rendered into emperor, and it was almost precisely equivalent to the original sense of the *Imperator* of the Romans, though still more exactly corresponding to Cromwell's title Lord-General.

This kubo-sama, or shogun, as he was otherwise called, was acknowledged by all the other princes as in some respect their superior and head. The other rulers of provinces bore the title of Sougo or Jacata, which the Portuguese rendered by the term king. Reserving to themselves, as their personal domain, a good half of the whole extent of their territories, these chiefs divided the rest among certain great vassals, called Tono, Conisu, or Kounidaimio, who were bound to military service in proportion to the extent of the lands which they held; which lands, after reserving a portion for their private domain, these nobles distributed in their turn to other inferior lords, called Joriki, who held of them upon similar conditions of military service, and who had still beneath them, upon the same footing, a class of military vassals and tenants, called Dosiu, and corresponding to the men-at-arms of the feudal times of Europe. The actual cultivators of the lands—as had also been, and still to a considerable extent was, the case in feudal Europe—were in the condition of serfs.

Thus it happened that, as in feudal Europe, so in Japan, great armies might be very suddenly raised; and war being the chief employment of the superior classes, and the only occupation, that of the priesthood excepted, esteemed honourable, the whole country was in a constant state of turbulence and commotion.

[1 A name commonly, but incorrectly, used for the main island of Japan. The Japanese apply the name Nippon or Dai-Nippon to the entire empire.]

All the classes above enumerated, except the last, enjoyed the highly prized honour of wearing two swords. One sword was worn by certain inferior officials; but merchants, traders, and artisans were confounded, as to this matter, with the peasants, not being permitted to wear any. The revenue of the princes and other proprietors was, and still is, reckoned in *koku* or *kokf* of rice, each of three sacks, or bales, each bale containing (according to Titsingh) thirty-three and one-third gantings—the universal Japanese measure for all articles, liquid or dry—and weighing from eighty-two to eighty-three katties, or somewhat more than a hundred of our pounds. Ten thousand kokf make a man-kokf, in which the revenues of the great princes are reckoned. The distinction of rank was very strictly observed, being even ingrained into the language. Inferiors, being seated on their heels, according to the Japanese fashion, testified their respect for their superiors by laying the palms



ENTRANCE TO A SHOGUN'S TOMB, TOKIO

of their hands on the floor and bending their bodies so low that their foreheads almost touched the ground, in which position they remained for some seconds. This is called the *kitu*. The superior responded by laying the palms of his hands upon his knees and nodding or bowing, more or less low, according to the rank of the other party.

As to everything that required powers of analysis, or the capacity of taking general views, the Portuguese missionaries were but poor observers; yet they could not but perceive in the *dairi* the surviving shadow, and, indeed, in the earlier days of the missions, something more than a mere shadow, of a still more ancient form of government, in which the civil and ecclesiastical authority had both been united under one head.

The dairi, vo, or mikado, as he was otherwise designated, had for his residence the northeast quarter of Miako (a great city, not far from the centre of Nippon, but nearest the southern shore). This quarter was of vast extent, surrounded by a wall, with a ditch and rampart, by which it was separated from the rest of the city. In the midst of this fortified place, in a vast palace, easily distinguished from a distance by the height of its tower, the dairi dwelt,

[1542-1600 A.D.]

with his empress or chief wife; his other eleven wives had adjoining palaces in a circle around, outside of which were the dwellings of his chamberlains and other officers.

All the revenue drawn from the city of Miako and its dependencies was appropriated to their support, to which the kubo-sama added a further sum from his treasury. He himself treated the dairi with as much ceremonious respect and semi-worship as the British prime minister bestows upon the British queen. He paid an annual visit to the court of the dairi in great state, and with all the carriage of an inferior, but took care to maintain a garrison at Miako, or its neighbourhood, sufficient to repress any attempt on the part of the dairi or his partisans to re-establish the old order of things—an idea which, when the islands first became known to the Portuguese, seems not yet to have been entirely abandoned.

The whole court of the dairi, and all the inhabitants of the quarter of Miako in which he dwelt, consisted of persons who plumed themselves upon the idea of being, like the dairi himself, descended from Tensio Dai-Dsin, the first of the demigods, and who in consequence looked down, like the Indian Brahmans, upon all the rest of the nation as an inferior race, distinguishing themselves as *kuge*, and all the rest of the nation as *gege*. These kuge, who may be conjectured to have once formed a class resembling the old Roman patricians, all wore a particular dress, by which was indicated not only their character as members of that order, but, by the length of their sashes, the particular rank which they held in it; a distinction the more necessary, since, as generally happens with these aristocracies of birth, many of the members were in a state of poverty, and obliged to support themselves by various handicrafts.

Of the magnificence of the court of the dairi, and of the ceremonials of it, the missionaries reported many stories, chiefly, of course, on the credit of hearsay. It was said that the dairi was never allowed to breathe the common air, nor his foot to touch the ground; that he never wore the same garment twice, nor ate a second time from the same dishes, which, after each meal, were carefully broken — for should any other person attempt to dine from them he would infallibly perish by an inflammation of the throat. Nor could anyone who attempted to wear the dairi's cast-off garments, without his permission, escape a similar punishment. The dairi, as we are told, was in ancient times obliged to seat himself every morning on his throne, with the crown on his head, and there to hold himself immovable for several hours like a statue. This immobility, it was imagined, was an augury of the tranquillity of the empire; and if he happened to move ever so little, or even to turn his eyes, war, famine, fire, or pestilence was expected soon to afflict the unhappy province towards which he had squinted. But as the country was thus kept in a state of perpetual agitation, the happy substitute was finally hit upon of placing the crown upon the throne without the dairi—a more fixed immobility being thus assured; and, as Kämpfer drily observes, one doubtless producing much the same good effects.

At the time of the arrival of Xavier in Japan the throne of the dairi was filled by Gonara, the hundred and sixth, according to the Japanese chronicles, in the order of succession; while the throne of the kubo-sama was occupied by Josi Far, who was succeeded the next year by his son, Josi Tir, the twenty-fourth of these officers, according to the Japanese, since their assumption of sovereign power in the person of Joritomo, 1185 A.D.

One might have expected from the Portuguese missionaries a pretty exact account of the various creeds and sects of Japan, or, at least, of the two leading

religions between which the great bulk of the people were divided; instead of which they confound perpetually the ministers of the two religions under the common name of bonzes, taking very little pains to distinguish between two systems both of which they regarded as equally false and pernicious. Their attention, indeed, seems to have been principally fixed on the new religion, that of Buddha, or Fo, of which the adherents were by far the most numerous, and the hierarchy the most compact and formidable, presenting, in its organisation and practices (with, however, on some points a very different set of doctrines), a most singular counterpart to the Catholic church—a similarity which the missionaries could only explain by the theory of a diabolical imitation; and which some subsequent Catholic writers have been inclined to ascribe, upon very unsatisfactory grounds, to the ancient labours of Armenian and Nestorian missionaries, being extremely unwilling to admit what seems, however, very probable, if not, indeed, certain—little attention has as yet been given to this interesting inquiry—that some leading ideas of the Catholic church have been derived from Buddhist sources, whose missionaries, while penetrating, as we know they did, to the East, and converting entire nations, may well be supposed not to have been without their influence also on the West.

Notwithstanding, however, the general prevalence, at the time when Japan first became known to Europeans, of the doctrine of Buddha—of which there would seem to have been quite a number of distinct observances, not unlike the different orders of monks and friars in the Catholic church—it appears, as well from the memoirs of the Jesuit missionaries as from more exact and subsequent observations made by residents in the Dutch service, that there also existed another and more ancient religious system, with which the person and authority of the dairi had been and still were closely identified. This system was known as the religion of Shinto, or of the Kami—a name given not only to the seven mythological personages, or celestial gods, who compose the first Japanese dynasty, and to the five demigods, or terrestrial gods, who compose the second (two dynasties which, as in the similar mythology of the Egyptians and Hindus, were imagined to have extended through immense and incomprehensible ages preceding the era of Syn-Mu), but including also the whole series of the dairi, who traced their descent from the first of the demigods, and who, though regarded during their lives as mere men, yet at their deaths underwent, as in the case of the Roman Cæsars, a regular apotheosis, by which they were added to the number of the Kami, or Sin—words both of which had the same signification, namely, inhabitants of heaven. A like apotheosis was also extended to all who had seemed to deserve it by their sanctity, their miracles, or their great benefactions.

The Kami of the first dynasty, the seven superior gods, being regarded as too elevated above the earth to concern themselves in what is passing on it, the chief object of the worship of the adherents of this ancient system was the goddess Tensio Dai-Dsin, already mentioned as the first of the demigods, and the supposed progenitor of the dairi, and of the whole order of the Kuge. Of this Tensio Dai-Dsin, and of her heroic and miraculous deeds, a great many fables were in circulation. Even those who had quitted the ancient religion to embrace the new sects paid a sort of worship to the pretended mother of the Japanese nation, and there was not a considerable city in the empire in which there was not a temple to her honour. On the other hand, the religion of the Kami, by its doctrine of the apotheosis of all great saints and great heroes, gave, like the old pagan religions, a hospitable reception to all new gods, so that even the rival demigod, Buddha, came to be regarded by many as iden-

tical with Tensio Dai-Dsin—a circumstance which will serve to explain the great intermixture of religious ideas found in Japan, and the alleged fact, very remarkable if true, that, till after the arrival of the Portuguese missionaries, religious persecutions had never been known there.

Each of these numerous demigods was supposed by the adherents of the religion of Shinto to preside over a special paradise of his own; this one in the air, that one at the bottom of the sea, one in the moon and another in the sun, and so on; and each devotee, choosing his god according to the paradise that pleased him best, spared no pains to gain admission into it. For what St. Paul had said of the Athenians might, according to the missionaries, be applied with equal truth to the Japanese; they were excessively superstitious, and this superstition had so multiplied temples that there was scarcely a city in which, counting all the smaller chapels, the number did not seem at least equal to that of the most pious Catholic countries.

The temples of the Shinto religion, called *mias*, were and still are—for in this respect no change has taken place—ordinarily built upon eminences, in retired spots, at a distance from bustle and business, surrounded by groves and approached by a grand avenue having a gate of stone or wood, and bearing a tablet or door-plate of a foot and a half square, which announces in gilded letters the name of the Kami to whom the temple is consecrated. These exterior appendages would seem to foretell a considerable structure; but within there is usually found only a wretched little building of wood, half hid among trees and shrubbery, about eighteen feet in length, breadth, and height, all its dimensions being equal, and with only a single grated window, through which the interior may be seen empty, or containing merely a mirror of polished metal, set in a frame of braided straw or hung about with fringes of white paper. Just within the entrance of the enclosure stands a basin of water, by washing in which the worshippers may purify themselves. Beside the temple is a great chest for the reception of alms, partly by which, and partly by an allowance from the dairi, the guardians of the temples are supported, while at the gate hangs a gong on which the visitant announces his arrival. Most of these temples have also an ante-chamber, in which sit those who have the charge, clothed in rich garments. There are commonly also in the enclosure a number of little chapels, or miniature temples, portable so as to be carried in religious processions. All of these temples are built after one model, the famous one of Idzu, near the centre of the island of Nippon, and which within the enclosure is equally humble with all the rest.

The worship consists in prayers and prostrations. Works of religious merit are casting a contribution into the alms-chest, and avoiding or expiating the impurities supposed to be the consequence of being touched by blood, of eating of the flesh of any quadruped except the deer, and to a less extent even that of any bird, of killing any animal, of coming in contact with a dead person, or even, among the more scrupulous, of seeing, hearing of, or speaking of any such impurities. To these may be added, as works of religious merit, the celebration of festivals, of which there are two principal ones in each month, being the first and fifteenth day of it, besides five greater ones distributed through the year, and lasting some of them for several days, in which concerts, spectacles, and theatrical exhibitions form a leading part. We must add the going on pilgrimages, to which, indeed, all the religious of Japan are greatly addicted. The pilgrimage esteemed by the adherents of Shinto as the most meritorious, and which all are bound to make once a year, or at least once in their life, is that of Idzu, the name of a central province on the south coast of Nippon, in which Tensio Dai-Dsin was reported

to have been born and to have died, and which contains a mia exceedingly venerated, and already mentioned as the model after which all the others are built.

Though it is not at all easy to distinguish what, either of ceremony or doctrine, was peculiar or original in the system of Shinto, yet in general that system seems to have been much less austere than the rival doctrine of Buddha, which teaches that sorrow is inseparable from existence, the only escape from it being in annihilation. The adherents of Shinto were, on the other hand, much more disposed to look upon the bright side of things, turning their religious festivals into holidays, and regarding people in sorrow and distress as unfit for the worship of the gods, whose felicity ought not to be disturbed by the sight of pain and misery. And this, perhaps, was one of the causes that enabled the religion of Buddha, which addresses itself more to the sorrowing hearts of which the world is so full, to obtain that predominancy of which the Portuguese missionaries found it in possession.

At the head of the Buddhist hierarchy was a high priest called Xako, resident at Miako, and having much the same spiritual prerogative as the pope of Rome, including the canonisation of saints. With him rested the consecration of the *tundies*, corresponding to the bishops, or rather to the abbots, of the Catholic church—all the Buddhist clergy being, in the language of Rome, regulars (similar, that is, to the monks and friars), and living together in monasteries of which the tundies were the heads. These tundies, however, could not enter upon their offices, to which great revenues were attached, except by the consent of the temporal authorities, which took care to limit the interference of the Xako and the tundies strictly to spiritual matters. There was this further resemblance also to the regular orders of the Romish church, that the Buddhist clergy were divided into a number of observances hardly less hostile to each other than the Dominicans to the Franciscans, or both to the Jesuits. But as the church and state were kept in Japan perfectly distinct, and as the bonzes possessed no direct temporal power, there was no appeal to the secular arm, no civil punishments for heresy, and no religious vows perpetually binding, all being at liberty, so far as the civil law was concerned, to enter or leave the monasteries at pleasure.

There were also, besides the more regular clergy, enthusiasts, or impostors, religious vagabonds who lived by beggary and by pretending to drive away evil spirits, to find things lost, to discover robbers, to determine guilt or innocence of accused parties, to interpret dreams, to predict the future, to cure desperate maladies, and other similar feats, which they performed chiefly through the medium not of a table, but of a child, into whom they pretended to make a spirit enter, able to answer all their questions. Such, in particular, were the Jammabos, or mountain priests, an order of the religion of Shinto.

Yet, exceedingly superstitious as the Japanese were, there was not wanting among them a sect of Rationalists, the natural result of freedom of opinion, who regarded all these practices and doctrines, and all the various creeds of the country, with secret incredulity, and even contempt. These Rationalists looked up to the Chinese Confucius as their master and teacher. They treated the system of Buddha with open hostility, as mere imposture and falsehood, but in order to avoid the odium of being destitute of all religion, conformed, at least so far as external observances were concerned, to the old national system of Shinto.[d]

The Portuguese remained in the country until they were expelled in 1639. Their banishment was due to various causes. Already in 1587 the

emperor had signed an order banishing the missionaries, which, however, was not carried out owing to the opposition of the princes, some of whom had been converted, and the emperor even gave a gracious reception to Father Valignani, who had come to inspect the Jesuit establishments in the East. At about this time also the emperor's attention was occupied with an invasion of Korea, but upon his death in 1598 that dependency of China was definitely abandoned. The most serious blow to the Jesuits came from the commercial rivalry of the Spanish at Manila and the religious rivalry of the Franciscan and Dominican friars. Spanish vessels first began to visit Japan near the close of the sixteenth century, and the traders resented the monopoly of trade enjoyed by the Portuguese. It was not difficult for them still further to prejudice the mind of the emperor against their rivals, and active persecution began in 1597 with the execution of Japanese converts. The persecution continued until 1637, when the converted inhabitants of a whole district in the province of Hizen, numbering over thirty thousand, arose in rebellion and were all massacred.[a]

The Portuguese were accused of having encouraged this revolt; in consequence of which an edict was issued, in 1638, not only banishing all the Portuguese, but forbidding also any Japanese to go out of the country. That edict, as given by Kämpfer, was as follows:

No Japanese ship or boat whatever, nor any native of Japan, shall presume to go out of the country: whoso acts contrary to this shall die, and the ship with the crew and goods aboard shall be sequestered till further order.

All Japanese who return from abroad shall be put to death. Whoever discovers a priest shall have a reward of 400 to 500 *shuets* of silver, and for every Christian in proportion.[1]

All persons who propagate the doctrine of the Catholics, or bear this scandalous name, shall be imprisoned in the *ombra*, or common jail of the town.

The whole race of the Portuguese, with their mothers, nurses, and whatever belongs to them, shall be banished to Macao.

Whoever presumes to bring a letter from abroad, or to return after he hath been banished, shall die with all his family; also whoever presumes to intercede for him shall be put to death. No nobleman nor any soldier shall be suffered to purchase anything of a foreigner.

The Portuguese ships of 1639 were sent back with a copy of this edict, without being suffered to discharge their cargoes. The corporation of the city of Macao, greatly alarmed at the loss of a lucrative traffic, on which their prosperity mainly depended, sent deputies to solicit some modification of this edict. But the only reply made by the emperor was to cause these deputies themselves, with their attendants, to the number of sixty-one persons, to be seized and put to death, as violators of the very edict against which they had been sent to remonstrate. Thirteen only, of the lowest rank, were sent back to Macao, August, 1640, with this account of the fate of their company.[d]

ENGLISH AND DUTCH IN JAPAN

In the mean time the Dutch and English had found the way to Japan. The first ship to arrive was the Dutch *de Liefde*, which reached the harbour of Bungo in April, 1600, having on board an English pilot, Adams by name, who subsequently lived for some time at Yedo and was frequently at the court of Iyéyasu. He has left interesting and historically valuable accounts of what he saw. It appears that the Portuguese did all in their power to

[1] A shuet of silver weighs about five ounces, so that the reward offered was from £400 to £500.

injure these newcomers, even trying to procure their death. Adams says of this treatment:[1] "After wee had been there fiue or sixe days came a Portugall Jesuite, with other Portugals, who reported of vs, that we were pirats, and were not in the way of merchandising. Which report caused the governours and common people to thinke euill of vs: In such manner that we looked always when we should be set upon crosses; which is the execution in this land for theeuery and some other crimes. Thus daily more and more the Portugalls increased the justices and the people against us."

Adams was kept in prison for some time, during which interval efforts were made to persuade the emperor to kill these people who had come to injure Japanese trade. His own sense of justice, however, seems to have prevented him from injuring persons who had done him no harm, and Adams was set free and allowed to join his companions, who had remained on the ship. Adams built two ships for the emperor, in return for which he received a pension, and the Japanese ruler tried to satisfy him by giving him "a living like unto a lordship in England, with eighty or ninety husbandmen that be as my servants or slaves." Adams finally acquired a considerable influence in the country, held the rank of a Japanese samurai, owned property, and received a salary from the English East India Company. He died in Japan, without having returned once to England. In 1609 the Dutch vessel the *Red Lion* arrived at Hirado and obtained permission to establish a factory at that place, and in 1613 the English captain Saris succeeded in establishing a factory in the same place, leaving it in charge of Richard Cocks.

The mutual jealousies, however, of the Hollanders and English did not permit them to live in peace. In 1623 the Dutch at Amboyna executed about a dozen factors of the English East India Company on the charge of having conspired with Japanese residents to seize the Dutch fort. This coming on top of quarrels in Japan, led the English to abandon their trade with that country altogether. From that time until the nineteenth century the Dutch had almost a monopoly of the Chinese trade.[a]

The Dutch trade began in 1609, and in a short time it gained a very considerable extent; and it increased, as the trading establishments which the Dutch gradually obtained in India and Persia, and that on the island of Formosa, whence they had access to China, furnished them with a supply of rich silks, the great article of import into Japan. As the Portuguese trade was carried on from Macao, so the Dutch trade was carried on not from Holland, but from Batavia. The year preceding the shutting up of the Dutch in Deshima is stated to have been the most profitable of any. The previous average sales in Japan had been about sixty tons of gold; but that year the Dutch had imported and disposed of goods to the value of eighty tons of gold (that is, six hundred and forty thousand pounds, a Dutch ton of gold being 100,000 florins, or £8,000). Among the exports were fourteen hundred chests of silver, each chest containing 1,000 taels, or nearly £400,000 in silver alone.

About this time, however, owing to the comparative exhaustion of the silver, or the comparative increase of gold, that metal became a leading, as, indeed, it seems to have been before a considerable, article of export with the Dutch. The gold kobang, the national coin of the Japanese, weighed at this time forty-seven kanderins, that is, two hundred and seventy-four grains troy. But, if superior in weight, the kobang was inferior in fineness, containing of pure gold only two hundred and twenty-four grains, whereas the

[1 Quoted by Murdoch and Yamagata.e]

eagle contains two hundred and thirty-two grains. It passed in Japan and was purchased by the Dutch for six taels or less in silver, which enabled them to dispose of it to good advantage on the coast of Coromandel, where the relative value of gold was much higher. In the two years 1670–1671 more than one hundred thousand kobangs were exported, at a profit of a million florins; and down to that time the Dutch sent annually to Japan five or six ships a year. In 1644 the export of copper began, and went on gradually increasing. In 1671 an edict was issued prohibiting the further export of silver; but this gave no concern to the Dutch, who had already ceased to export it. Its principal operation was against the Chinese, who at this time carried on a great trade to Japan.

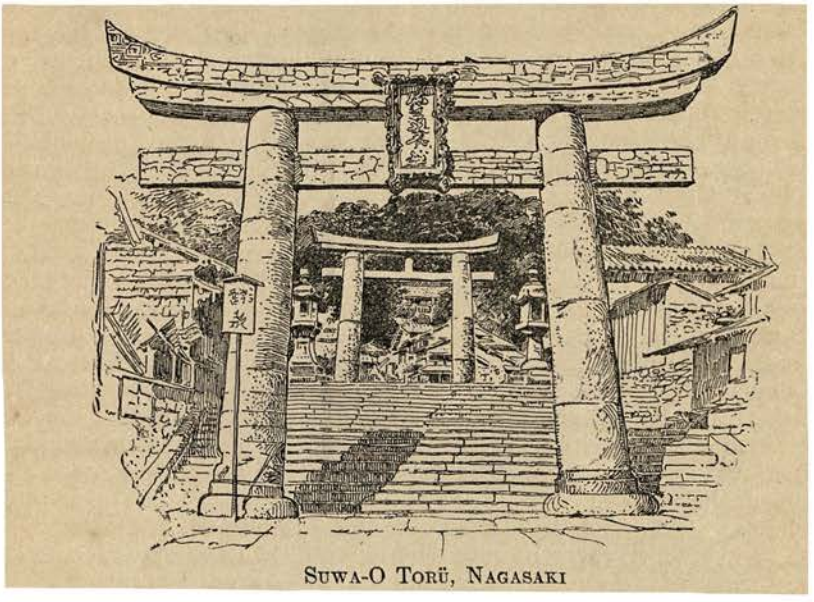
TRADE WITH CHINA

Of the early commercial relations of China and Japan our knowledge is very limited. As the Japanese at an early era, according to their own annals (constructed, it is probable, by Buddhist priests) as early as 600 A.D., had received from China Buddhist missionaries, and through them the language, graphic characters, science, etc., of the Chinese, it would seem probable that some commercial intercourse must have early existed between these two nations. If so, however, the threatened Mongol invasion, towards the end of the thirteenth century, would have been likely to have interrupted it. The native Chinese dynasty, which succeeded after the expulsion of the Mongols, was exceedingly jealous of all strangers and hostile to intercourse with them. No foreign trade was allowed, and every Chinese who left his country incurred a sentence of perpetual banishment. It is true that the Chinese colonists, that had emigrated, perhaps on the invasion of the Mongols, and had settled in the neighbouring maritime countries (as others did afterwards on the invasion of the present Manchu dynasty), still contrived to keep up some intercourse with China, while they carried on a vigorous trade with the adjacent islands and countries; but at the time of the Portuguese discovery no such trade would seem to have existed with Japan.

The Manchu dynasty, which mounted the throne in 1644, was much less hostile to foreigners, and under their rule the Chinese trade to Japan appears to have rapidly increased. This was partly by vessels direct from China, and partly by the commercial enterprise of the Chinese fugitives who possessed themselves of Formosa, from which in 1662 they drove out the Dutch, or who had settled elsewhere on the islands and coasts of southeastern Asia. "They came over," says Kämpfer, "when and with what numbers of people, junks, and goods they pleased. So extensive and advantageous a liberty could not but be very pleasing to them, and put them upon thoughts of a surer establishment, in order to which, and for the free exercise of their religion, they built three temples at Nagasaki, according to the three chief languages spoken by them (those of the northern, middle, and southern provinces), each to be attended by priests of their own nation, to be sent over from China."

Though the prohibition of the export of silver, mentioned as having taken place in 1671, did not affect the Dutch, the very next year the Japanese commenced a system of measures which within a quarter of a century reduced the Dutch commerce to the very narrow limit at which it has ever since remained. The first step was to raise the value of the kobang to six tael eight maas of silver; nor was this by any means the worst of it. The Dutch were no longer allowed to sell their goods to the native merchants. The govern-

ment appointed appraisers, who set a certain value on the goods, much less than the old prices, at which valuation the Dutch must sell, or else take the goods away. Anything which the goods sold for to the Japanese merchants, over the appraisement, went into the town treasury of Nagasaki. These appraisements grew lower and lower every year, till at last the Dutch, threatening, if things went on in this way, to abandon the trade altogether, petitioned the emperor to be restored to their ancient privileges. After waiting three years, they got a gracious answer. The appraisements were abolished, but at the same time, in 1685, an order was suddenly issued limiting the amount which the Dutch might sell in any one year to the value of three hundred thousand taels, or in Dutch money to ten and a half tons of gold, equal approximately to the sum of £84,000 sterling. All the goods of any one year's importation remaining after that amount had been realised were to lie over till the next



SUWA-O TORŪ, NAGASAKI

annual sale. At the same time the annual export of copper was limited to twenty-five thousand piculs; and so matters stood at the time of Kämpfer's visit.

The Chinese trade had meanwhile gone on increasing "to that degree" —we quote again from Kämpfer—"as to make the suspicious and circumspect Japanese extremely jealous of them. In the years 1683 and 1684 there arrived at Nagasaki, in each year, at least two hundred junks, every junk with not less than fifty people on board, making for each year more than ten thousand Chinese visitors." Nor was it trade alone that drew the Chinese thither. In China, the women, except those of servile condition, are kept in perfect seclusion. No man sees even the woman he is to marry till she has actually become his wife; and courtesanship is strictly forbidden and punished. The case, as we have seen, is widely different in Japan, and numerous young and wealthy Chinese were attracted to Nagasaki "purely for their pleasure," as Kämpfer observes, "and to spend some part of their money with Japanese wenches, which proved very beneficial to that town" —truly a very mercantile view of the matter!

"Not only did this increasing number of Chinese visitors excite jealousy, but what still more aroused the suspicion of the Japanese was that the Jesuits, having gained the favour of the then reigning monarch of China with the liberty of preaching and propagating their religion in all parts of the empire, some tracts and books, which the Jesuit fathers had found the means to print in China, in Chinese characters, were brought over to Japan among other Chinese books, and sold privately, which made the Japanese apprehensive that by this means the Catholic religion, which had been exterminated with so much trouble and the loss of so many thousand persons, might be revived again in the country." And they even suspected that the importers of these books, if not actual converts, were at least favourers of the Catholic doctrine.

These reasons combined to produce, in 1684, at the same time with the restrictions placed upon the Dutch, an edict by which the Chinese were limited to an annual importation double the value of that allowed the Dutch, namely, 600,000 taels, equivalent to £168,000, the annual number of junks not to exceed seventy, of which a specific number was assigned to each province and colony, and each to bring not more than thirty persons. Chinese books were, at the same time, subjected to a censorship, two censors being appointed, one for theological, the other for historical and scientific works, none to be imported without their approval.

This was followed up, in the year 1688, by another order, by which the Chinese were, like the Dutch, shut up in a sort of prison, for which, like the Dutch, they were compelled to pay a heavy rent. The site chosen for this spot was a garden, pleasantly situated, just outside of the town, on the side of the harbour opposite Deshima. It was covered with several rows of small houses, each row having a common roof, and the whole was surrounded with a ditch and a strong palisade, from which the only exit was through well-guarded double gates. Even here the Chinese had no permanent residence, like the Dutch. They arrived in detachments, twenty junks in spring, thirty in summer, and twenty in autumn; and after selling their goods, went away, leaving the house empty.

Besides the trade with the Dutch and the Chinese, the Loochoo islands were also permitted to carry on a particular trade with the province of Satsuma, the prince of which they acknowledged as in some respects their sovereign. The import and sale of their goods was limited to the annual amount of 125,000 taels, though in Kämpfer's time a much larger amount was smuggled in, large quantities of Chinese goods being thus introduced.[d]

FIRST CONTACT WITH RUSSIA

The next foreign nation to take an interest in Japan was Russia, who had been brought into these regions by her explorations and conquests in northeastern Asia. Her first attempt to establish intercourse with Japan was towards the end of the eighteenth century, and it was not long afterwards that an American flag appeared in Japanese waters. The efforts of the Japanese to keep out the foreigners and their struggles to be polite though inhospitable are truly pathetic.[a]

The crew of a Japanese vessel shipwrecked in the sea of Okhotsk had been saved by the Russians, about 1782, and taken to Irkutsk, in Siberia, where they lived for ten years. At length the governor of Siberia was directed, by the empress Catherine II, to send home these Japanese, and with them an

envoy, not as from her, but from himself. Lieutenant Laxmann, selected for this purpose, sailed from Okhotsk in the autumn of 1792, landed on the northern coast of Yezo, and passed the winter there. The next summer he entered the harbour of Hakodate, on the northern coast of the strait of Sangar. From that town he travelled by land to the city of Matsumai, three days' journey to the west, and the chief Japanese settlement on the island, the authorities of which, after communicating with Yedo, delivered to him a paper to the following effect: "That although it was ordained by the laws of Japan that any foreigners landing anywhere on the coast, except at Nagasaki, should be seized and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, yet, considering the ignorance of the Russians, and their having brought back the shipwrecked Japanese, they might be permitted to depart, on condition of never approaching, under any pretence, any part of the coast except Nagasaki.

"As to the Japanese brought back, the government was much obliged to the Russians, who, however, were at liberty to leave them or take them away again, as they pleased, it being the law of Japan that such persons ceased to be Japanese, and became the subjects of that government into whose hands destiny had cast them. With respect to commercial negotiations, those could only take place at Nagasaki, and a paper was sent authorising a Russian vessel to enter that port for that purpose; but as the Christian worship was not allowed in Japan, any persons admitted into Nagasaki must carefully abstain from it." Laxmann was treated with great courtesy, though kept in a sort of confinement; he was supported, with his crew, by the Japanese authorities while he remained, and was dismissed with presents and an ample supply of provisions, for which no payment would be received.

Here the matter rested for several years; but into a school for teaching navigation, which Catherine II established at Irkutsk, the capital of eastern Siberia, she introduced a professorship of the Japanese language, the professors being taken from among the Japanese shipwrecked from time to time on the coast of Siberia. Meanwhile, even the Dutch commerce to Japan had undergone some new restrictions. Whether from the prevalence of the "frog-in-a-well" policy, or from apprehensions, as it was said, of the exhaustion of the copper mines, the Dutch in 1790 were limited to a single ship annually, while, to accommodate their expenditures to this diminished trade, the hitherto yearly embassy to Yedo was to be sent only once in four years, though annual presents to the emperor and his officers were still required as before.

AMERICAN SHIPS IN JAPANESE WATERS

The occupation of Holland by the French armies not only exposed Dutch vessels to capture by the English; it cost Holland several of her eastern colonies, and thus placed new obstacles in the way of the Japanese trade. It was no doubt to diminish the danger of capture by the British that, in the year 1797, the ship despatched from Batavia sailed under the American flag, and carried American papers, while the commander, one Captain Stewart, though in reality an Englishman from Madras or Bengal, passed for an American, and his ship as the *Eliza*, of New York. That the crew of this vessel spoke English, and not Dutch, was immediately noticed by the interpreters at Nagasaki, and produced a great sensation among the Japanese officials; but at last, after vast difficulty, they were made to understand that though the crew spoke English, they were not "the English," but of another nation, and, what was a still more essential point, that they had nothing to do with

the trade, but were merely hired to bring the goods in order to save them from capture; as a result of which explanation it was finally agreed that the *Eliza* should be considered as a Dutch ship.

The same vessel and captain returned again the next year; but in leaving the harbour for Batavia, loaded with camphor and copper, she struck a hidden rock, and sunk. The first scheme hit upon for raising the vessel was to send down divers to discharge the copper; but two of them lost their lives from the suffocating effect of the melting camphor, and this scheme had to be abandoned. Heavily laden as she was, every effort at raising her proved abortive, till at last the object was accomplished by a Japanese fisherman, who volunteered his services. He fastened to each side of the sunken vessel some fifteen of the Japanese boats used in towing, and a large Japanese coasting craft to the stern, and, taking advantage of a stiff breeze and a spring tide, dragged the sunken vessel from the rock and towed her into a spot where, upon the ebbing of the tide, she could be discharged without difficulty. For this achievement the fisherman was raised, by the prince of Fisen, to which province he belonged, to the rank of a noble, being privileged to wear two swords, and to take as his insignia or arms a Dutch hat and two tobacco pipes.

When repaired and reloaded the *Eliza* sailed again, but, being dismasted in a storm, returned to refit, by reason of which she was detained so long that the ship of 1799, also under American colours, and this time, it would seem, a real American, the *Franklin*, Captain Devereux, arrived at Nagasaki, and was nearly loaded before Captain Stewart was ready to sail. In this ship of 1799 came out, to be stationed as an officer at the factory, Hendrick Doeff, who remained there for the next seventeen years, and to whose *Recollections of Japan*, written in Dutch, and published in Holland in 1835, we are greatly indebted for what we know of the occurrences in Japan during that period.

In 1807, the *Eclipse*, of Boston, chartered at Canton by the Russian American Company, for Kamchatka and the northwest coast of America, entered the bay of Nagasaki under Russian colours and was towed to the anchorage by an immense number of boats. The Japanese declined to trade, and asked what the ship wanted. Being told water and fresh provisions, they sent on board a plentiful supply of fish, hogs, vegetables, and tubs of water, for which they would take no pay. Finding that no trade was to be had, on the third day the captain lifted his anchors, and was towed to sea by near a hundred boats.[d]

RUSSIANS MADE PRISONERS

In October, 1804, a Russian vessel came to Nagasaki having on board an ambassador from the czar and a number of shipwrecked Japanese. The ambassador was treated with great courtesy, but was sent back after a detention of six months with the polite assurance that Japan wished to have absolutely nothing to do with any foreigners other than Dutch and Chinese. It is interesting to compare the polite courtesy of the Japanese on this occasion and their care of the Russian prisoners made in 1811 with their rather more fierce—although no more firm and decided—attitude towards the Russians a hundred years later.[a]

Captain Golovnin, an educated and intelligent Russian naval officer, had been commissioned in 1811, as commander of the sloop-of-war *Diana*, to survey the southern Kurile islands, in which group the Russians include both Saghalin and Yezo, which they reckon as the twenty-first and twenty-second Kuriles. At the southern extremity of the nineteenth Kurile some Japanese were first

met with (July 13th). Soon after, Golovnin, with two officers, four men, and a Kurile interpreter, having landed at a bay on the southern end of Kunashiri, the twentieth Kurile, where the Japanese had a settlement and a garrison, they were invited into the fort, and made prisoners. Thence they were taken, partly by water and partly by land, to Hakodate, a Japanese town at the southern extremity of Yezo. This journey occupied four weeks, in which, by Golovnin's calculation, they travelled between six and seven hundred miles. The Japanese stated it at two hundred and fifty-five of their leagues. The route followed was along the east coast of the island. Every two miles or so there was a populous village, from all of which extensive fisheries were carried on, evidently the great business of the inhabitants. The fish were caught in great nets, hundreds at once. The best were of the salmon species, but every kind of marine animal was eaten. The gathering of sea-weeds for food (of the kind called by the Russians sea-cabbage) also constituted a considerable branch of industry. In the northern villages the inhabitants were principally native Kuriles, with a few Japanese officers. Within a hundred and twenty or thirty miles of Hakodate the villages were inhabited entirely by Japanese, and were much larger and handsomer than those farther north, having gardens and orchards, and distinguished by their scrupulous neatness; but even the Kurile inhabitants of Yezo were far superior in civilisation and comforts to those of the more northern islands belonging to Russia.

When first seized by the Japanese the Russians were bound with cords, some about the thickness of a finger, and others still smaller. They were all tied exactly alike (according to the prescribed method for binding those arrested on criminal charges), the cords for each having the same number of knots and nooses, and all at equal distances. There were loops round their breasts and necks; their elbows were drawn almost into contact behind their backs, and their hands were firmly bound together. From these fastenings proceeded a long cord, the end of which was held by a Japanese, who, on the slightest attempt to escape, had only to pull it to make the elbows come in contact, with great pain, and so to tighten the noose about the neck as almost to produce strangulation. Their legs were also tied together above the ankles and above the knees. Thus tied, they were conveyed all the way to Hakodate, having the choice, for the land part of the route, either to be carried in a rude sort of palanquin formed of planks, on which they were obliged to lie flat, or to walk, which they generally preferred as less irksome, and for which purpose the cords about the ankles were removed, and those above the knees loosened. The cords were drawn so tight as to be very painful, and even after a while to cut into the flesh; yet, though in all other respects the Japanese seemed inclined to consult the comfort of the prisoners, they would not, for the first six or seven days, be induced to loosen them, of which the chief reason turned out to be their apprehension lest the prisoners might commit suicide—that being the Japanese resource under such extremities.

Their escort consisted of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred men. Two Japanese guides from the neighbouring villages, changed at each new district, led the way, bearing handsomely carved staves. Then came three soldiers, then Captain Golovnin with a soldier on one side, and on the other an attendant with a twig to drive off the gnats, which were troublesome, and against which his bound hands prevented him from defending himself. Behind came an officer holding the ends of the ropes by which the prisoner was bound, then a party of Kuriles bearing his kango, followed by another relief party. The other captives followed, one by one, escorted in the same manner. Finally came three soldiers, and a number of Japanese and Kurile servants

[1811 A.D.]

carrying provisions and baggage. Each of the escort had a wooden tablet suspended from his girdle, on which were inscribed his duties and which prisoner he was stationed with; and the commanding officer had a corresponding list of the whole. The prisoners had the same fare with the escort—three meals a day, generally of rice boiled to a thick gruel, two pieces of pickled radish for seasoning, soup made of radishes or various wild roots and herbs, a kind of macaroni, and a piece of broiled or boiled fish. Sometimes they had stewed mushrooms, and each a hard-boiled egg. Their general drink was very indifferent tea, without sugar, and sometimes saki. Their conductors frequently stopped at the villages to rest, or to drink tea and smoke tobacco, and they also rested for an hour after dinner. They halted for the night an hour or two before sunset, usually in a village with a small garrison. They were always conducted first to the front of the house of the officer in command, and were seated on benches covered with mats, when the officer came out to inspect them. They were then taken to a neat house (which generally, when they first entered, was hung round with striped cotton cloth), and were placed together in one apartment, the ends of their ropes being fastened to iron hooks in the walls. Their boots and stockings were pulled off, and their feet bathed in warm water with salt in it. For bedding they had the Japanese mattresses —quilts with a thick wadding—folded double.

After the first six or seven days their bonds were loosened, and they got on more comfortably. The Japanese took the greatest care of their health, not allowing them to wet their feet, carrying them across the shallowest streams, and furnishing them with quilted Japanese gowns as a protection against the rain.

At Hakodate they were received by a great crowd, among which were several persons with silk dresses mounted on horses with rich caparisons. "Both sides of the road," says Golovnin, "were crowded with spectators, yet everyone behaved with the utmost decorum. I particularly marked their countenances, and never once observed a malicious look, or any sign of hatred towards us, and none showed the least disposition to insult us by mockery or derision." He had observed the same thing in the villages through which they had passed, where the prisoners had received, as they did afterwards, from numerous individuals, many touching instances of commiseration and sympathy.

At Hakodate they were confined in a prison, a high wooden enclosure, or fence, surrounded by an earthen wall somewhat lower (and on their first approach to it hung with striped cloth),[1] inside of which was a long, barn-like building. Within this building were a number of small apartments, scarcely six feet square, formed of thick spars, and exactly like cages, in which the prisoners were shut up, the passages and other spaces being occupied by the guards.[2] Their food was much worse than on the journey (probably Japanese prison fare), boiled rice, soup of warm water and grated radish, a handful of finely chopped young onions with boiled beans, and one or two pickled cucumbers or radishes. Instead of the radish-soup, puddings of bean-meal and rancid fish-oil were sometimes served. Very rarely they had half a fish, with soy. Their drink was warm water, and occasionally bad tea.

[1] The fort on the island where they were taken prisoners, when first seen from the ship, was hung round with striped cloths, which concealed the walls. These cloths had embrasures painted on them, but in so rough a manner that the deception could be perceived at a considerable distance.

[2] The description of this prison corresponds very well to Kämpfer's description of the one at Nagasaki.

Their only means of communicating with the Japanese had been, at first, a Kurile, one of the prisoners, who knew a little Russian, and probably about as much Japanese. At Hakodate another interpreter presented himself; but he, a man of fifty, naturally stupid, and knowing nothing of any European language except a little Russian, did not prove much better.

The second day they were conducted through the streets, by a guard of soldiers (the prisoners each with a rope round his waist held by a Japanese), to a fort or castle, which was surrounded by palisades and an earthen wall. Within was a court-yard, in the centre of which was a brass cannon on a badly constructed carriage. From this court-yard Golovnin, and after him each of the others, was conducted through a wide gate, which was immediately shut behind them, into a large hall, of which half had a pavement of small stones; the other half had a floor, or platform, raised three feet from the ground, and covered with curiously wrought mats. The hall was fifty or sixty feet long, of equal breadth, eighteen feet high, and divided by movable screens, neatly painted, from other adjoining rooms. There were two or three apertures for windows, with paper instead of glass, admitting an obscure, gloomy light. The governor sat on the floor, in the middle of the elevated platform, with two secretaries behind him. On his left (the Japanese place of honour) was the next in command; on his right, another officer; on each side of these, other officers of inferior rank. They all sat, in the Japanese fashion, with their legs folded under them, two paces apart, clothed in black dresses, their short swords in their girdles, and their longer ones lying at their left. The new interpreter sat on the edge of the raised floor, and an inferior officer at each of the corners of it. On the walls hung irons for securing prisoners, ropes, and various instruments of punishment. The Russian prisoners stood in front of the raised floor, the officers in a line, the sailors behind. The Kurile was seated on the stones. They underwent a very rigorous and particular examination, all their answers being written down. The questions related to their birthplaces; their families (and when it appeared that they came from different towns, how it happened that they served on board the same ship); the burden and force of their vessel; their own rank; their object; their route since leaving St. Petersburg, which they were required to trace on a chart, etc., etc.

Among other things, the governor remarked that Laxmann (who had visited Japan in 1792) wore a long tail, and covered his hair with flour; whereas the prisoners (powder and queues having gone out of fashion in the interval) had their hair cut short and unpowdered; and he asked if some change of religion had not taken place in Russia. When told that in Russia there was no connection between religion and the way of wearing the hair, the Japanese laughed, but expressed great surprise that there should not be some express law on the subject.

Eighteen days after, they had a second examination, on which occasion a letter, of which the Japanese wanted an interpretation, was delivered to them. It had been sent on shore from their ship along with their baggage, expressing a determination to return to Okhotsk for reinforcements, and never to quit the coast of Japan till the prisoners were rescued. This re-examination was continued for two days, in which many inquiries were made about Chvostov, and the papers he had left behind him, one of which was produced. The Russian prisoners tried to make out that the proceedings of Chvostov were without authority from the Russian government; but the Japanese evidently did not believe them.[d]

RESCUE OF RUSSIANS

Efforts were made to effect the release of the captured Russians, and in the following summer the *Diana* returned under the command of Captain Rikord. Failing in all attempts to communicate with anyone on shore, Rikord took a Japanese merchant, Kachi by name, back to Russia with him as a sort of hostage. He returned again to Kunashiri, and the Russians were finally released after having been confined over two years. A paper was sent with them to their government, explicitly stating Japanese policy with regard to foreigners, the main substance of which was as follows:[a]

NOTIFICATION FROM THE GINMIYAKS, THE CHIEF COMMANDERS NEXT TO THE BUNGO OF MATSUMAI

Twenty-two years ago a Russian vessel arrived at Matsumai, and eleven years ago another came to Nagasaki. Though the laws of our country were on both these occasions minutely explained, yet we are of opinion that we have not been clearly understood on your part, owing to the great dissimilarity between our languages and writing. However, as we have now detained you, it will be easy to give you an explanation of these matters. When you return to Russia, communicate to the commanders of the coasts of Kamchatka, Okhotsk, and others, the declaration of our bungo, which will acquaint them with the nature of the Japanese laws with respect to the arrival of foreign ships, and prevent a repetition of similar transgressions on your part.

In our country the Christian religion is strictly prohibited, and European vessels are not suffered to enter any Japanese harbour except Nagasaki. This law does not extend to Russian vessels only. This year it has not been enforced, because we wished to communicate with your countrymen; but all that may henceforth present themselves will be driven back by cannon-balls. Bear in mind this declaration, and you cannot complain if at any future period you should experience a misfortune in consequence of your disregard of it.

Among us there exists this law: "If any European residing in Japan shall attempt to teach our people the Christian faith, he shall undergo a severe punishment, and shall not be restored to his native country." As you, however, have not attempted to do so, you will accordingly be permitted to return home. Think well on this.

Our countrymen wish to carry on no commerce with foreign lands, for we know no want of necessary things. Though foreigners are permited to trade to Nagasaki, even to that harbour only those are admitted with whom we have for a long period maintained relations, and we do not trade with them for the sake of gain, but for other important objects. From the repeated solicitations which you have hitherto made to us, you evidently imagine that the customs of our country resemble those of your own; but you are very wrong in thinking so. In future, therefore, it will be better to say no more about a commercial connection.

In all this business the efforts of Kachi had been indefatigable. At first he was treated by his own countrymen with the suspicion and reserve extended to all, even native Japanese, who come from a foreign country. For a long time he was not permitted to visit Golovnin. A guard was set over him, and even his friends and relations could not see him except in the presence of an imperial soldier. In fact, according to the Japanese laws, as a person just returned from a foreign country, he ought to have been allowed no correspondence at all with his friends. The governor of Hakodate, having a letter for him from his only son, said not a word to him about it, but having sent for him to convey a letter from Golovnin on board the *Diana*, while walking up and down the room, threw his son's letter towards him, as if it had been a piece of waste paper taken out of his sleeve accidentally with the other letter, and then turned his back to give him time to pick it up.[1]

[1] In Japan, as elsewhere, etiquette requires a good many things to be done under feigned pretences, and on many occasions an affected ignorance of what everybody knows. The Japanese have a particular term (*neboen*) to express this way of doing things.

Kachi's abduction had thrown his family into great distress. A celebrated priest, or spirit-medium, at Hakodate, to the question whether he ever would return, had answered, "Kachi will return the ensuing summer, with two of his companions; the remaining two have perished in a foreign land." This answer was communicated to Golovnin, who laughed at it; but when, on Kachi's return, it appeared that two of his Japanese attendants had actually died, the Japanese believers were greatly edified, and highly indignant at Golovnin's persistence in maintaining that there was more of luck than foresight in the prophecy. Kachi's wife, in her grief, made a vow to go on a pilgrimage through the whole of Japan; and Kachi assured Captain Rikord that scarcely had she returned from her pilgrimage when she received his letter from Kunashiri announcing his return.

Kachi had a bosom friend, who, on learning his fate, divided his large property among the poor, and took up his residence in the mountains, as a hermit. As appeared on various occasions, Kachi was a strict disciplinarian, and very punctilious. He had a daughter, whom, owing to some misconduct, he had discarded. She was dead to him, so he said; and to Rikord, to whom he had told the story, and who had taken an interest in the girl, he had insisted that a reconciliation would be inconsistent with his honour. Yet, to show his hermit friend that in the way of self-sacrifice he was not to be outdone, he made up his mind to the great effort of calling his daughter into life, and forgiving her. His friend would, he said, when this communication was made to him, at once understand it.

During Kachi's absence his mercantile affairs had prospered, and before Rikord's departure he brought on board the *Diana*, with all the evidence of paternal pride, his son, who seemed, indeed, to be a promising youth. He was very liberal in his distribution of silk and cotton wadded dresses to the crew, to all of whom he gave one or more, to his favourites the best ones, taking especial care to remember the cook.[d]

AMERICAN INTERCOURSE WITH JAPAN

The sailing of the Dutch ships was, as we have seen, interrupted by the French wars, and on several occasions it was an American ship which made the annual visit from Batavia to the Dutch factory in Japan. No vessels at all came from Batavia between the years 1809 and 1813, and again from 1814 to 1817 the Dutch intercourse was discontinued. Finally in 1817 two ships arrived from Batavia with the news that the colony had been restored to the Dutch, and in the next year an English boat tried to establish trading relations, but without success. In 1837 an American firm at Macao fitted out the brig *Morrison* to sail for Japan, having on board three Japanese who had been shipwrecked on the American shore of the Pacific and who had been sent from there to England and thence to Macao, and also four Japanese who had been wrecked on the Philippines. The Japanese met them with a show of hostility and they were not allowed to land. The Japanese on board the *Morrison* were especially disappointed.[a]

The poor fellows suffered severely at this unexpected extinction of their prospect of revisiting their families. They expressed great indignation at the conduct of their countrymen, and two of them shaved their heads entirely, in token, as it was understood, of having renounced their native soil. As it was not deemed expedient to go to Nagasaki, where the Japanese on board expressed their determination not to land, the *Morrison* returned to Macao.

[1843-1852 A.D.]

In 1843, probably in consequence of this visit of the *Morrison*, the Japanese authorities promulgated an edict, of which the following is a translation, as given by the Dutch at Deshima, who were requested to communicate to the other European nations—the first attempt ever made to employ their agency for that purpose:

> Shipwrecked persons of the Japanese nation must not be brought back to their country, except on board of Dutch or Chinese ships, for, in case these shipwrecked persons shall be brought back in the ships of other nations, they will not be received. Considering the express prohibition, even to Japanese subjects, to explore or make examinations of the coasts or islands of the empire, this prohibition, for greater reason, is extended to foreigners.

The British opium war in China, of the progress of which the Japanese were well informed, if it increased the desire of the English to gain access to Japan, did not, by any means, diminish the Japanese dread of foreigners.[d]

In spite of all Japanese edicts, however, foreigners still tried to gain admittance into their island. In 1848 the American commodore Biddle was instructed to ascertain if Japan would open her ports to foreign trade. He received the following answer as translated by the Dutch interpreter:

> According to the Japanese laws, the Japanese may not trade except with the Dutch and Chinese. It will not be allowed that America make a treaty with Japan or trade with her, as the same is not allowed with any other nation. Concerning strange lands all things are fixed at Nagasaki, but not here in the bay; therefore, you must depart as quick as possible, and not come any more to Japan.

The next year the *Preble* was despatched from Canton under Commander Glynn, to bring away certain American sailors who were reported to have been shipwrecked in Japan. The *Preble* accomplished its mission in so far as obtaining the sailors was concerned, but no Americans were allowed to land. These successive repulses, however, failed to discourage American attempts to establish a footing in the exclusive island.[a]

COMMODORE PERRY'S EXPEDITION

The settlement of California, the new trade opened thence with China, and the idea of steam communication across the Pacific, for which the coal of Japan might be needed, combined, with the extension of the whale fishery in the northern Japanese seas, to increase the desire in America for access to the ports of Japan. Shortly after the visit of the *Preble* the American government resolved to send an envoy thither, backed by such a naval force as would insure him a respectful hearing—the cases of Biddle and Glynn seeming to prove that the humouring policy could not be relied upon, and that the only way to deal successfully with the Japanese was to show a resolution not to take No for an answer.

Accordingly, Mr. Webster, as secretary of state, prepared a letter from the president to the emperor of Japan; also a letter of instructions to the American naval commander in the China seas, to whom it was resolved to intrust the duty of envoy, and whose force was to be strengthened by additional ships. The sailing, however, of these ships was delayed till after Mr. Webster's death; and in the mean time Commodore Matthew C. Perry was selected as the head of the expedition. A new letter, dated November 5th, 1852, addressed from the state department to the secretary of the navy, thus defined its objects:

"1. To effect some permanent arrangement for the protection of American seamen and property wrecked on these islands, or driven into their ports by stress of weather.

"2. The permission to American vessels to enter one or more of their ports, in order to obtain supplies of provisions, water, fuel, etc.; or, in case of disasters, to refit so as to enable them to prosecute their voyage. It is very desirable to have permission to establish a depot for coal, if not on one of the principal islands, at least on some small, uninhabited one, of which it is said there are several in their vicinity.

"3. The permission to our vessels to enter one or more of their ports for the purpose of disposing of their cargoes by sale or barter."

The mission was to be of a pacific character, as the president had no power to declare war; yet the show of force was evidently relied upon as more likely than anything else to weigh with the Japanese. The Dutch government, it was stated, had instructed their agents at Deshima to do all they could to promote the success of the expedition. Indeed, if we may believe Jancigny,[1] who speaks from information obtained during a residence at Batavia in 1844-45, the king of Holland had, as long ago as that time, addressed a letter to the emperor of Japan, urging him to abandon the policy of exclusion. The letter of instructions disavowed any wish to obtain exclusive privileges; but, as a matter of policy, nothing was to be said about other nations.

Furnished with these orders, and this letter splendidly engrossed and enclosed in a gold box of the value of a thousand dollars, and provided also with a variety of presents, Commodore Perry, towards the end of 1852, sailed from the United States in the steam-frigate *Mississippi*, and, after touching at Madeira and the Cape of Good Hope, arrived at Hong-Kong in April, 1853, whence he proceeded to Shanghai. The dispersion of the vessels of the squadron, delay in the arrival of others from the United States, difficulty in obtaining coal, and the claim of the American merchants in China, in consideration of existing civil commotions, to the protecting presence of a naval force, caused some delays. But at length, after touching at Loochoo and making a visit to the Bonin Islands, Perry, with the steam-frigate *Susquehanna*, now the flagship, the *Mississippi*, and the sloops-of-war *Plymouth* and *Saratoga*, made Cape Idsu about daybreak on the 8th of July. Many rumours had been current on the coast of China of extensive warlike preparations by the Japanese, aided by the Dutch, and the squadron was fully prepared for a hostile reception. Perry had made up his mind, instead of attempting to conciliate by yielding, to stand upon his dignity to the utmost, to allow no petty annoyances, and to demand as a right, instead of soliciting as a favour, the courtesies due from one civilised nation to another.

The promontory constituting the province of Idzu appeared, as the vessels ran along it, to be a group of high mountains, their summits scarred with slides, and their sides mostly wooded, though here and there a cultivated spot could be seen. By noon the ships reached Cape Sagami, which separates the inner from the outer bay of Yedo. The shores of this point rose in abrupt bluffs two hundred feet high, with green dells running down to the water-side. Farther off were groves and cultivated fields, and mountains in the distance.

Leaving behind some twelve or fifteen Japanese boats, which put off from Cape Sagami to intercept them, the vessels stood up through the narrowest part of the bay, not more than five to eight miles wide, but expanding after-

[1] *Japan*, p. 197. Perry, to judge by his letters (December 14th, 1852 May 6th, 1853), did not place much reliance on the aid of the Dutch. The British Admiralty showed their goodwill by furnishing the latest charts and sailing directions for the eastern seas.

[1853 A.D.]

wards to fifteen miles, having now also in sight the eastern shore, forming a part of the province of Awa. Within half an hour after passing Cape Sagami they made another bold promontory from the west, forming a second entrance to the upper bay. In the bight formed by it lay the town of Urakawa, visible from the ships, which, sounding their way, anchored within a mile and a half of the promontory—a mile or more in advance of the anchorage ground of the *Columbus* and *Vincennes*.

As the ships dropped their anchors two or three guns or mortars were fired from the second promontory, and four or five boats put off. They were of unpainted wood, very sharp, their greatest breadth well towards the stern, and propelled with great rapidity by tall, athletic rowers, naked, save a cloth about the loins, who shouted lustily as they pulled. In the stern of each boat was a small flag with three horizontal stripes, the middle one black, the others white, and about it were four or five well-dressed men with two swords in their girdles.

Some parley took place before anybody was admitted on board, that favour being refused except to the person highest in authority in the town. The conversation was carried on in Dutch, which the Japanese interpreter spoke very well, and, from what he said, it was evident that the vessels had been expected. After a long parley, in which the high rank of the commodore, and the necessity of his being met by persons of corresponding rank, were very much insisted upon, an officer, representing himself as second in command at the town in sight, was admitted on board. The commodore, however, declined to see him in person, and turned him over to Mr. Contee, the flag-lieutenant, who, assisted by the two interpreters—one for Dutch, the other for Chinese—had a long interview with him and his interpreter in the cabin. He was told that the object of the expedition was to deliver a letter from the president of the United States to the emperor, and that some high officer must be sent on board to receive it; also, that the squadron would not submit to be watched and guarded, after the Japanese fashion, but that all the guard-boats must withdraw. The officer, as usual, was very inquisitive. He wanted to know whether the vessels came from Boston, New York, or Washington, how many men they had, etc., etc.; but these questions he was given to understand were regarded as impertinent.

Seeing the determination evinced, the Japanese officer, by name Tabroske, returned on shore, taking back his official notifications in French, Dutch, and English, by custom always addressed to ships arriving on the coast which the lieutenant refused to receive. He was followed by the boats, which, after that, kept at a respectful distance. He came back in about an hour to excuse his superior from receiving the letter addressed to the emperor. He spoke of Nagasaki as the proper place for foreign ships to touch at, and doubted if the letter would be answered; but all this was cut short by the assurance that if his superior did not send for the letter, the ships would proceed still higher up the bay to deliver it themselves; upon which information, much agitated, he stipulated for permission to return in the morning. As he departed, looking at the long gun in the cabin, he exclaimed, with an interrogative look, "Paixhan?" showing that the Japanese were not ignorant of the modern improvements in gunnery any more than of American geography.

It was noticed that, towards night, the boatmen put on their Japanese gowns, most of them blue, with white stripes on the sleeves, meeting angularwise on the shoulders, and with a symbol or badge on the back. Others wore gowns of red and white stripes, with a black lozenge upon the back. A few had broad bamboo hats, like a shallow basin inverted: but most of them were

bareheaded. The officers wore light and beautifully lacquered hats, with a gilded symbol in front. During the night watch-fires blazed along the coast, and bells were heard sounding the hours. The next morning (Saturday) Koyama Yezaimon, first in command at the town, came on board, and made another attempt to beg off from receiving the letter to the emperor. Finally he proposed to send to Yedo for permission, and was allowed three days to do it in.

Meanwhile surveying parties from the ships ran up the bay a distance of four miles, finding everywhere from thirty to forty fathoms of water. They sounded round the bight within which the ships lay, keeping about a cable's length from the shore, and finding five fathoms. Yezaimon represented that this survey was against the Japanese laws, but was told that if forbidden by the laws of Japan, it was commanded by the laws of America. On approaching the forts, of which there were five, two apparently of recent construction, the soldiers, armed with matchlocks, came out; but as the boats drew near, they retired again. These forts were very feeble, mounting only fourteen guns in the whole, none larger than nine-pounders. Of soldiers, about four hundred were seen, many of them armed with spears. There was also, as usual, a great show of canvas screens; but, on the whole, the warlike means of the Japanese seemed contemptible.

From the town to the end of the promontory, a distance of a mile and a half, was an unbroken line of villages. At least a hundred small craft lay in the harbour. The hills behind, some five hundred feet high, were dotted with pines and other trees. In the morning and evening, when the air was clear, Mount Fusi might be seen in the west, sixty miles distant. The presence of the American ships did not seem to disturb the coasting trade. Sixty or seventy large junks, besides hundreds of boats and fishing-smacks, daily passed up and down the bay, to and from Yedo.

On Monday, the 11th, the same surveying party proceeded up the bay some ten miles, followed by the *Mississippi*. They were constantly met by government boats, the officers on board which urged them by signs to return, but of which they took no notice. Deep soundings were everywhere obtained, with a bottom of soft mud. A deep bay was found on the western shore, with good and safe anchoring ground. In the evening Yezaimon returned on board, well pleased, apparently, to be able to give information of the probability of good news from Yedo, but rather troubled at the explorations by the boats. The flag-lieutenant, with whom he had his interviews, describes him as "a gentleman, clever, polished, well-informed, a fine, large man, about thirty-four, of most excellent countenance, taking his wine freely, and a boon companion."

The next day (the 12th) he brought information that the emperor would send down a high officer to receive the letter. No answer would be given immediately, but one would be forwarded through the Dutch or Chinese. This latter proposition the commodore treated as an insult. As, however, if he waited for an answer, excuses might easily be found for protracting his stay in an inconvenient manner, and at last wearying him out, he agreed to allow time for its preparation, and to return to receive it. The following Thursday (the 14th) was appointed for the interview with the commissioners appointed to receive the letter, which was to take place two miles south of the town, at a picturesque spot on the left side of a narrow valley extending inland from the head of the bight. Its retired situation, and the facility it afforded for the display of a military force, were probably the motives of its selection

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At the hour appointed for the meeting, as the two steamers approached the spot, long lines of canvas walls were seen stretching crescent-wise, quite round the head of the bight, and in front files of soldiers with a multitude of brilliant banners. Near the centre of the crescent were nine tall standards, with broad scarlet pennons, in the rear of which could be seen the roof of the house prepared for the interview. On the right, a line of fifty or sixty boats was drawn up, parallel to the beach, each with a red flag at its stern.

The foremost files of the Japanese soldiers stood about a hundred yards from the beach, in somewhat loose and straggling order. The greater part were behind the canvas screens. There were a number of horses to be seen, and in the background a body of cavalry. The Japanese stated the number of troops at five thousand. On the slope of the hill, near the village, was collected a crowd of spectators, of whom many were women.

As soon as the steamers dropped their anchors they were approached by two boats containing their former visitors, the first and second officers of the town, with the interpreters, very richly dressed in silk brocade, bordered with velvet, and having on their garments of ceremony. The steamers lay with their broadsides to the shore, ready for action in case of treachery. Fifteen launches and cutters were got ready, from which three hundred and twenty persons, officers, seamen, marines, and musicians, were landed on an extemporaneous jetty which the Japanese had formed of bags of sand. Last of all the commodore landed with due formality, when the whole body, preceded by the Japanese officers and interpreters, marched to the house of reception, carrying with them the president's letter, the box which held it wrapped in scarlet cloth, as was also that containing the letter of credence. In front of the houses prepared for the interview were two old brass four-pounders, apparently Spanish, and on each side a company of soldiers, those on one side armed with matchlocks, those on the other with old Tower muskets, with flint locks and bayonets.

The reception building was a temporary structure, evidently put up for the occasion. The first apartment, about forty feet square, was of canvas. The floor was covered with white cotton cloth, with a pathway of red felt leading across to a raised inner apartment, wholly carpeted with the same red felt. This apartment, of which the front was entirely open, was hung with fine cloth, stamped with the imperial symbols in white on a ground of violet. On the right was a row of arm-chairs for the commodore and his staff. On the opposite side sat the two commissioners appointed to receive the letters, and who were announced by the interpreters as the princes of Idzu and Iwami. The former was a man about fifty, with a very pleasing and intelligent face. The latter was older by fifteen years or so, wrinkled with age, and of looks much less prepossessing. Both were splendidly dressed, in heavy robes of silk tissue, elaborately ornamented with threads of gold and silver. As the commodore entered, both rose and bowed gravely, but immediately resumed their seats and remained silent and passive as statues.

At the end of the room was a large scarlet-lacquered box, standing on gilded feet, beside which Yezaimon and one of the interpreters knelt, at the same time signifying that all things were ready for the reception of the letters. They were brought in, and the boxes containing them being opened so as to display the writing and the golden seals, they were placed upon the scarlet box, and along with them translations in Dutch and Chinese, as well as an English transcript. The prince of Iwami then handed to the interpreter, who gave it to the commodore, an official receipt in Japanese, to which the interpreter added a Dutch translation, which translated literally into English was as follows:

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The letter of the president of the United States of North America, and copy, are hereby received and delivered to the emperor. Many times it has been communicated that business relating to foreign countries cannot be transacted here in Urakawa, but in Nagasaki. Now, it has been observed that the admiral, in his quality of ambassador of the president, would be insulted by it; the justice of this has been acknowledged; consequently the above-mentioned letter is hereby received, in opposition to the Japanese law.

Because the place is not designed to treat of anything from foreigners, so neither can conference nor entertainment take place. The letter being received, you will leave here.

The commodore remarked, when this receipt was delivered to him, that he should return again, probably in April or May, for an answer. "With all the ships?" asked the interpreter. "Yes, and probably with more," was the reply. Nothing more was said on either side. As the commodore departed, the commissioners rose and remained standing, and so the interview ended, without a single word uttered on their part.

The Japanese officers of the town, with the Japanese interpreters, accompanied the American party back to the *Susquehanna*, whose machinery they examined with much interest. When off the town, they were set ashore; but the steamers, to show how lightly the injunction to leave was regarded, proceeded up the bay and anchored a short distance above the point reached by the *Mississippi*. In spite of the solicitude of the Japanese officers, who came again on board, the whole bight between the promontory of Urakawa and another north of it was carefully surveyed. At the head a river was found. The shores were studded with villages, whose inhabitants offered to the surveying party cold water, and peaches from their gardens. To the place where the steamers lay the name was given of "American anchorage."

The next day (Friday, the 15th) the *Mississippi* proceeded on an excursion ten miles further up, and reached, as was supposed, within eight or ten miles of the capital. On the western shore were seen two large towns. On the extremity of a cape in front, some four miles distant, stood a tall white tower like a lighthouse. Three or four miles beyond was a crowd of shipping, supposed to be the anchorage of Sinagawa, the southern suburb of Yedo. At the point where the steamer put about she had twenty fathoms of water. On Saturday, the 16th, the vessels moved to a new anchorage, five or six miles down the bay and much nearer the shore, and here the surveying operations were renewed. The same day an interchange of presents took place with Yezaimon, who, however, was induced to accept those offered to him only by the positive refusal of his own, except on that condition. Thus pressed, he finally took them, except some arms—articles, he said, which the Japanese neither gave nor received. In the afternoon he came again, in excellent humour, his conduct probably having been approved on shore, bringing a quantity of fowls in light wicker coops, and three or four thousand eggs in boxes, for which a box of garden-seeds was accepted in return. The next day, the 17th, and the tenth since their arrival, the vessels weighed and stood for Loochoo, the bay being covered with boats to witness their departure.

Commodore Perry spent the remainder of the year on the coast of China, keeping one vessel, however, at Loochoo, and prosecuting the survey of the Bonin Islands. Shortly after his visit the shogun died, and an attempt was made to take advantage of that circumstance to delay or prevent the return of the American ships. A communication, forwarded to Batavia by the Dutch ship that left Nagasaki in November, and communicated by the Dutch governor-general at Batavia to the commodore, represented that the necessary mourning for the deceased sovereign, and other arrangements consequent on his death, as well as the necessity of consulting all the princes,

must necessarily delay the answer to the president's letter, and suggested the danger of confusion, or "broil," should the squadron come back at so unseasonable a moment.

Undeterred, however, by this representation, on the 12th of February, 1854, Commodore Perry reappeared in the bay of Yedo, with three steam frigates, four sloops of war, and two store-ships, and, the steamers taking the sailing vessels in tow, they all moved up to the American anchorage. About two weeks were spent here in fixing upon a place to negotiate, the Japanese importuning the commodore to go back to Kamakura, twenty miles below Urakawa, or, at least, to the latter place, while he insisted upon going to Yedo. As he declined to yield, and caused the channel to be sounded out within four miles of Yedo, they proposed, as the place of meeting, the village of Yokohama, containing about ten thousand people, and situated on the shore just opposite the anchorage of the ships. To this the commodore agreed, and the ships drew in and moored in line, with broadsides bearing upon the shore, and covering an extent of five miles.

"On the 8th of March," says a letter dated on board the *Vandalia*, and published in the New York *Journal of Commerce*, "the day appointed for the first meeting, about nine hundred officers, seamen, and marines, armed to the teeth, landed, and, with drums beating and colours flying, were drawn up on the beach, ready to receive the commodore. As soon as he stepped on shore the bands struck up, salutes were fired, the marines presented arms, and, followed by a long escort of officers, he marched up between the lines and entered the house erected by the Japanese expressly for the occasion. Thousands of Japanese soldiers crowded the shore and the neighbouring elevations, looking on with a good deal of curiosity and interest.

"The house was nothing but a plain frame building, hastily put up, containing one large room—the audience hall—and several smaller, for the convenience of attendants, etc. The floor was covered with mats, and very pretty painted screens adorned the sides. Long tables and benches covered with red woollen stuff, placed parallel to each other, three handsome braziers filled with burning charcoal on the floor between them, and a few violet-coloured crape hangings suspended from the ceiling, completed the furniture of the room. As we entered we took our seats at one of the tables. The Japanese commissioners soon came in, and placed themselves opposite to us, at the other table; while behind us both, seated on the floor on their knees[1] (their usual position, for they do not use chairs), was a crowd of Japanese officers forming the train of the commissioners.

"The business was carried on in the Dutch language, through interpreters, of whom they have several who speak very well, and two or three who speak a little English. They were on their knees, between the commissioners and the commodore. Our interpreter was seated by the side of the latter. It was curious to see the intolerable ceremony observed by them, quite humiliating to a democratic republican. A question proposed had to pass first through the interpreters, and then through several officers ascending in rank, before it could reach the commissioners, everyone bowing his forehead to the floor before he addressed his superior. Refreshments were served in elegantly lacquered dishes; first of all, tea, which, as in China, is the constant beverage; then different kinds of candy and sponge cake (they are excellent confectioners, and very fond of sugar); lastly, oranges and a palatable liquor distilled from rice, called saki. A flimsy banquet like this was not very agreeable to such hungry individuals as we, and we were the more disap-

[1] Rather on their heels.

pointed, for, the Japanese using only chopsticks, we had, previously to coming ashore, taken the precaution, as we shrewdly thought, to provide ourselves with knives and forks. Imagine, then, our chagrin when finding nothing substantial upon which to employ them. What was left on our plates was wrapped in paper and given to us to carry away, according to the usual custom in Japan.

"The commissioners were intelligent-looking men, richly dressed in gay silk petticoat pantaloons, and upper garments resembling in shape ladies' short gowns. Dark-coloured stockings, and two elegant swords pushed through a twisted silk girdle, finished the costume. Straw sandals are worn, but are always slipped off upon entering a house. They do not cover the head, the top and front part of which is shaved, and the back and side hair, being brought up, is tied so as to form a tail three or four inches long, that extends forward upon the bald pate, terminating about half-way between the apex and the forehead. It is a very comfortable fashion, and, were it not for the quantity of grease used in dressing it, would be a very cleanly one.

"Two audiences a week were held, at which the same programme was performed as related above, except that we fared more luxuriously.[1] Becoming better acquainted with our taste, they feasted us with a broth made of fish, boiled shrimps, hard-boiled eggs, and very good raw oysters. At one of the interviews (March 13th), the presents from our government were delivered. They consisted of cloths, agricultural implements, firearms, etc., and a beautiful locomotive, tender, and passenger-car, one-fourth the ordinary size, which we put in motion on a circular track at the rate of twenty miles an hour. A mile of magnetic telegraph was also erected on shore and put in operation. The Japanese were more interested in it than anything else, but never manifested any wonder. So capable are they of concealing and controlling their feelings, that they would examine the guns, machinery, etc., of the steamers without expressing the slightest astonishment. They are a much finer-looking race than the Chinese—intelligent, polite, and hospitable, but proud, licentious, unforgiving, and revengeful."

The death of a marine afforded an opportunity, at the first meeting with the commissioners, of demanding a burying-place. It was proposed to send the body to Nagasaki; but as the commodore would not listen to that, a spot was assigned near one of their temples, and in view of the ships, where the body was buried, with all the forms of the English church service, after which the Japanese surrounded the grave with a neat enclosure of bamboo. A formal letter of reply to the propositions contained in the letters delivered at the former visit repeated the story of a change of succession and the necessity of delays. The justice, however, of the demands in relation to shipwrecked seamen, wood, water, provisions, and coal was conceded; but five years were asked before opening a new harbour, the Americans, in the mean time, to resort to Nagasaki.

Of Nagasaki, however, the commodore would not hear, nor of any restrictions like those imposed on the Dutch and Chinese at that port. He demanded three harbours, one in Nippon, one in Yezo, and a third in Loochoo. As to the last two, the Japanese pleaded that they were very distant countries, and only partially subject to the emperor, especially the last, upon which the commodore did not insist. In Nippon he asked for Urakawa, and for Matsumai in Yezo, but acceded to the Japanese offer of Shimoda and Hakodate, having first sent a ship to examine the former. The commissioners were exceedingly tenacious, even upon points of phraseology, but gave evidence

[1] The number of American officers present at these interviews was from twenty to fifty.

of acting in entire good faith, and the commodore conceded everything which did not seem absolutely essential. The extent of the liberty to be allowed to American visitors was one of the greatest difficulties.

Shortly before the treaty was concluded the commodore gave an entertainment on board the *Powhatan* to the Japanese officials, about seventy in all. In conformity with their customs, two tables were spread, one in the cabin for the commissioners and the captains of the fleet, another on deck for the inferior officers. "They did full justice," says the letter-writer already quoted, "to American cookery, and were exceedingly fond of champagne, under the influence of which they became so very merry and familiar that one of them vigorously embraced the commodore, who, until his epaulets began to suffer in the struggle, was very good-naturedly disposed to endure it."

Three copies of the treaty, in Japanese, signed by the commissioners, were delivered to the commodore, for which he exchanged three copies in English, signed by himself, with Dutch and Chinese translations. This method was adopted to satisfy the commissioners, who alleged that no Japanese could lawfully put his name to any document written in a foreign language. The treaty was as follows:

"The United States of America and the Empire of Japan, desiring to establish firm, lasting, and sincere friendship between the two nations, have resolved to fix, in a manner clear and positive, by means of a treaty or general convention of peace and amity, the rules which shall in future be mutually observed in the intercourse of their respective countries; for which most desirable object, the president of the United States has conferred full powers on his commissioner, Matthew Calbraith Perry, special ambassador of the United States to Japan; and the august sovereign of Japan has given similar full powers to his commissioners, Hayashi-Daigaku-no-kami, Ido, prince of Tsushima, Izawa, prince of Minasaka, and Udono, member of the board of revenue.

"And the said commissioners, after having exchanged their said full powers, and duly considered the premises, have agreed to the following articles:

"ARTICLE I.—There shall be a perfect, permanent, and universal peace, and a sincere and cordial amity, between the United States of America on the one part, and between their people, respectfully (respectively), without exception of persons or places.

"ARTICLE II.—The port of Shimoda, in the principality of Idzu, and the port of Hakodate, in the principality of Matsumai, are granted by the Japanese as ports for the reception of American ships, where they can be supplied with wood, water, provisions, and coal, and other articles their necessities may require, as far as the Japanese have them. The time for opening the first-named port is immediately on signing this treaty; the last-named port is to be opened immediately after the same day in the ensuing Japanese year.

"NOTE.—A tariff of prices shall be given by the Japanese officers of the things which they can furnish, payment for which shall be made in gold and silver coin.

"ARTICLE III.—Whenever ships of the United States are thrown or wrecked on the coast of Japan, the Japanese vessels will assist them, and carry their crews to Shimoda or Hakodate, and hand them over to their countrymen appointed to receive them. Whatever articles the shipwrecked men may have preserved shall likewise be restored; and the expenses incurred in the rescue and support of Americans and Japanese who may thus be thrown upon the shores of either nation are not to be refunded.

"ARTICLE IV.—Those shipwrecked persons, and other citizens of the United States, shall be free as in other countries, and not subjected to confinement, but shall be amenable to just laws.

"ARTICLE V.—Shipwrecked men, and other citizens of the United States, temporarily living at Shimoda and Hakodate, shall not be subject to such restrictions and confinement as the Dutch and Chinese are at Nagasaki; but shall be free at Shimoda to go where they please within the limits of seven Japanese miles (or *ri*) from a small island in the harbour of Shimoda, marked on the accompanying chart, hereto appended; and shall, in like manner, be free to go where they please at Hakodate, within limits to be defined after the visit of the United States squadron to that place.

"ARTICLE VI.—If there be any other sort of goods wanted, or any business which shall require to be arranged, there shall be careful deliberation between the parties in order to settle such matters.

"ARTICLE VII.—It is agreed that ships of the United States resorting to the ports open to them shall be permitted to exchange gold and silver coin, and articles of goods, for other articles of goods under such regulations as shall be temporarily established by the Japanese

government for that purpose. It is stipulated, however, that the ships of the United States shall be permitted to carry away whatever articles they are unwilling to exchange.

"ARTICLE VIII.—Wood, water, provisions, coal, and goods required shall only be procured through the agency of Japanese officers appointed for that purpose, and in no other manner.

"ARTICLE IX.—It is agreed that if, at any future day, the government of Japan shall grant to any other nation or nations privileges and advantages which are not herein granted to the United States and the citizens thereof, that these same privileges and advantages shall be granted likewise to the United States and to the citizens thereof without any consultation or delay.

"ARTICLE X.—Ships of the United States shall be permitted to resort to no other ports in Japan but Shimoda and Hakodate, unless in distress or forced by stress of weather.

"ARTICLE XI.—There shall be appointed by the government of the United States consuls or agents to reside in Shimoda, at any time after the expiration of eighteen months from the date of the signing of this treaty; provided that either of the two governments deem such arrangement necessary.

"ARTICLE XII.—The present convention, having been concluded and duly signed, shall be obligatory, and faithfully observed by the United States of America and Japan, and by the citizens and subjects of each respective power; and it is to be ratified and approved by the president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by the august sovereign of Japan, and the ratification shall be exchanged within eighteen months from the date of the signature thereof, or sooner if practicable.

"In faith whereof, we, the respective plenipotentiaries of the United States of America and the empire of Japan, aforesaid, have signed and sealed these presents.

"Done at Kanagawa,[1] this thirty-first day of March, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four, and of Kayei the seventh year, third month, and third day."

The day after the signing of the treaty a number of presents were sent on board for the president, the commodore, and other officers of the squadron.[d]

In speaking of Perry's success, W. E. Griffis[c] says:

"The glory of Commodore Perry's success is not that he 'invented' or 'first thought of' or was the 'sole author, originator, and father of the Japan expedition.' Such language is nonsense, for the thought was in many minds, both of naval men and civilians, from Roberts to Glynn and Aulick; but it was Perry's persistency that first conquered for himself a fleet, his thorough-going method of procedure in every detail, and his powerful personality and invincible tenacity in dealing with the Japanese, that won a quick and permanent success without a drop of blood. A thorough man of war he was from his youth up; yet he proved himself a nobler hero, in that he restrained himself and his lieutenants from the use of force, while yet not giving place for a moment to the frivolities of Japanese Yakunin of the Tokugawa period." [a]

A JAPANESE ACCOUNT OF PERRY'S COMING

On the 3rd of the 6th month of the *Kayei* era (1853), Commodore Perry, ambassador of the United States of America, entered the bay of Uraga with a squadron consisting of two men-of-war and two merchant ships, and sought to open commercial relations with Japan. His visit exercised a powerful influence on the domestic affairs of the country. Ever since the early part of the seventeenth century, anti-foreign feeling had been so intense that only the Chinese and the Dutch had been allowed to carry on trade at Nagasaki, and other European nations, owing to various circumstances, gave themselves little if any concern about Japan. But from the beginning of the nineteenth century the spirit of aggrandisement made itself felt in the Occident, and western states began to vie with one another in attempts to extend their territories and commerce. Nine years before the arrival of the American

[1] The treaty is dated at Kanagawa, probably because it was the nearest town.

squadron in Uraga Bay, that is to say, in the first year of the *Kokwa* era (1844 A.D.), the Dutch addressed a letter to the Tokugawa government, advising that Japan be opened to all foreign nations, and subsequently they often repeated this counsel, at the same time explaining the conditions of the various states of Europe. Among the Japanese, many who had studied the Dutch language and acquired some knowledge of western affairs were in favour of a liberal foreign policy, but among the bulk of the nation the prejudices engendered by the violent and lawless conduct of the early Christian propagandists remained as strong as ever.

Moreover, fresh reasons for resentment had been furnished by various encroachments of the Russians between the *Kwansei* (1789–1800 A.D.) and *Bunkwa* (1804–1817 A.D.) eras, and by disorderly conduct of English sailors in Nagasaki. Indeed, the Tokugawa government had once gone so far as to order that any foreign ship approaching the coast of Japan should be fired on, and any Japanese whose studies of Dutch led them to advocate the opening of the country were deprived of their official positions or otherwise punished. In the *Kwansei* era (1789–1800 A.D.), Matsudaira Sadanobu, who filled the office of *Hosa* (assistant minister) in the shogun's government, Hayashi Tomonao of Sendai, and others strongly advocated complete coast defence and at the time when the American squadron visited Japan, Tokugana, Nariakira, commonly called "Rekko," the feudal chief of Mito, a noble of keen insight and quick judgment, conspicuously urged the policy of holding aloof from all foreign intercourse. In the third year of the *Kokwa* era (1846), two American men-of-war had come to Uraga and sought to open tradal relations, but their proposals were not entertained and they had to leave the country without accomplishing anything. Commodore Perry's visit took place seven years later, and had the effect of greatly embarrassing the Tokugawa government. He brought with him credentials from the President of America as well as specimens of the products of the United States, and he made formal application that commerce should be permitted between his country and Japan. The government replied that, the matter being of the gravest importance, no immediate reply could be given, but that an answer should be ready the following year, whereupon Perry sailed away declaring that he should return the next year without fail. Thereafter the Tokugawa government invited a council of the feudal barons, including the lord of Mito, to consult about the matter, Perry's coming to Uraga being at the same time reported to the emperor through the proper channels, and the documents brought by him being shown to the feudal chiefs. During the confusion incidental to this event, the shogun Iyeyoshi died. He was succeeded by his son Iyesada. The year passed without any definite step being taken, and in January of the first year of the *Ansei* era (1854), Perry once more made his appearance at Uraga and urgently asked for a reply to his original proposals. All the feudal barons, including the Mito chief, united in advocating a policy of seclusion, but the Rojiu, Abe Masahiro, and the chief officials of the Tokugawa government were astute enough to see that such a policy could not be successfully pursued. They therefore insisted on concluding a treaty of amity and commerce, without paying due attention to its terms. Repeated conferences were held with the American envoy, and finally a treaty was signed providing that all American citizens driven to Japan by stress of weather should be kindly treated; that American ships of war should be supplied in Japanese ports with fuel, coal, provisions, and all other necessaries, and that the two ports of Shimoda and Hakodate should be opened to American vessels. But generally trade was not sanctioned.*f*

A JAPANESE VIEW OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PERRY'S TREATY

Thus did the sailor diplomat succeed in wresting from the reluctant nation a surety of friendship. Thus did Perry, America, Aryan civilisation, science, and Christianity triumph. Perry's—or let me say rather America's—coming was most providentially opportune. Had it been a little earlier, when the Japanese mind had not been prepared, or a little later, when the whole country was plunged in intestine turmoil, there is no saying what might have been America's success or Japan's fate. Or had any other power than America—for instance, Great Britain or France, whose strong policy in China had instilled dread and doubt into our people, or, say, Russia, whose movement in the North was more than suspicious—had any other power than America, in whom was no guile (at least so far as her dealings in the East were concerned, though what she did in Mexico was not entirely unknown to Japan even then), the course of Japanese history might have been very different from what it has been.

Still more providential than the point of time was Perry's choice of the site of landing. Here he unconsciously displayed truest sagacity. It was Perry's conviction that the isolation of Japan was not a result of national character, but merely of accidental policy; hence, to do away with it, he "must deal with the officials—the upholders and the tools of this exclusion system—as with his enemy; he must penetrate into the very seat of this evil, namely, into the court; he must confer with highest officials." If Perry had had better knowledge of the system of our duarchy, he would very likely have entered the gulf of Ozaka and knocked at the imperial gate of Kioto for admission, and then—then civil wars would not have sufficed to make the New Japan. As he came into the bay of Yedo and knocked at the portals of the shogun, uncracked, though not without creaking, they opened on their rusty hinges. Thus two ends were gained by one effort: the country was opened to foreign trade, and, at the same time, the abolition of feudalism and the shogunate was hastened.

Immediately after Perry's squadron had left the Japanese waters, the rulers of the country, whether actuated by clear foresight and comprehension of the moment, or whether impelled by that mental confusion which attends sudden awakening from slumber, and apprehension of the next moment, were aroused to immediate activity. Schools were opened for the study of foreign languages; academies shot up, where youths could receive instruction in military and naval tactics; raw recruits were drilled; foundries and smithies sprang into existence, and belfries were molested to furnish metal for arsenals. To this last the bonzes objected; they would rather fight with the weapon of prayer, for, they asked: "Did not the prayers of the devout destroy the Armada of Kublai Khan?" *g*

A JAPANESE ACCOUNT OF PERRY'S SUCCESSORS

Subsequently, ambassadors came from Russia, France, and England, and conventions were concluded with them in terms virtually the same as those of Commodore Perry's treaty. Meanwhile, the Tokugawa government gave out that they had concluded the American treaty merely in order to gain time for warlike preparations; but in truth they had been taken by surprise, and in addition to financial embarrassments they had to face natural calamities

[1854-1857 A.D.]

of a most disastrous character. In the year of Commodore Perry's second coming, violent earthquakes visited Chugoku, Skikokui, and Kinshu, and in October of the following year—the second year of the *Ansei* era (1855)—the severest shock of all took place in Yedo. Immense numbers of the dwellings of the upper and lower classes as well as of the feudal barons were overthrown, and the earthquake was followed by a fire in which 100,000 persons are said to have lost their lives. In July of the following year, Mr. Harris came duly accredited by the government of the United States, and proposed that relations of friendship should be established between Japan and America, at the same time asking on his own part for an audience with the shogun. The *Rojiu* Hotta Masaatu (Bitchuno-kami) had now taken charge of foreign affairs in place of Abe, and after considerable hesitation he allowed Mr. Harris to repair to the shogun's palace, but the government decided not to give a favourable answer to the American proposal without the sanction of the emperor, for hitherto, despite the great importance of foreign affairs, the Tokugawa administration had been allowed to take any steps it pleased with reference to them without consulting the sovereign. But despite the large measure of power enjoyed by the Yedo government it was no longer able to effectually control the feudal barons. Hence it resolved to consult the imperial wishes, on the one hand, while taking counsel of the feudal chiefs on the other. Such a vacillating and dependent method of procedure was entirely opposed to the policy pursued by the Tokugawa ever since the days of Iyeyasu, and it thus fell out that they were subsequently attacked on account of their measures by both the court and the people, so that in this question of foreign intercourse is to be sought the proximate cause of their downfall.*f*

The significance of the step which Harris took in leaving the confines of Shimoda to visit the Yedo court in 1857 is best shown in the official notification of that time. One of these addressed to officials reads:

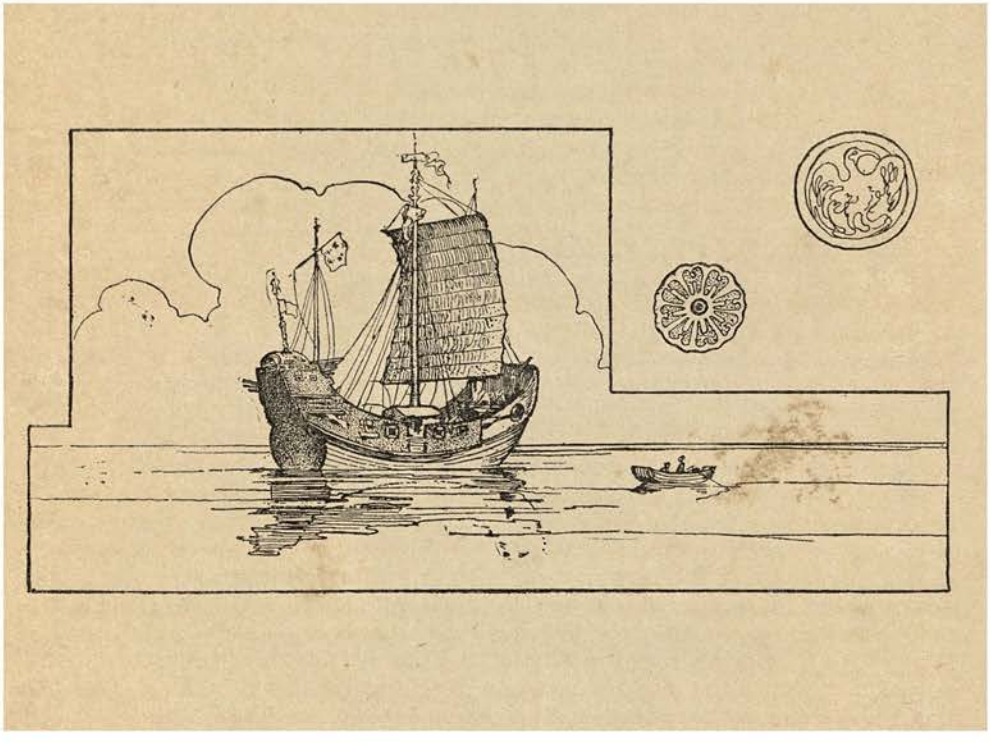
"The present audience of the American ambassador will be a *precedent for all foreign countries*, and must, therefore, be attended to with the greatest care. As intercourse with foreign countries necessitates the *repeal of old regulations and restrictions*, the matter is attended with difficulty, and the *possible evils cannot be foreseen;* you must therefore neglect nothing, but attend to all things with the greatest care, as the tycoon's order requires."

Twenty days later (September), another paternal notice appears from the government:

"When in a short time the American ambassador visits Yedo, it will not be necessary to repair the *Yashikis* (residences of princes) along the road; the temporary boards may be left as they are. Each householder is to keep his portion of the road swept clean. It will likewise not be necessary to set out the ornamental firemen's baskets before the houses, nor to place guards there. Travellers may be allowed to pass along as usual. Guards should be placed at the small stations or guard-houses, to suppress any disorder, if required to do so by the officers in attendance on the ambassador. Beggars must be removed out of the way. As to sightseers, they may stand at designated spots along the road, but they are not allowed to crowd together at the upper story windows of tenement houses and like places. As much as possible, all encounters of persons on horseback are to be avoided. Great care must be taken by officials to avoid all noise and confusion on the way," etc., etc.

In his interview with the governor of foreign affairs, Harris dwelt particularly on three points: first, the Monroe Doctrine of his country, obliquely condemning the French and the English policy in China and making clear America's immunity from the blood of the Opium War; secondly, the religious freedom in his country, divesting the governor of any fear in the direction of religious aggression; lastly, the usefulness of mutual trade.

By his tact and talent Harris gained the entire confidence of the shogunate, so much that when, after years of residence in Japan, he was about to leave the country, a formal letter was addressed by the Japanese authorities to the secretary of state asking that his stay might be prolonged. His conduct through the trying moments of the nation, just in the throes of a new birth, cannot be too highly praised. If "an ambassador," according to Wotton's definition, "is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the commonwealth," Harris was no diplomat. If, on the contrary, an American minister to an oriental court is a representative of the moral principles of the great Christian republic, Harris deserves the name in its best sense.[9]



CHAPTER V

NEW JAPAN

THE NATION'S PART IN THE EARLY CHANGES

THE way having been opened by one treaty, others soon followed, and by 1858, as we have seen, the treaties with America and England were extended, and others made with the Dutch and French, by which the ports of Nagasaki, Hakodate, and Yokohama (Kanagawa) were opened to foreign trade. This revolution in the foreign relations of Japan was followed in 1868 by a no less important revolution in the internal affairs, by which the power of the shogunate was overthrown and the mikado restored to authority.[a]

When reference is made to the Japanese nation in connection with the radical changes of 1868, it must be observed that only the nobles and the samurai (military class) are indicated—in other words, a section of the population representing about one-sixteenth of the whole. The bulk of the people —the agricultural, the industrial, and the mercantile classes—remained outside the sphere of politics, not sharing the anti-foreign prejudice, nor taking any serious interest in the great questions of the time. Foreigners often noted with surprise the contrast between the fierce antipathy displayed towards them by the samurai on the one hand, and the genial, hospitable reception given to them by the common people on the other. History teaches that the latter was the natural disposition of the Japanese, the former a mood educated by special experiences. Further, even the comparatively narrow statement that the restoration of the administrative power to the emperor was the work of the nobles and the samurai must be taken with limitations. A majority of the nobles entertained no idea of any necessity for change. They were either held fast in the vise of Tokugawa authority, or paralysed by the sensuous seductions of the lives provided for them by the machinations of their retainers, who held the administrative authority of the fiefs in their own hands, leaving its shadow only to their lords. It was, in fact, among the

retainers that longings for a new order of things were generated. Some of these men were sincere disciples of progress—a small band of students and deep thinkers who, looking through the narrow Dutch window at Deshima, had caught a glimmering perception of the realities that lay beyond the horizon of their country's prejudices. But the influence of such liberals was comparatively insignificant. Though they showed remarkable moral courage and tenacity of purpose, the age did not furnish any strong object-lessons to enforce their propaganda of progress. The factor chiefly making for change was the samurai's loyal instinct, reinforced by the teachings of Chinese philosophy, by the revival of the Shinto cult, by the promptings of national enterprise, and by the suggestions of foreign intercourse.

Throughout the whole period of Tokugawa rule there had been a strong, if somewhat fitful, leaning of the national mind towards the political philosophy of Confucius and Mencius, as expounded by Cheo He and Yang Wang-ming. Iyéyasu himself had given the first impetus to this disposition by his patronage of literature. Without any perception of the true spirit of the Chinese sages' teachings, he ordered that primers of the "old learning" should be procured and studied. Thus the Zen doctrines of Buddhism, which contributed so much to the development of the heroic and the sentimental, and were therefore favourable to the stability of military feudalism, gradually gave place to a theory that the only legitimate ruler was heaven-appointed, that the good of the people should be the first object of administration, and that to fail in achieving that object was to forfeit the title of administrator. A century later another Tokugawa shogun (Tsunayoshi) fostered a movement equally fatal to the permanency of feudalism; he encouraged the revival of the Shinto cult which teaches the divine origin of the mikado, and constructively inculcates that every exercise of administrative authority by a subject is a usurpation. It is possible that although the current of thought inspired by the Chinese philosophy and the Japanese cult was opposed to the dual government of Yedo and Kioto, the system might have long survived this theoretical disapproval had nothing occurred to furnish signal proof of its practical defects. But the crisis caused by the advent of foreign ships, and by the forceful renewal of foreign intercourse, afforded a convincing proof of the shogunate's incapacity to protect the state's supposed interests, and to enforce the traditional policy of isolation which had come to be considered essential to the empire's integrity and to the sanctity of the throne. Thus it may be alleged that the nation's mind was already educated for the change which the advent of foreigners precipitated.

CHARACTER OF THE REVOLUTION

But though essentially imperialistic in its prime purposes, the revolution which involved the fall of the shogunate, and ultimately of feudalism, may be called democratic with regard to the *personnel* of those who planned and directed it. They were, for the most part, samurai, without either official rank or social standing. That is a point essential to a clear understanding of the issue. Fifty-five men may be said to have planned and carried out the overthrow of the Yedo administration, and only five of them were territorial nobles. Eight, belonging to the court nobility, laboured under the traditional disadvantage of their class, poverty; and the remaining forty-two, the hearts and hands of the movement, may be described as ambitious youths, who sought to make a career for themselves in the first place, and for their country

in the second. The average age of the whole did not exceed thirty. There was another element also—an element for which any student of Japanese history might have been prepared: the Satsuma samurai aimed not merely at overthrowing the Tokugawa, but also at obtaining the shogunate for their own chief. Possibly it would be unjust to say that all the leaders of the great southern clan harboured that idea. But some of them certainly did, and not until they had consented to abandon the project did their union with Choshiu, the other great southern clan, become possible—a union without which the revolution could scarcely have been accomplished. This ambition of the Satsuma clansmen deserves special mention, because it bore remarkable fruit; it may be said to have laid the foundation of constitutional government in Japan. For, in consequence of the distrust engendered by such aspirations, the authors of the restoration agreed that when the emperor assumed the reins of power he should pledge himself by oath to convene a deliberative assembly, and to appoint to administrative posts men of intellect and erudition wherever they might be found.

THE ANTI-FEUDAL IDEA

At the outset the necessity of abolishing feudalism did not present itself clearly to the leaders of the revolution. Their sole idea was the unification of the nation. But when they came to consider closely the practical side of the problem, they understood how far it would lead them. Evidently that one homogeneous system of law should replace the more or less heterogeneous systems operative in the various fiefs was essential, and such a substitution meant that the feudatories must be deprived of their local autonomy and, incidentally, of their control of local finances. That was a stupendous change. Hitherto each feudal chief had collected the revenues of his fief and had employed them at will, subject to the sole condition of maintaining a body of troops proportionate to his income. He had been, and was still, an autocrat within the limits of his territory. On the other hand, the active authors of the revolution were a small band of men mainly without prestige or territorial influence. It was impossible that they should dictate any measure sensibly impairing the local and fiscal autonomy of the feudatories. No power capable of enforcing such a measure existed at the time. All the great political changes in Japan had been preceded hitherto by wars culminating in the accession of some strong clan to supreme authority, whereas in this case there had been a displacement without a substitution—the Tokugawa had been overthrown and no new administrators had been set up in their stead. It was, moreover, certain that an attempt on the part of any one clan to constitute itself executor of the sovereign's mandates would have stirred the other clans to vehement resistance. In short, the leaders of the revolution found themselves pledged to a new theory of government, without any machinery for carrying it into effect or any means of abolishing the old practice. An ingenious exit from this curious dilemma was devised by the young reformers. They induced the feudal chiefs of Satsuma, Choshiu, Tosa, and Hizen, the four most powerful clans in the south, publicly to surrender their fiefs to the emperor, praying his majesty to reorganize them and to bring them all under the same system of law. In the case of Shimazu, chief of Satsuma, and Yodo, chief of Tosa, this act must stand to their credit as a noble sacrifice. To them the exercise of power had been a reality, and the effort of surrendering it must have been correspondingly costly. But

the chiefs of Choshiu and Hizen obeyed the suggestions of their principal vassals with little, if any, sense of the probable cost of obedience. The same remark applies to all the other feudatories, with exceptions so rare as to emphasise the rule. They had long been accustomed to abandon the management of their affairs to their leading clansmen, and they allowed themselves to follow the same guidance at this crisis. Out of the whole two hundred and seventy-six feudatories, only seventeen hesitated to imitate the example of the four southern fiefs.

MOTIVES OF THE REFORMERS

An explanation of this remarkable incident has been sought by supposing that the samurai of the various clans, when they advised a course so inconsistent with fidelity to the interests of their feudal chiefs, were influenced by motives of personal ambition, imagining that they themselves might find great opportunities under the new régime. Some hope of that kind may fairly be assumed, and was certainly realised, in the case of the leading samurai of the four southern clans which headed the movement. But it is plain that no such expectations can have been generally entertained. The simplest explanation seems to be the true one: a certain course, indicated by the action of the four southern clans, was conceived to be in accord with the spirit of the restoration, and not to adopt it would have been to shrink publicly from a sacrifice dictated by the principle of loyalty to the throne—a principle which had acquired supreme sanctity in the eyes of the men of that era. There might have been some uncertainty about the initial step, but so soon as that was taken by the southern clans their example acquired compelling force. History shows that in political crises the Japanese samurai is generally ready to pay deference to certain canons of almost romantic morality. There was a fever of loyalty and of patriotism in the air of the year 1869. Anyone hesitating, for obviously selfish reasons, to adopt a precedent such as that offered by the procedure of the great southern clans would have seemed to forfeit the right of calling himself a samurai.

But although the leaders of this remarkable movement now understood that they must contrive the total abolition of feudalism and build up a new administrative edifice on foundations of constitutional monarchy, they appreciated the necessity of advancing slowly towards a goal which still lay beyond the range of their followers' vision. Thus the first steps taken after the surrender of the fiefs were to appoint the feudatories to the position of governors in the districts over which they had previously ruled; to confirm the samurai in the possession of their incomes and official positions; to put an end to the distinction between court nobles and territorial nobles, and to organise in Kioto a cabinet consisting of the leaders of the restoration. Each new governor received one-tenth of the income of the fief by way of emolument; the pay of the officials and the samurai, as well as the administrative expenses of the district, was defrayed from the same source, and the residue, if any, was to be passed into the treasury of the central government.

The defects of this system from a monarchical point of view soon became evident. It did not give the power of either the purse or the sword to the sovereign. A further radical step had to be taken, and the leaders of reform, seeing nothing better than to continue the method of procedure which had thus far proved so successful, contrived, first, that several of the administrative districts should send in petitions seeking to surrender their local

autonomy, and be brought under the direct rule of the central government; secondly, that a number of samurai should apply for permission to lay aside their swords and become farmers. While the nation was digesting the principles embodied in these petitions, the government made preparations for further measures of reform.

ADOPTION OF RADICAL MEASURES

On August 29th, 1871, an imperial decree announced the abolition of the system of local autonomy and the removal of the territorial nobles from the posts of governors. The taxes of the former fiefs were to be paid thenceforth into the central treasury; all officials were to be appointed by the imperial government, and the feudatories, retaining permanently an income of one-tenth of their original revenues, were to make Tokio their place of residence. As for the samurai, they remained for the moment in possession of their hereditary pensions. Radical as these changes seem, the disturbance caused by them was not great, since they left the incomes of the military class untouched.

As for the feudal chiefs, who had now been deprived of all official status and reduced to the position of private gentlemen, without even a patent of nobility to distinguish them from ordinary individuals, they did not find anything specially irksome or regrettable in their altered position. No scrutiny had been made into the contents of their treasuries. They were allowed to retain unquestioned possession of all the accumulated funds of their former fiefs, and they also became public creditors for annual allowances equal to one-tenth of their feudal revenues. They had never previously been so pleasantly circumstanced. It is true that they were entirely stripped of all administrative and military authority; but since their possession of such authority had been in most cases merely nominal, they did not feel the change except as a relief from responsibility.

TREATMENT OF THE SAMURAI

By degrees public opinion began to declare itself with regard to the samurai. If they were to be absorbed into the bulk of the people and to lose their fixed revenues, some capital must be placed at their disposal to begin the world again. The samurai themselves showed a noble faculty of resignation. Many of them voluntarily stepped down into the company of the peasant or the tradesman, and many others signified their willingness to join the ranks of common bread-winners if some aid were given to equip them for such a career. After two years' consideration the government took action. A decree announced, in 1873, that the treasury was prepared to commute the pensions of the samurai at the rate of six years' purchase for hereditary pensions and four years for life pensions—one-half of the commutation to be paid in cash, and one-half in bonds bearing interest at the rate of 8 per cent. Reducing this to arithmetic, it will be seen that a perpetual pension of £10 would be exchanged for a payment of £30 in cash, together with securities giving an income of £2 8s.; and that a £10 life pensioner received £20 in cash and securities yielding £1 12s. annually. It is scarcely credible that the samurai should have accepted such an arrangement. It was certainly a striking instance of the fortitude and resignation which the creed of the samurai required

him to display in the presence of adversity. It is to be noted, however, that as yet the government's measures with regard to the samurai were not compulsory. Men laid aside their swords and commuted their pensions at their own option.

FIRST ESSAYS IN REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

Meanwhile differences of opinion began to develop among the leaders of progress themselves. Young men without experience of public affairs, or special education to fit them for responsible posts, found the duty suddenly devolved on them not only of devising administrative and fiscal systems universally applicable to a nation hitherto divided into a congeries of semi-independent principalities, but also of shaping the country's demeanour towards novel problems of foreign intercourse and alien civilisation. So long as the heat of their assault upon the shogunate fused them into a homogeneous party they worked together successfully. But when they had to build a brand-new edifice on the ruins of a still vivid past, it was inevitable that their opinions should vary as to the nature of the materials to be employed. In this divergence of views many of the capital incidents of Japan's modern history had their origin. It has been stated already that the declaration which the young emperor was invited to make on assuming the reins of government included a promise constructively pointing to a representative polity, and that the promise was suggested by mutual jealousy of the planners of the restoration rather than by any sincere desire for parliamentary institutions. Some zealous reformers certainly wished to follow, in this respect, the example of the foremost occidental nations; but a great majority of the statesmen of the time thought only of a system which, by endowing all the clans with a share of administrative authority, would prevent the undue preponderance of any one of them. It need scarcely be repeated that the military class alone entered into this account. A "national assembly" was regarded solely as an instrument for eliciting the views of the samurai. Two such assemblies actually met in the years immediately following the restoration. But they were nothing more than debating clubs. No legislative power was intrusted to them, and their opinions received little official attention. After the second fiasco they were tacitly allowed to pass out of existence. Everything, indeed, goes to show that representative government might have long remained outside the range of practical politics had not its uses derived vicarious value from special complications.

THE KOREAN QUESTION AND ITS EFFECTS

Chief among those complications was the Korean question.[b] The story of Japan's relations with Korea dates from very early times. The celebrated empress Jingo is said to have made an expedition into the peninsula in the third century. In the *Nipon o dai itsi ran*[e] or annals of the emperor of Japan, the story of Jingo (201–269) is told as follows: "Sin gou Kwo gou, wife of Tsiou ai, was the great granddaughter of the dairi Kai Kwa, and daughter of Iki naga sou Koune. At the death of the emperor, this princess resolved, in agreement with the Take outsi-no Soukoune, to conceal the death of her husband, and marched accordingly against the Oso, whom she conquered and reduced to submission, after having punished the mutinous.

[1873–1874 A.D.]

Then on account of a supernatural presentiment she wished to make war upon the people of Sin ra [Korea]. When all the army was assembled the sea god Foumi yori mioo zin preceded her constantly to show her the way and to aid her. On this occasion many wonderful things were observed. Having set sail with her fleet from Wa ni-no so, the empress was attacked by a great tempest, whereupon several large fish came to the surface of the sea to support the ships until the tempest should have passed. It was thus that she landed in Sin ra.

"The king of Sin ra, overcome with terror, exclaimed: 'Behold the invincible (in the text, supernatural) army of Japan! I am too feeble to resist.' Thereupon he caused his hands to be tied like a prisoner's in token of submission, and, preceded by a white flag, he went to acknowledge himself a slave of Japan, promising to pay tribute. Twice did this empress send ambassadors with presents to the emperor of China of the dynasty of Ghi (Wei), and she often received ambassadors and presents from that monarch. She is mentioned by several Chinese authors. She reigned sixty-nine years and died at the age of one hundred."

Another celebrated invasion of Korea by the Japanese took place in the year 1597. According to O-o-gawutsi, a Japanese general who took part in the expedition and who kept a journal of the war, three-fourths of the country was overrun and several of its oldest cities destroyed, although the Koreans were aided by the Chinese. O-o-gawutsi *f* describes the departure of the troops for this invasion as follows:

"Fide aki [the commander-in-chief] sailed in the imperial ship from the bridge Tojo-tosi, which is beneath the fort, towards the fore posts of the army. The great and little princes were taken into the ships at the bridge of Tojo-tosi and at the bridge of Shadow. At the time of the departure all the wives and children, the well-born as well as the common people, came to the shore where the ships lay, thinking that now was the appointed time for saying farewell. The men took them into the ships, showed them the arms and hip-pieces of the coats of mail, said it will be on the same road, and wept and cried. As the ships were getting under way gradually, the men gave the women all sorts of instructions, then let them down and quickly pushed the ships off. The women followed the vessels for some distance with their eyes, then returned to their homes thinking of the eternal parting from the body which is so limited on all sides and as evanescent as a drop of dew. It also happened that some, not waiting for it to be the same way, threw themselves into the river U-dzi, and were drowned. The longing of the high-born daughter Sa-jo of Matsura for the ship of the Chinese empire of olden time, of which tradition tells us, how could it be more than to wet the sleeve in the waves and drown by the shore? While this attendance at the start was witnessed, floods of tears were shed." *a*

From the sixteenth century, when the peninsula was overrun by Japanese troops, its rulers made a habit of sending a present-bearing embassy to facilitate the accession of each Japanese shogun. But after the fall of the Tokugawa shogunate the Korean court desisted from this custom, declared its determination to have no further relations with a country embracing western civilisation, and refused even to receive a Japanese embassy. Naturally such conduct roused deep umbrage in Japan. Already much friction had been developed among the leaders of national reform. Of the fifty-five men whose united efforts had compassed the fall of the shogunate, five stood conspicuous above their colleagues. They were Iwakura and Sanjo, court nobles; Saigo and Okubo, samurai of Satsuma, and Kido, a samurai of Cho-

shiu. In the second rank came many men of great gifts, whose youth alone disqualified them for prominence—Ito, the constructive statesman of the *Meiji* era, who inspired nearly all the important measures of the time, though he did not openly figure as their originator; Inouye, who never lacked a resource or swerved from the dictates of loyalty; Okuma, a politician of subtle, versatile, and vigorous intellect; Itagaki, the Rousseau of his era, and a score of others created by the extraordinary circumstances with which they had to deal. But the five first mentioned were the captains, the rest only lieutenants. Among the five, four were sincere reformers—not free, of course, from selfish motives, but truthfully bent upon promoting the interests of their country before all other aims. The fifth, Saigo Takamori, was a man in whom boundless ambition lay concealed under qualities of the noblest and most enduring type. His absolute freedom from every trace of sordidness gave currency to a belief that his aims were of the simplest; the story of his career satisfied the highest canons of the samurai; his massive physique, commanding presence, and sunny aspect impressed and attracted even those who had no opportunity of admiring his life of self-sacrificing effort or appreciating the remarkable military talent he possessed. In the first part of his career, the object of his ambition was Satsuma; in the latter part, Saigo. The overthrow of the Tokugawa shogunate presented itself to him originally as a prelude to the supremacy of the Satsuma clan, and when the abolition of feudalism defeated that purpose, Satsuma assumed in his eyes the guise of Saigo. Whether he clearly recognised his own project or was unconsciously swayed by it, there is no doubt that he looked to become supreme in the administration of state affairs. To that end the preservation of the military class was essential. By the swords of the samurai alone could a new *imperium in imperio* be carved out. On the other hand, Saigo's colleagues in the ministry saw clearly not only that the samurai were an unwarrantable burden on the nation, but also that their continued existence after the fall of feudalism would be a menace to public peace as well as an anomaly. Therefore they took the steps already described, and followed them by the enaction of a conscription law, making every adult male liable for military service without regard to his social standing.

While the pain of this blow was still fresh the question of Korea's contumacious conduct presented itself. It produced an immediate and violent disruption in the ranks of the little band of reformers. Saigo saw in a foreign war the sole remaining chance of achieving his ambition by lawful means. Other members of the cabinet believed that the nation would be disgraced if it tamely endured Korea's insults. Thus several influential voices swelled the clamour for war. The peace party prevailed, and four members of the cabinet, including Saigo, resigned. This rupture was destined to have far-reaching consequences. One of the seceders immediately raised the standard of revolt. Among the devices employed by him to win adherents was an attempt to fan into flame the dying embers of the anti-foreign sentiment. The government crushed the insurrection easily. Another seceder was Itagaki Taisuke. He believed in representative institutions, and advocated the establishment of a national assembly consisting half of officials and half of popular nominees. His views, premature and visionary, obtained no currency at the moment, but in later years became the shibboleth of a great political party.

Saigo, the most prominent of the seceders, seems to have concluded from that moment that he must abandon his aims or achieve them by force. He retired to his native province of Satsuma, and applied his whole resources, his great reputation, and the devoted loyalty of a number of able followers

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to organising and equipping a strong body of samurai. Matters were facilitated for him by the conservatism of the celebrated Shimazu Saburo, former chief of Satsuma, who, though not opposed to foreign intercourse, had been revolted by the wholesale iconoclasm of the time, and by the indiscriminate rejection of Japanese customs in favour of foreign. Satsuma thus became a centre of conservative influences, among which Saigo and his constantly augmenting band of samurai found a congenial environment. During four years this breach between the central government and the southern clan grew constantly wider. The former steadily organised its conscripts, trained them in foreign tactics, and equipped them wholly with foreign arms. The latter adopted the rifle and the drill of Europe, but clung to the sword of the samurai and engaged ceaselessly in exercises for developing physical power.

EXPEDITION TO FORMOSA

Many things happened in that four years' interval, among them a military expedition to Formosa, which led Japan to the verge of war with China. The ostensible cause of this complication was the barbarous treatment of castaways from Riukiu by Formosan aborigines. Upon the Chinese government properly devolved the duty of punishing its subjects, the Formosans; but as the Chinese government showed no inclination to discharge the duty, Japan took the law into her own hands. She would never have done so, however, had she not hoped to placate thereby the Satsuma samurai. The Riukiu islands had been for centuries an appanage of the Satsuma fief, and the government, in undertaking to protect the islanders, not only showed consideration for the discontented clan, but also acceded to the samurai's wish for an over-sea campaign. From a military point of view the expedition was successful. But little glory was to be gained by shooting down the semi-savage inhabitants of Formosa, and whatever potentialities the expedition might have possessed with regard to domestic politics were marred by the bad grace shown in carrying it out and by the feebleness of its international issue. For the Tokio government, by seeking at the eleventh hour to stay the departure of the ships, seemed to dissociate itself from the enterprise, and by subsequently sending an ambassador to Peking with instructions to contrive a peaceful solution, lost credit with the samurai whom it had hoped to gratify.

TREATY WITH KOREA

A year after the return of the Formosa expedition, that is to say, at the close of 1875, the Koreans completed their rupture with Japan by firing on the boats of a Japanese war-vessel engaged in the peaceful operation of coast-surveying. No choice now remained except to despatch an armed expedition against the truculent kingdom. In this matter Japan showed herself an apt pupil of occidental methods such as had been practised against herself in former years. She assembled an imposing force of warships and transports, but instead of proceeding to extremities, she employed the squadron—which was by no means so strong as it seemed—to intimidate Korea into signing a treaty of amity and commerce, and opening three ports to foreign trade. That was the beginning of Korea's friendly relations with the outer world, and Japan naturally took credit for the fact that, thus early in her new career, she had become an instrument for extending the

principle of universal intercourse opposed so strenuously by herself in the past. But the incident only accentuated the dissatisfaction of the conservative samurai. They did not want treaties of commerce, and they held it a national humiliation that the country should have negotiated on equal terms with a little state which they regarded as a tributary, and which acknowledged China as its suzerain.

Two extreme measures were now (1876) adopted by the government: a veto against the wearing of swords, and an edict ordering the compulsory commutation of the pensions and allowances received by the nobles and the samurai. Armed protests ensued. A few scores of samurai, equipping themselves with the hauberks and weapons of old times, fell upon the garrison of a castle, killed or wounded some three hundred, and then, retiring to an adjacent mountain, died by their own hands. Their example found imitators in two other places, and finally the Satsuma samurai rose in arms under Saigo.

SATSUMA INSURRECTION

This was an insurrection very different in dimensions and motives from the paltry outbreaks that had preceded it. During four years the preparations of the Satsuma men had been unremitting. They were equipped with rifles and cannon; they numbered some thirty thousand, being thus nearly as numerous as the government's standing army; they were all of the military class, and in addition to high training in western tactics and in the use of modern arms of precision, they knew how to wield that formidable weapon, the Japanese sword, of which their opponents were for the most part ignorant. The real purpose of the revolt was to secure the governing power for Satsuma. A bitter struggle ensued. Beginning on January 29th, 1877, it was brought to a close on September 24th of the same year by the death, voluntarily or in battle, of all the rebel leaders. During that period the number of men engaged on the government's side had been sixty-six thousand, and the number on the side of the rebels forty thousand, out of which total the killed and wounded aggregated thirty-five thousand, or thirty-three per cent. of the whole. Had the government's troops been finally defeated, there can be no doubt that the samurai's exclusive title to man and direct the army and navy would have been re-established, and Japan would have found herself permanently saddled with a military class, heavily burdening her finances, seriously impeding her progress towards constitutional government, and perpetuating all the abuses incidental to a policy in which the power of the sword rests entirely in the hands of one section of the people.

STEPS OF PROGRESS

Concurrently with these events the government diligently endeavoured to equip the country with all the paraphernalia of occidental civilisation. It is easy to understand that the master-minds of the era, who had planned and carried out the restoration, continued to take the lead in all paths of progress. Their intellectual superiority entitled them to act as guides; they had enjoyed exceptional opportunities of acquiring enlightenment by visits to Europe and America, and the Japanese people had not yet lost the habit of looking to officialdom for every initiative. But the spectacle thus presented to foreign onlookers was not altogether without disquieting suggestions.

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The government's reforms seemed to outstrip the nation's readiness for them, and the results wore an air of some artificiality and confusion. Englishmen were employed to superintend the building of railways, the erection of telegraphs, the construction of lighthouses, and the organisation of a navy. To Frenchmen was intrusted the work of recasting the laws and training the army in strategy and tactics. Educational affairs, the organisation of a postal service, the improvement of agriculture, and the work of colonisation were supervised by Americans. The teaching of medical science, the compilation of a commercial code, the elaboration of a system of local government, and ultimately the training of military officers were assigned to Germans. For instruction in sculpture and painting Italians were engaged. Was it possible that so many novelties should be successfully assimilated, or that the nation should adapt itself to systems planned by a motley band of aliens who knew nothing of its character and customs? These questions did not trouble the Japanese nearly so much as they troubled strangers. The truth is that conservatism was not really required to make the great sacrifices suggested by appearances. Among all the innovations of the era the only one that a Japanese could not lay aside at will was the new fashion of dressing his hair. He abandoned the queue irrevocably. But for the rest he lived a dual life. During hours of duty he wore a fine uniform, shaped and decorated in foreign style. But so soon as he stepped out of office or off parade he reverted to his own comfortable and picturesque costume. Handsome houses were built and furnished according to western models. But each had an annex where alcoves, verandas, matted floors, and paper sliding doors continued to do traditional duty. A remarkable spirit of liberalism and a fine eclectic instinct were needed for the part they acted, but they did no radical violence to their own traditions, creeds, and conventions.

DEVELOPMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

After the Satsuma rebellion, nothing disturbed the even tenor of Japan's domestic politics except an attempt on the part of some of her people to force the growth of parliamentary government. No one reading Japanese history carefully can fail to infer that representative institutions are in the genius of the nation. From an early era the sovereign ceased to be autocratic. All the highest offices of state became hereditary possessions of certain great families, and as generation followed generation, each unit of this oligarchy of households attained the dimensions of a clan. By and by the exigencies of the time gave birth to a military aristocracy, headed by a generalissimo (shogun), into whose hands the administrative authority passed. A united effort on the part of all the clans to overthrow this system and wrest the administrative power from the shogun could have only one logical outcome, the combined exercise of the recovered power by those who had been instrumental in recovering it. That was the meaning of the oath taken by the emperor at the restoration, when the youthful sovereign was made to say that "wise counsels should be sought, and all things determined by public discussion." But the framers of the oath had the samurai alone in view. Into their consideration the "common people"—farmers, mechanics, tradesmen—did not enter at all, nor had the common people themselves any idea of advancing a claim to be considered. A voice in the administration would have been to them an embarrassing rather than a pleasing privilege. Thus, as already related, the first deliberative assembly was composed of

nobles and samurai only. A mere debating club without any legislative authority, it was permanently dissolved after two sessions. Possibly the problem of a parliament might have been long postponed after that fiasco, had it not found an ardent advocate in Itagaki Taisuke (afterwards Count Itagaki). A Tosa samurai, conspicuous as a leader of the restoration movement, Itagaki was among the advocates of recourse to strong measures against Korea in 1873, and his failure to carry his point, supplemented by a belief that a large section of public opinion would have supported him had there been any machinery for appealing to it, gave fresh impetus to his faith in constitutional government. Leaving the cabinet on account of the Korean question, he became the nucleus of agitation in favour of a parliamentary system, and under his banner were enrolled not only discontented samurai, but also many of the young men, who, returning from direct observation of the working of constitutional systems in Europe or America, and failing to obtain official posts in Japan, attributed their failure to the oligarchical form of their country's polity. Thus in the interval between 1873 and 1877 there were two centres of disturbance in Japan: one in Satsuma, where Saigo figured as leader, the other in Tosa, under Itagaki's guidance. The two could not have anything in common. But the Tosa agitators did not neglect to make capital out of the embarrassment caused by the Satsuma rebellion. While the struggle was at its height, they addressed to the government a memorial, charging the administration with oppressive measures to restrain the voice of public opinion, with usurpation of power to the exclusion of the nation at large, and with levelling downwards instead of upwards, since the samurai had been reduced to the rank of commoners, whereas the commoners should have been educated to the standard of the samurai. This memorial asked for a representative assembly and talked of popular rights. But since the document admitted that the people were uneducated, it is plain that there cannot have been any serious idea of giving them a share in the administration.

PAGODA AND BELL TEMPLE AT TOKIO

But the government did not believe that the time had come even for a measure such as the Tosa liberals advocated. The statesmen in power conceived that the nation must be educated up to constitutional standards, and that the first step should be to provide an official model. Accordingly, in 1874, arrangements were made for periodically convening an assembly of prefectural governors, in order that they might act as channels of communication between the central authorities and the provincial population, and mutually exchange ideas as to the safest and most effective methods of encouraging progress within the limits of their jurisdictions. This was intended to be the embryo of representative institutions. But the governors, being officials appointed by the cabinet, did not bear in any sense the character of popular nominees, nor could it even be said that they reflected the public

feeling of the districts they administered, for their habitual and natural tendency was to try, by means of heroic object-lessons, to win the people's allegiance to the government's progressive policy, rather than to convince the government of the danger of overstepping the people's capacities. These conventions of local officials had no legislative power whatever. The foundations of a body for discharging that function were laid in 1875, when a senate (*genro-in*) was organised. It consisted of official nominees, and its duty was to discuss and revise all laws and ordinances prior to their promulgation. It is to be noted, however, that expediency not less than a spirit of progress presided at the creation of the senate. Into its ranks were drafted a number of men for whom no places could be found in the executive, and who, without some official employment, would have been drawn into the current of disaffection. From that point of view the senate soon came to be regarded as a kind of hospital for administrative invalids, but undoubtedly its discharge of quasi-legislative functions proved suggestive, useful, and instructive.

The second meeting of the provincial governors had just been prorogued when, in the spring of 1878, the great minister, Okubo Toshimitsu, was assassinated. Okubo, uniformly ready to bear the heaviest burden of responsibility in every political complication, had stood prominently before the nation as Saigo's opponent. He fell under the swords of Saigo's sympathisers. They immediately surrendered themselves to justice, having taken previous care to circulate a statement of motives, which showed that they ranked the government's failure to establish representative institutions as a sin scarcely less heinous than its alleged abuses of power. Well-informed followers of Saigo could never have been sincere believers in representative institutions. These men belonged to a province far removed from the scene of Saigo's desperate struggle. But the broad fact that they had sealed with their life-blood an appeal for a political change indicated the existence of a strong public conviction which would derive further strength from their act. Okubo's assassination did not alarm any of his colleagues; but they hastened to give effect to a previously formed resolve.

Two months after Okubo's death an edict announced that elective assemblies should forthwith be established in the various prefectures and cities. These assemblies were to consist of members having a high property qualification, elected by voters having one-half of that qualification; the voting to be by signed ballot, and the sessions to last for one month in the spring of each year. As to their functions, they were to determine the method of levying and spending local taxes, subject to approval by the minister of state for home affairs; to scrutinise the accounts for the previous year, and, if necessary, to present petitions to the central government. Thus the foundations of genuine representative institutions were laid. It is true that legislative power was not vested in the local assemblies, but in all other important respects they discharged parliamentary duties. Their history need not be related at any length. Sometimes they came into violent collision with the governor of the prefecture, and unsightly struggles resulted. The governors were disposed to advocate public works which the people considered extravagant, and further, as years went by and as political organisations grew stronger, there was found in each assembly a group of men ready to oppose the governor simply because of his official status. But on the whole the system worked well. The local assemblies served as training schools for the future parliament, and their members showed devotion to public duty as well as considerable aptitude for debate.

THE LIBERAL AND PROGRESSIST PARTIES

This was not what Itagaki and his followers wanted. Their purpose was to overthrow the clique of clansmen who, holding the reins of administrative power, monopolised the prizes of officialdom. Towards the consummation of such an aim the local assemblies helped little. Itagaki redoubled his agitation. He organised his fellow-thinkers into an association called *jiyuto* (liberals), the first political party in Japan, to whose ranks there very soon gravitated several men who had been in office and resented the loss of it; many that had never been in office and desired to be; and a still greater number who sincerely believed in the principles of political liberty, but had not yet considered the possibility of immediately adapting such principles to Japan's case. It was in the nature of things that an association of this kind, professing such doctrines, should present a picturesque aspect to the public, and that its collisions with the authorities should invite popular sympathy. Nor were collisions infrequent. For the government, arguing that if the nation was not ready for representative institutions, neither was it ready for full freedom of speech or of public meeting, legislated consistently with that theory, and intrusted to the police certain powers of control over the press and the platform.

Three years later (1881) another split occurred in the ranks of the ruling oligarchy. Okuma Shigenobu (afterwards Count Okuma) seceded from the administration, and was followed by a number of able men who had owed their appointments to his patronage, or who, during his tenure of office as minister of finance, had passed under the influence of his powerful personality. If Itagaki be called the Rousseau of Japan, Okuma may be regarded as the Peel. To remarkable financial ability and a lucid, vigorous judgment, he added the faculty of placing himself on the crest of any wave which a genuine *aura popularis* had begun to swell. He, too, inscribed on his banner of revolt against the oligarchy the motto "Constitutional government," and it might have been expected that his followers would join hands with those of Itagaki, since the avowed political purpose of both was identical. They did nothing of the kind. Okuma organised an independent party, calling themselves "Progressists" (*Shimpoto*), who not only stood aloof from the liberals but even assumed an attitude hostile to them. This fact is eloquent. It shows that Japan's first political parties were grouped not about principles, but about persons. Hence an inevitable lack of cohesion amongst their elements and a constant tendency to break up into caves and coteries. These are the characteristics that render so perplexing to a foreign student the story of political evolution in Japan. He looks for differences of platform and finds none. Just as a true liberal must be a progressist, and a true progressist a liberal, so, though each may cast his profession of faith in a mould of different phrases, the ultimate shape must be the same.

Okubo's assassination had been followed, in 1878, by an edict announcing the establishment of local assemblies. Okuma's secession in 1881 was followed by an edict announcing that a national assembly would be convened in 1891.

The political parties, having now virtually attained their object, might have been expected to desist from further agitation. But they had another task to perform—that of disseminating anti-official prejudices among the future electors. They worked diligently, and they had an undisputed field, for no one was put forward to champion the government's cause.

Meanwhile the statesmen in power resolutely pursued their path of progressive reform. They codified the civil and penal laws, remodelling them

on western bases; they brought a vast number of affairs within the scope of minute regulations; they rescued the finances from confusion and restored them to a sound condition; they recast the whole framework of local government; they organised a great national bank, and established a network of subordinate institutions throughout the country; they pushed the work of railway construction, and successfully enlisted private enterprise in its cause; they steadily extended the postal and telegraphic services; they economised public expenditures so that the State's income always exceeded its outlays; they laid the foundations of a strong mercantile marine; they instituted a system of postal savings banks; they undertook large schemes of harbour improvement and road-making; they planned and put into operation an extensive programme of riparian improvement; they made civil service appointments depend on competitive examination; they sent numbers of students to Europe and America to complete their studies; and by tactful, persevering diplomacy they gradually introduced a new tone into the empire's relations with foreign powers. Japan's affairs were never better administered.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1890

In 1890 the constitution was promulgated. Imposing ceremonies marked the event. All the nation's notables were summoned to the palace to witness the delivery of the important document by the sovereign to the prime minister; salvos of artillery were fired; the cities were illuminated, and the people kept holiday. Marquis[1] Ito directed the framing of the constitution. He had visited the Occident for the purpose of investigating the development of parliamentary institutions and studying their practical working. His name is connected with nearly every great work of constructive statesmanship in the history of new Japan, and perhaps the crown of his legislative career was the drafting of the constitution, to which the Japanese people point proudly as the only charter of the kind voluntarily given by a sovereign to his subjects. In other countries such concessions were always the outcome of long struggles between ruler and ruled. In Japan the emperor freely divested himself of a portion of his prerogatives and transferred them to the people. That view of the case, as may be seen from the story told above, is not untinged with romance, but in a general sense it is true. The framers of the constitution did not err on the side of liberality. They fixed the minimum age for electors and candidates at twenty-five, and the property qualification at a payment of direct taxes to the amount of 15 *yen* (30 shillings) annually. The result was that only 460,000 persons[2] were enfranchised out of a nation of 42 millions. A bicameral system was adopted for the diet; the upper house being in part elective, in part hereditary, and in part nomi-

[1] A title of nobility in Japan does not indicate necessarily that its possessor belongs to the ancient aristocracy. In former times titles did not exist. There were official ranks, and very often these were prefixed to a name in the manner of a title. But actual titles were not introduced until 1885. In the interval separating the latter date from the fall of feudalism in 1871, the former territorial chiefs and court nobles could not be titularly distinguished from commoners. But in 1885 the emperor, acting on the advice of Ito (afterwards marquis), instituted five orders of nobility (apart from princes of the blood), namely, princes, marquises, counts, viscounts, and barons. These, of course, are translations.

[2] Since the promulgation of the constitution a reform bill has been passed, after several failures owing to disagreement between the two houses, the house of peers having shown itself in this matter, as in all others, strongly opposed to the radical tendencies of the house of representatives. In the system introduced by this bill the property qualification for electors was reduced to payment of national taxes amounting to 10 *yen* annually, the number of franchise-

nated by the sovereign;[1] the lower consisting of three hundred elected members. Freedom of conscience, of speech, and of public meeting, inviolability of domicile and correspondence, security from arrest or punishment, except by due process of law, permanence of judicial appointments, and all the other essential elements of civil liberty were guaranteed. In the diet full legislative authority was vested; without its consent no tax could be imposed, increased, or remitted; nor could any public money be paid out except the salaries of officials, which the sovereign reserved the right to fix at will. In the emperor were vested the prerogatives of declaring war and making peace, of concluding treaties, of appointing and dismissing officials, of approving and promulgating laws, of issuing urgency ordinances to take the temporary place of laws, and of conferring titles of nobility.

FUSION OF THE TWO PARTIES

The next phase (1898) was a fusion of the two parties into one large organisation which adopted the name Constitutional Party (*Kensei-to*). By this union the chief obstacles to parliamentary cabinets were removed. Not only did the constitutionalists command a large majority in the lower house, but they also possessed a sufficiency of men who, although lacking ministerial experience, might still advance a reasonable title to be intrusted with portfolios. Immediately the emperor, acting on the advice of Marquis Ito, invited counts Okuma and Itagaki to form a cabinet. It was essentially a trial. The party politicians were required to demonstrate in practice the justice of the claim they had been so long asserting in theory. They had worked in combination for the destructive purpose of pulling down the so-called "clan statesmen"; they had now to show whether they could work in combination for the constructive purposes of administration. Their heads, counts Okuma and Itagaki, accepted the imperial mandate, and the nation watched the result. There was no need to wait long. In less than six months these new links snapped under the tension of old enmities, and the coalition split up once more into its original elements. It had added a novel word to the language—"office-hunting fever" (*riyokan-netsu*)—and demonstrated that the sweets of power which the clan statesmen had been so vehemently accused of coveting possessed even greater attractions for their accusers. The issue of the experiment was such a palpable fiasco that it effectually rehabilitated the clan statesmen, and finally proved, what had indeed been long evident to every close observer, that without the assistance of those statesmen no political party could hold office successfully.

Thenceforth it became the unique aim of liberals and progressists alike to join hands permanently with the men towards whom they had once displayed such implacable hostility. Marquis Ito, the leader of the *Meiji* statesmen,

holders being thus raised to 800,000, approximately; secret balloting was adopted; no property qualification was required in the case of a candidate for election, neither need he have any connection with the locality which he sought to represent; the limits of electoral districts were extended so as to embrace whole prefectures, and the number of members of the lower house was increased to 363.

[1] Princes and marquises sit by right of their titles; counts, viscounts, and barons are elected by their respective orders; each prefecture returns one member representing the highest taxpayers, and the emperor nominates men of learning or public merit. The house of peers now contains 319 members. A salary of 2,000 *yen* (£200) annually is paid to the members of the diet; each house has a president, nominated by the sovereign from among three names selected by the house. He receives 4,000 *yen* a year. The vice-president is elected by the house independently of imperial nomination, and receives 3,000 *yen* annually.

received special solicitations, for it was plain that he would bring to any political party an overwhelming accession of strength, alike in his own person and in the number of friends and disciples certain to follow him. But Marquis Ito declined to be absorbed into any existing party, or to adopt the principle of parliamentary cabinets. He would consent to form a new association, but it must consist of men sufficiently disciplined to obey him implicitly, and sufficiently docile to accept their programme from his hand. The liberals agreed to these terms. They actually dissolved their party (August, 1900) and enrolled themselves in the ranks of a new organisation, which did not even call itself a party, its designation being *Rikken Seiyu-kai* (association of friends of the constitution), and which had for the cardinal plank in its platform a declaration of ministerial irresponsibility to the diet. A singular page was thus added to the story of Japanese political development; for not merely did the liberals enlist under the banner of the statesmen whom for twenty years they had fought to overthrow, but they also erased from their profession of faith its essential article, parliamentary cabinets, and, by resigning that article to the progressists, created for the first time an opposition with a solid and intelligible platform. The whole incident vividly illustrated the fact that persons, not principles, were the bases of political combinations in Japan. Marquis Ito's attraction alone gave cohesion to the *Rikken Seiyu-kai*.

FINANCE

Financial questions have occupied an important place in the story of Japan's modern career. In order to obtain a clear idea of them it is necessary to make a somewhat extended retrospect. Under the feudal system the land throughout the empire was regarded as state property, and parcelled out into 276 fiefs, great and small, which were assigned to as many feudatories. These held the land in trust, being empowered to derive revenue from it for the support of their households, for administrative purposes, and for the maintenance of armed forces, whose numbers were nominally, but not accurately, regulated in proportion to the wealth of the fief. The basis of taxation varied greatly in different districts, but, at the time of the restoration in 1867, the generally recognised principle was that four-tenths of the gross produce should go to the feudatory, six-tenths to the farmer. In practice this rule was applied to the rice crop only, the assessments for other kinds of produce being levied partly in money and partly in manufactured goods at rates often of the most arbitrary nature. Forced labour also was exacted, and artisans and tradesmen were subjected to pecuniary levies of greater or less magnitude as official necessity arose. When the administration reverted to the emperor in 1867 the central treasury was empty, and the funds hitherto employed for governmental purposes in the fiefs did not at once begin to flow into the coffers of the state. They continued to be devoted to the support of the feudatories, to the payment of the samurai, and to defraying the expenses of local administration, the central treasury receiving only whatever small fraction might remain after these various outlays.

The little band of men who had assumed the direction of national affairs saw no exit from the dilemma except an issue of paper money. This was not a novelty in Japan. Paper money had been known to the people since the middle of the seventeenth century, and in the era of which we are now writing no less than 1,694 varieties of notes were circulating in the 270 fiefs. Many of these notes had almost ceased to have any purchasing power, and nearly all were regarded by the people as evidences of official greed and unscrupu-

lousness. The first duty of a centralised, progressive administration should have been to reform the currency. The political leaders of the time appreciated that duty, but, instead of proceeding to discharge it, saw themselves compelled by stress of circumstances to adopt the very device which in the hands of the feudal chiefs had produced such deplorable results. It was an irksome necessity, and the new government sought to relieve its conscience and preserve its moral prestige by pretending that the object of the issue was to encourage wealth-earning enterprise, and that the notes would be lent to the fiefs for the purpose of promoting commerce and industry. The people appraised these euphemisms at their true worth, and the new notes fell to a discount of fifty per cent. Then ensued a brief but sharp struggle between rulers and ruled. The government resorted to arbitrary measures, sometimes of great severity, to force its notes into circulation at par with silver. Nothing is more astonishing than the fact that the government's financial credit gradually acquired strength, so that within five years, though the issues of paper money aggregated nearly 60 million yen, it circulated freely throughout the whole empire at par with silver, and even commanded at one time a small premium. The paper money of the fiefs, amounting to 25 million yen, had been exchanged for treasury notes. The building of railways had been commenced. The foundations of an army and a navy had been laid. A postal system, a telegraph system, a prison system, a police system, and an educational system had been organised. The construction of roads, the improvement of harbours, the lighting and buoying of the coast, had been vigorously undertaken. A mercantile marine had been created. Public works had been inaugurated on a considerable scale. Many industrial enterprises had been started under official auspices as object-lessons for the people, and large sums in aid of similar projects had been lent to private persons. Thus the government, living far beyond its income, had unavoidable recourse to further issues of fiduciary paper, and in proportion as the volume of the latter exceeded the actual currency requirements of the time, its value depreciated until in 1881, fourteen years after the restoration, notes to the face value of 150 million yen had been put into circulation; the treasury possessed specie amounting to only 8 millions, and 18 paper yen could be purchased with ten silver coins of the same denomination.

Up to that year (1881) fitful efforts had been made to strengthen the specie value of fiat paper by throwing quantities of gold and silver upon the market from time to time, and large sums—totalling 23 million yen—had been devoted to the promotion of industries whose products, it was hoped, would go to swell the list of exports, and thus draw metallic money to the country. But these superficial devices were now finally abandoned, and the government applied itself steadfastly to reducing the volume of the fiduciary currency on the one hand and accumulating a specie reserve on the other. The outcome was that, by the middle of 1885, the volume of fiduciary notes had been reduced to 119 million yen, their depreciation had fallen to three per cent., and the metallic reserve of the treasury had increased to 45 million yen. The resumption of specie payments was then announced, and became, in the autumn of that year, an accomplished fact.

THE NATIONAL DEBT

It is advisable at this point to examine the question of the national debt incurred by Japan since the unification of the empire. When the fiefs were surrendered to the sovereign, it was decided to provide for the feudal nobles

and the samurai in general by the payment of lump sums in commutation, or by handing to them public bonds, the interest on which should constitute a source of income. The result of this transaction, into the details of which we need not enter, was that bonds having a total face value of 191½ million yen were issued, and ready-money payments aggregating 21½ million yen were made. This was the foundation of Japan's national debt. Indeed, these public bonds may be said to represent the bulk of the state's liabilities during the first twenty-five years of the *Meiji* period. The government had also to take over the debts of the fiefs, amounting to 41 million yen, of which 21½ millions were paid with interest-bearing bonds, the remainder with ready money. If to the above figures we add two foreign loans aggregating 16½ million yen (completely repaid by the year 1897), a loan of 15 million yen incurred on account of the only serious rebellion that marked the passage from the old to the new régime—the Satsuma revolt of 1877, loans of 33 million yen for public works, 13 million yen for naval construction, and 14½ millions in connection with the fiat currency, we have a total of 305 million yen, being the whole national debt of Japan during the first twenty-eight years of her new era under imperial administration.

The above statements sufficiently explain the liabilities incurred by the country during what may be called the first epoch of her modern financial history. We now pass to the second epoch, dating from the war with China in 1894–95. The direct expenditures on account of the war aggregated 200 million yen, of which total 135 millions were added to the national debt, the remainder being defrayed with accumulations of surplus revenue, with a part of the indemnity received from China, and with voluntary contributions from patriotic subjects. As the immediate sequel of the war, the government elaborated a large programme of armament expansion and public works—the whole programme involving an outlay of 504 million yen. To meet this large figure, the Chinese indemnity, surpluses of annual revenue, and other assets furnished 300 millions; and it was decided that the remaining 204 millions should be obtained by domestic loans, the programme to be carried completely into operation—with trifling exceptions—by the year 1905. In practice, however, it was found impossible to obtain money at home without paying a high rate of interest. The government therefore had recourse to the London market in 1899, raising a loan of 10 million pounds sterling at four per cent., and selling the £100 bonds at 90.

The burden of taxation is small, especially compared with the career of vigorous progress upon which the country has embarked. Only 120 million yen was raised in 1900 by direct taxes; that is to say, something less than three yen (six shillings) per head of population.

On the other hand, the ordinary expenditure aggregated 149 million yen. Thus there was a surplus of 43 million yen. For the moment this surplus was absorbed for extraordinary and terminable enterprises forming part of the *post-bellum* programme described above, but in a short time the country might look forward to finding itself with a substantial annual balance on the right side.

TRADE OF JAPAN

The chief staples of the early trade were tea and silk. It happened that, just before Japan's raw silk became available for export, the production of that article in France and Italy had been largely curtailed owing to a novel disease of the silkworm. Thus, when the first bales of Japanese silk appeared

in London, and when it was found to possess qualities entitling it to the highest rank, a keen demand sprang up, so that in 1863, the fourth year after the inauguration of the trade, no less than 2¼ million pounds were shipped. Japanese green tea, also, differing radically in flavour and bouquet from the black tea of China, appealed quickly to American taste, so that 6 million pounds of it were sent across the Pacific in 1863. The corresponding figures for these two staples in 1899 were 14 million pounds and 46 million pounds respectively. This remarkable development is typical of the general history of Japan's foreign trade in modern times.

That a commerce which did little more than double itself in the first eighteen years should have nearly quadrupled in the next fourteen is a fact inviting attention. There are two principal causes: one general the other special. The general cause was that several years necessarily elapsed before the nation's material condition began to respond perceptibly to the improvements effected by the *Meiji* government in matters of administration, taxation, and transport facilities. Fiscal burdens had been reduced and security of life and property obtained, but railway building and road-making, harbour construction, the advantages of posts, telegraphs, exchanges, and banks, and the development of a mercantile marine, did not exercise a sensible influence on the nation's prosperity until 1884 or 1885. From that time the country entered a period of steadily growing prosperity, and from that time private enterprise may be said to have finally started upon a career of independent activity. The special cause which, from 1885, contributed to a marked growth of trade was the resumption of specie payments. Up to that time the treasury's fiat notes had suffered such marked fluctuations of specie value that sound or successful commerce became very difficult. Against the importing merchant the currency trouble worked with double potency. Not only did the gold with which he purchased goods appreciate constantly in terms of the silver for which he sold them, but the silver itself appreciated sharply and rapidly in terms of the fiat notes paid by Japanese consumers. Not till this element of pernicious disturbance was removed did the trade recover a healthy tone and grow so lustily as to tread closely on the heels of the foreign commerce of China, with her 300 million inhabitants, and long-established international relations.

JAPANESE WOMEN DRINKING TEA

Japan's trade with the outer world was built up chiefly by the energy and enterprise of the foreign middleman. He acted the part of an almost ideal agent. As an exporter, his command of cheap capital, his experience, his knowledge of foreign markets, and his connections enabled him to secure sales such as must have been beyond reach of the Japanese working independently. Moreover, he paid to native consumers ready cash for their staples, taking upon his own shoulders all the risks of finding markets abroad. As an importer, he enjoyed, in centres of supply, credit which the Japanese

lacked, and he offered to native consumers foreign produce laid at their doors with a minimum of responsibility on their part. Finally, whether as exporters or importers, foreign middlemen always competed with each other so keenly that their Japanese clients obtained the best possible terms from them. Yet the ambition of the Japanese to oust them cannot be regarded as unnatural.

COMMERCIAL PROSPECTS

It can scarcely be doubted that the future development of Japan's trade will be in the direction of manufactures. She will always be able to send abroad considerable quantities of raw silk and tea and comparatively inconsiderable quantities of marine products, copper, coal, camphor, sulphur, rice, and minor staples, but, with regard to these, either her producing capacity is inelastic or her market is limited. It is certain, indeed, that she will by-and-by have to look abroad for supplies of the necessaries of life. Rice is the staple diet of her people, and she seems almost to have reached the potential maximum of her rice-growing area; for, in spite of her genial climate and seemingly fertile soil, the extent of her arable land is disproportionately small. She has only eleven and a half millions of acres under crops, and there is no prospect of any large extension, or of the yield being improved by new agricultural processes. The Japanese farmer understands his work thoroughly. His competence is sufficiently proved when we say that, by the skilful use of fertilisers, he has been able to raise good crops of rice on the same land during fifteen or twenty centuries. On the other hand, not only is the population increasing at the rate of half a million annually, but in proportion to the growth of general prosperity and the distribution of wealth, the lower classes of the people, who used formerly to be content with barley and millet, now regard rice as an essential article of food. It cannot be long, therefore, before large supplies of this cereal will have to be drawn from abroad. The same is true of timber, which has already become inconveniently scarce. Further, Japan cannot even grow her own cotton, and nature has not fitted her pastures for sheep, so that much of the material for her people's clothing has to be imported. Her future lies undoubtedly in industrial enterprise. She has an abundance of cheap labour, and her people are exceptionally gifted with intelligence, docility, manual dexterity, and artistic taste. Everything points to a great future for them as manufacturers. This is not a matter of mere conjecture. Striking practical evidence has already been furnished. Cotton-spinning may be specially referred to. As long ago as 1862 the feudal chief of Satsuma started a mill with five thousand spindles. During a whole decade he found only one imitator. In 1882, however, a year which may be regarded as the opening of Japan's industrial era, this enterprise began to attract capital, and in the course of four years fifteen mills were established, working fifty-five thousand spindles. By foreign observers this new departure was regarded with contemptuous amusement. The Japanese were declared to be without organising capacity, incapable of sustained energy, and generally unfitted for factory work. These pessimistic views had soon to be radically modified, for by 1897 the number of mills had increased to sixty-three; the number of spindles, to some eight hundred thousand; the capital invested, to 21 million yen, and the average annual profit per spindle was three and a half yen, or thirteen and a half per cent., on the capital. Even more remarkable in some respects has been the development of the textile industry. In 1884 the total production of silk and cotton fabrics

was 6 million yen; in 1898 it had increased to 110 millions. The manufacture of lucifer matches is another industry of entirely recent growth. A few years ago Japan used to import all the matches she needed, but by 1899 she was able not only to supply her own wants, but also to send abroad 6 million yen worth. Without carrying these statistics to wearisome length, it will suffice to note that, in six branches of manufacturing industry which may be said to have been called into active existence by the opening of the country—namely, silk and cotton fabrics, cotton yarns, matches, fancy matting, and straw braid—Japan's exports in 1888 aggregated only a quarter million yen, whereas the corresponding figure for 1899 was 68 millions. With such results on record, it is impossible to doubt that Japan has a great manufacturing future. Progress is checked by one manifest obstacle, defective integrity. Concerning every industry whose products have found a place in the catalogue of modern Japan's exports, the same story has to be told: just as really substantial development seemed to be visible, fraudulent adulteration or dishonestly careless technique interfered to destroy credit and disgust the foreign consumer. The Japanese deny that the whole responsibility for these disastrous moral *laches* rests with them. The treaty-port middleman, they say, buys so thriftily that high-quality goods cannot be supplied to him. That excuse may be partially valid, but it is certainly not exhaustive. The vital importance of establishing and maintaining the reputation of an article offered newly in markets where it has to compete with rivals of old-established excellence is not yet fully appreciated in Japan. As to organising capacity, the possession of which by the Japanese has been strenuously doubted by more than one foreign critic, there are proofs more weighty than any theories. In the cotton-spinning industry, for example, the Japanese are brought into direct competition in their own markets with Indian mills employing cheap native labour, organised and managed by Englishmen, and having the raw material at their doors. The victory rests with the Japanese, from which it may fairly be inferred that their organisation is not specially defective or their method costly. Yet there is one consideration that must not be lost sight of: it is the inexperience of the Japanese, their lack of standards. Japan is dressing herself in a material civilisation that was made to the measure of alien nations, and curious misfits are inevitably developed in the process. The condition of their army and of their navy shows that not capacity but practice is what the Japanese lack. These two services are altogether modern creations. There was nothing in the history of Japan to suggest her competence for managing such machines. Yet the excellence of her military organisation was fully demonstrated in her campaign against China in 1894–95, and again in the Peking expedition of 1900. In the former she had to undertake the most difficult task that falls to the lot of a belligerent, the task of sending over-sea two *corps d'armée* (aggregating a hundred and twenty thousand men), and maintaining them for several months in widely separated fields—one in eastern and central Manchuria, the other in the Liao-tung peninsula, and subsequently in Shan-tung province. The effort did not appear to embarrass her. There was no sign of confusion or perplexity; no breakdown of the commissariat or transport arrangements; no failure of the ambulance or hospital service. Everything worked smoothly, and the public were compelled to recognise that Japan had not only elaborated a very efficient piece of military mechanism, but had also developed ability to employ it to the best advantage. The same inference was suggested by her navy. Although during two and a half centuries her people had been debarred by arbitrary legislation from navigating the high seas, the twenty-fifth year after

the repeal of these crippling laws saw the state in possession of a squadron of thirty-three serviceable ships of war, officered and manned solely by Japanese, constantly manœuvring in distant waters without accident, and evidently possessing all the qualities of a fine fighting force. In the war with China this navy showed its capacity by destroying or capturing, without the loss of a single ship, the whole of the enemy's fleet, whereas the latter's superiority in armour and armament ought to have produced a very different issue. On the other hand, a visit to Japanese factories often shows machinery treated carelessly, employees so numerous that they impede rather than expedite business, and a general lack of the precision, regularity, and earnestness that characterise successful industrial enterprises in Europe and America. Achievement in one direction and comparative failure in another, although the factors making for success are similar in each, indicate not incapacity in the latter case, but defects of standard and experience. The vast majority of the Japanese have no adequate conception of what is meant by a highly organised industrial or commercial enterprise. They have never made the practical acquaintance of anything of the kind, nor even breathed a pure business atmosphere. For elaborating their military and naval systems they had close access to foreign models, every detail of which could be carefully scrutinised, and they availed themselves freely of the assistance of foreign experts—French, German, and British. But in the field of manufacture and trade their inspection of foreign models is necessarily superficial, and they are without the co-operation of foreign experts.

Japan's great difficulty is want of capital. The capital actually engaged in public and private enterprises is 60 million pounds sterling in round numbers, and 79 millions more are pledged though not yet paid up. On the other hand, the volume of circulating media is only 25 millions, of which amount 22 millions consist of convertible notes; the deposits in the banks total 33 millions, and their capitals aggregate 49½ millions. In such circumstances the rate of interest is necessarily high—it averages about twelve per cent. throughout the empire—and many profitable enterprises remain undeveloped. Recourse to cheap foreign capital would be the natural solution of the difficulty. But so long as her currency was on a silver basis Japan hesitated to contract gold debts, and European capitalists would not lend in terms of silver. After she had adopted the gold standard her situation appeared more favourable. Europe and America, however, had still not acquired confidence in her finances or her integrity, and in the mean while a great opening for foreign capital vainly offered in the field of industrial enterprises. Recent returns issued by sixty-eight joint-stock companies show that they paid an average annual dividend of sixteen and a half per cent., and it is not to be doubted but that still better results could be attained were foreign business experience and cheap capital available.

STATUS OF FOREIGNERS

It has always been considered expedient, and certainly it is wise, that the subjects and citizens of occidental Christian states, when visiting or inhabiting oriental countries which are not Christian, should be exempted from the penalties and procedure prescribed by the criminal law of the latter; that they should continue, in short, to enjoy, even within the territories of such countries, the privilege of being arraigned before tribunals of their own nationality and tried by judges of their own race. In civil cases a division of

jurisdiction is arranged, the question being always adjudicated by a tribunal of the defendant's nationality, but in criminal cases jurisdiction is wholly reserved. In pursuance of that principle the various powers having treaties with oriental nations establish consular courts within the latter's borders, and the jurisdiction exercised by these courts is called "extra-territorial," to distinguish it from the jurisdiction exercised by native or territorial tribunals. The system was applied to Japan's case, as a matter of course, in 1858. It had been similarly applied in the sixteenth century, in the days of her first foreign intercourse, and just as it had then been a cause of the Dutch traders' imprisonment within the narrow limits of the island of Deshima at Nagasaki, so in the nineteenth century it necessitated the confinement of the foreign residents in settlements grouped around the sites of their consular courts; for the plainest principles of prudence forbade that these residents should have free access to provincial districts far remote from the only tribunals competent to control them. The Japanese negotiators in Yedo raised no objection to the embodiment of this system in the treaties. But it was one of the features most vehemently condemned by the conservative statesmen and politicians in Kioto, and no sooner had the administration been restored to the emperor than an embassy was despatched to Europe and America with the object of inducing occidental governments to revise the treaties, in the sense of abolishing consular jurisdiction and changing the tariff so as to enable Japan to obtain a larger revenue from customs duties. This embassy sailed in 1871. It had a specific right to raise the question, for the treaties contained a provision declaring them to be subject to revision in that year. As a matter of course the embassy failed. The conditions originally necessitating consular jurisdiction had not undergone any change justifying its abolition. Neither the character of Japan's laws nor the methods of her judicial procedure were such as to warrant foreign governments in intrusting to her care the lives and properties of their subjects and citizens. It must be confessed, on the other hand, that the consular courts themselves were not beyond reproach. It happened, sometimes, that a Japanese subject desiring to invoke the aid of the law against a foreigner who seemed to have wronged him, found that the defendant in the case would also be the judge. In any circumstances the dual functions of consul and judge could not be discharged by the same official without anomaly, for his rôle of consul compelled him to act as advocate in the initiatory stages of complications about which in the position of judge he might ultimately be required to deliver an impartial verdict. It would be an error to suppose, however, that the course of consular jurisdiction in Japan was disfigured by

JAPANESE GIRL

many abuses. On the whole the system worked satisfactorily, and if it hurt patriotic Japanese, it also saved them from innumerable complications into which they would have blundered inevitably had they been intrusted with a jurisdiction which they were not prepared to exercise satisfactorily.

Nevertheless, they determined from the first that no effort should be spared to qualify for the exercise of a right which is among the fundamental attributes of every sovereign state—the right of judicial autonomy. With the aid of foreign experts they set themselves to elaborate codes of criminal and civil law, excerpting the best features of European jurisprudence, and adapting them to the conditions and usages of Japan. They also remodelled their law courts, and took steps, slower but not less earnest, to educate a judiciary competent to administer the new codes. After twelve years devoted with partial success to these great works, Japan in 1883 renewed her request for the abolition of consular jurisdiction. She asked that all foreigners within her borders, without distinction of nationality, should be subject to her laws and judiciable by her law courts, as foreigners found within the borders of every sovereign state in the Occident were subject to its laws and judiciable by its tribunals of justice, and she supplemented her application by promising that its favourable reception should be followed by complete opening of the country and the removal of all restrictions hitherto imposed on foreign trade, travel, and residence in her realm.

A portly volume might be filled with the details of the negotiations that followed Japan's proposal. Never before had an oriental state sought such recognition, and there was extreme reluctance on the part of western powers to try the unprecedented experiment of intrusting the lives and property of their subjects and citizens to the keeping of a "pagan" people. Even the outlines of the story cannot be sketched here, though it abounds with diplomatic curiosities, and though several of its incidents do as much credit to Japan's patience and tact as its issue does to the justice and liberality of occidental governments. There is, however, one page of the history that calls for brief notice, since it supplies a key to much which would otherwise be inexplicable. The respect entertained by a nation for its own laws and the confidence it reposes in their administrators are in direct proportion to the efforts it has expended upon the development of the former and the education of the latter. Foreigners residing in Japan naturally clung to consular jurisdiction as a privilege of inestimable value. They saw, indeed, that such a system could not be permanently imposed on a country where the conditions justifying it had nominally disappeared. But they saw, also, that the legal and judicial reforms effected by Japan had been crowded into an extraordinarily brief period, and that, as tyros experimenting with alien systems, the Japanese might be betrayed into many errors. A struggle thus ensued between foreign distrust on the one side and Japanese aspirations on the other—a struggle often developing painful phases. The struggle lasted eleven years, but its gist is contained in this brief statement. The foreign resident, whose affection for his own systems was measured by the struggle their evolution had cost, and whose practical instincts forbade him to take anything on trust where security of person and property was concerned, would have stood out a wholesomely conservative and justly cautious figure had not his attitude been disfigured by local journalists who, in order to justify his conservatism, allowed themselves to be betrayed into the constant rôle of blackening the character of Japan, and suggesting harshly prejudiced interpretations of her acts and motives. Throughout this struggle the government and citizens of the United States always showed conspicuous sympathy with Japanese aspirations,

and it should also be recorded that, with exceptions so rare as to establish the rule, foreign tourists and publicists discussed the problem liberally and fairly, perhaps because, unlike the foreign communities resident in Japan, they had no direct interest in its solution.

At last, after long years of diplomatic negotiation and public discussion, European governments conceded the justice of Japan's demands, and it was agreed that from July, 1899, subject to the previous fulfilment of certain conditions,[1] Japanese tribunals should assume jurisdiction over every person, of whatever nationality, within the confines of Japan, and the whole country should be thrown open to foreigners, the "settlements" being abolished, and all limitations upon trade, travel, and residence removed throughout the length and breadth of the realm. Great Britain took the lead in thus releasing Japan from the fetters of the old system. The initiative came from her with special grace, for the system and all its irksome consequences had been imposed on Japan originally by a combination of powers with Great Britain in the van. As a matter of historical sequence the United States dictated the terms of the first treaty providing for consular jurisdiction. But from a very early period the Washington government showed its willingness to remove all limitations of Japan's sovereignty, whereas Europe, headed by Great Britain, whose preponderating interests entitled her to lead, resolutely refused to make any substantial concession. In Japanese eyes, therefore, British conservatism seemed to be the one serious obstacle, and since the British residents in the settlements far outnumbered all other nationalities, and since they alone had newspaper organs to ventilate their grievances, and exhibited all a Briton's proverbial indifference to the suavities and courtesies of speech and method that count for so much in disarming resentment, it was certainly fortunate for the popularity of her people in the Far East that Great Britain saw her way finally to set a liberal example. Nearly five years were required to bring the other occidental powers into line with Great Britain and America. It should be stated, however, that neither reluctance to make the necessary concessions nor want of sympathy with Japan caused the delay. The explanation is that each set of negotiators sought to improve either the terms or the terminology of the treaties already concluded, and that the tariff arrangements for the different countries required elaborate discussion.

So soon as it became evident that the old system was hopelessly doomed, the sound common-sense of the European and American business man asserted itself. The foreign residents let it be seen that they intended to bow cheerfully to the inevitable, and that no obstacles would be willingly placed by them in the path of Japanese jurisdiction. The Japanese, on their side, took some striking steps. An imperial rescript declared in unequivocal terms that it was the sovereign's policy and desire to abolish all distinctions between natives and foreigners, and that by fully carrying out the friendly purpose of the treaties his people would best consult his wishes, maintain the character of the nation, and promote its prestige.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

No sooner did the diet commence its sittings in 1891 than a bill was introduced for removing all restrictions upon freedom of speech. Already (1887) the government had voluntarily made a great step in advance by divesting

[1] The main, indeed the only notable condition was that the whole of the new Japanese codes of law must have been in operation for a period of at least one year before the abolition of consular jurisdiction.

itself of the right to imprison or fine editors by executive order. But it reserved the power of suppressing or suspending a newspaper, and against that reservation a majority of the lower house voted, session after session, only to see the bill rejected by the peers, who shared the government's opinion that to grant a larger measure of liberty would certainly encourage license. Not until 1897 was this opposition overcome. A new law, passed by both houses, and confirmed by the emperor, took from the executive all power over journals, except in cases of *lèse majesté*, and nothing now remains of the former arbitrary system. The result has falsified all sinister forebodings. A much more moderate tone pervades the writings of the press since restrictions were entirely removed, and although there are now 829 journals and periodicals published throughout the empire, with a total annual circulation of 463,000,000 copies, intemperance such as in former times would have provoked official interference is practically unknown to-day.

The quality of journalistic writing in Japan is marred by extreme and pedantic classicism. There has not yet been any real escape from the trammels of a tradition which assigned the crown of scholarship to whatever author drew most largely upon the resources of the Chinese language. A pernicious example in this respect is set by the imperial court. The sovereign, whether he speaks by rescript or by edict, never addresses the bulk of his subjects. His words are taken from sources so classical as to be intelligible only to the highly educated minority. Several of the newspapers affect a similar style. They sacrifice their audience to their erudition, and prefer classicism to circulation. Their columns are a sealed book to the whole of the lower middle classes and to the entire female population. Others, taking a more rational view of the purposes of journalism, aim with success at simplicity and intelligibility, and thus not only reach an extended circle of readers, but also are hastening incidentally the advent of a great reform, the assimilation of the written and spoken languages, which will probably prelude that still greater desideratum, abolition of the ideographic script. Apart from this pedantic defect, the best Japanese editors have caught with remarkable aptitude the spirit of modern journalism. But a few years ago they used to compile laborious essays, in which the construction was involved, the ideas were trivial, the inspiration was drawn from occidental text-books, and the alien character of the source was hidden under a veneer of Chinese aphorisms. To-day they write terse, succinct, closely reasoned articles, seldom diffuse, often witty, and generally free from extravagance of thought or diction. Yet, with a few exceptions, the profession of journalism is not remunerative. Very low rates of subscription, and almost prohibitory high charges for advertising, are chiefly to blame.

FOREIGN WARS

Since the abolition of feudalism Japan has been engaged in four over-sea wars. The first, in 1874, was an expedition to Formosa. This has already been spoken of. It was insignificant from a military point of view, but it derived vicarious interest from its effect upon the relations between China and Japan, and upon the question of the ownership of the Riukiu islands. The final terms of arrangement were that, in consideration of Japan's withdrawing her troops from Formosa, China should indemnify her to the extent of £100,000 on account of the expenses of the expedition.

Had Japan needed any confirmation of her belief that the Riukiu islands belonged to her, this incident would have furnished it. Thus, in 1876, she did not hesitate to extend her newly organised system of prefectural government to Riukiu, which thenceforth became "Okinawa Prefecture," the former ruler of the islands being pensioned, according to the system followed in the case of the feudal chiefs in Japan proper. China entered an objection immediately. She claimed that Riukiu had always been a tributary of the Middle Kingdom, and she was doubtless perfectly sincere in the contention. Each empire asserted its claims positively; but whereas Japan put hers into practice, China confined herself to remonstrances. Things remained in that state until 1880, when General Grant, visiting the East, suggested the advisability of a compromise. A conference met in Peking, and the plenipotentiaries agreed that the islands should be divided, Japan taking the northern group, China the southern. But on the eve of signature the Chinese plenipotentiary drew back, pleading that he had no authority to conclude an agreement without previously referring it to certain other dignitaries. Japan, sensible that she had been flouted, withdrew from the discussion and retained the islands, China's share in them being reduced to a grievance.

THE KOREAN QUESTION

From time immemorial China's policy towards the petty states on her frontiers had been to utilise them as buffers for softening the shock of foreign contact, while contriving, at the same time, that her relations with them should involve no inconvenient responsibilities to herself. The aggressive impulses of the outside world were to be checked by an unproclaimed understanding that the territories of these states partook of the inviolability of the Middle Kingdom itself, while the states, on their side, must never expect their suzerain to bear the consequences of their acts. This arrangement, depending largely on sentiment and prestige, retained its validity in the atmosphere of oriental seclusion, but quickly failed to endure the test of modern occidental practicality. Tongking, Annam, Siam, and Burma were withdrawn, one by one, from the circle of buffers and from the fiction of dependence on China and independence towards all other countries. But with regard to Korea, China proved more tenacious. The possession of the peninsula by a foreign power would have threatened the maritime route to the Chinese capital and given easy access to Manchuria, the cradle of the dynasty which ruled China. Therefore Peking statesmen endeavoured to preserve the old-time relations with the little kingdom. But they never could persuade themselves to modify the indirect methods sanctioned by tradition. Instead of boldly declaring the peninsula a dependency of the Middle Kingdom, they sought to keep up the romance of ultimate dependency and intermediate sovereignty. Thus, in 1876, Korea was suffered to conclude with Japan a treaty of which the first article declared her "an independent state enjoying the same rights as Japan," and subsequently to make with the United States (1882), Great Britain (1883), and other powers, treaties in which her independence was constructively admitted. China, however, did not intend that Korea should exercise the independence thus conventionally recognised. A Chinese resident was placed in Seoul, and a system of steady though covert interference in Korea's domestic and foreign affairs was inaugurated. The chief sufferer from these anomalous conditions was Japan. In all her dealings with Korea, in all complications that arose out of her comparatively large trade with the peninsula, in

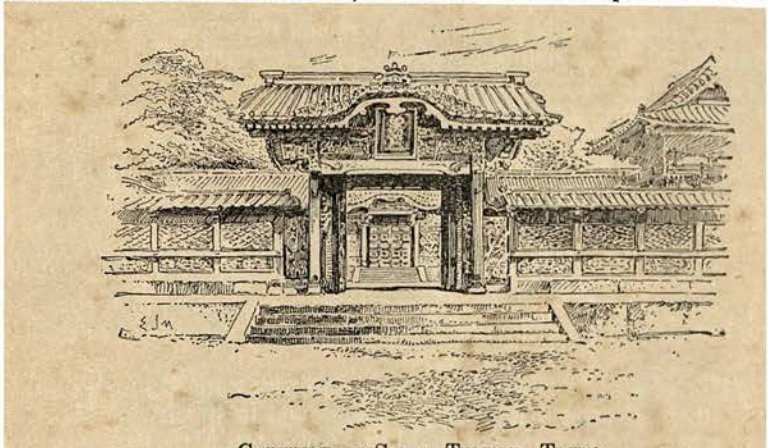
all questions connected with her numerous settlers there, she found herself negotiating with a dependency of China, and with officials who took their orders from the Chinese representative. China had long entertained a rooted apprehension of Japanese aggression in the peninsula—an apprehension not unwarranted by history—and that distrust tinged all the influence exerted by her agents there. Even more serious were the consequences of Chinese interference when considered from the point of view of Korean administration. The rulers of the country lost all sense of national responsibility, and gave unrestrained sway to selfish ambition. The functions of the judiciary and of the executive alike came to be discharged by bribery only. Family interests predominated over those of the state. Taxes were imposed in proportion to the greed of local officials. No thought whatever was taken for the welfare of the people or for the development of the country's resources. Among the upper classes, faction struggles, among the lower, insurrections, began to be more and more frequent. Personal responsibility was unknown among officials, family influence overshadowing everything. To be a member of the Bin family, to which the queen belonged, was to possess a passport to office and an indemnity against the consequences of abuse of power, however flagrant. From time to time the advocates of progress or the victims of oppression rose in arms. They effected nothing except to recall to the world's recollection the miserable condition into which the peninsula had fallen. Chinese military aid was always furnished readily for the suppression of these *émeutes*, and thus the Bin family learned to base its tenure of power on ability to conciliate the Middle Kingdom, and on readiness to obey Chinese dictation, while the people at large fell into the apathetic condition of men that possess neither the blessing of security of property nor the incentive of national ambition.

As a matter of state policy the Korean problem caused much anxiety to Japan. Her own security being deeply concerned in preserving Korea from the grasp of a western power, she could not suffer the little kingdom to drift into a condition of such administrative incompetence and national debility that a strong aggressor might find at any moment a pretext for interference. On two occasions, namely, in 1882 and 1884, when China's armed intervention was employed in the interests of the Bin to suppress movements of reform, the partisans of the victors, regarding Japan as the fountain of progressive tendencies, attacked and destroyed her legation in Seoul and compelled its inmates to fly from the city. Japan behaved with forbearance at these crises, but in the consequent negotiations she acquired conventional titles that touched the core of China's alleged suzerainty. For in 1882 her right to maintain troops in Seoul for the protection of her legation was admitted, and in 1885 she concluded with China a convention by which each power pledged itself not to send troops to the peninsula without notifying the other, the two empires being thus placed on an equal military footing with regard to the peninsular kingdom.

THE RUPTURE WITH CHINA

In the spring of 1894 a serious insurrection broke out in Korea, and the insurgents proving themselves superior to the ill-disciplined, ill-equipped troops of the government, the Bin family had recourse to its familiar expedient, appeal to China's aid. The appeal elicited a prompt response. On the 6th of July twenty-five hundred Chinese troops embarked at Tientsin and were transported to the peninsula, where they went into camp at Ya-shan, on the

southwest coast, notice of the measure being given by the Chinese government to the Japanese representative at Peking, according to treaty. During the interval immediately preceding these events Japan had been rendered acutely sensible of China's arbitrary and unfriendly interference in the peninsula. Twice the efforts of the Japanese government to obtain redress for unlawful and ruinous trade prohibitions issued by the Korean authorities had been thwarted by the action of the Chinese representative in Seoul; and once an ultimatum addressed from Tokio to the Korean government as the sequel of long and vexatious delay, had elicited from the viceroy Li in Tientsin an insolent threat of Chinese armed opposition. Still more strikingly provocative of national indignation was China's procedure with regard to the murder of Kim Ok-kyün the leader of progress in Korea, who had been for some years a refugee in Japan. Inveigled from Japan to China by fellow-countrymen sent from Seoul to assassinate him, Kim was shot in a Japanese hotel in Shang-



GATEWAY OF SHIBA TEMPLE, TOKIO

hai; and China, instead of punishing the murderer, conveyed him, together with the corpse of his victim, in a war-ship of her own to Korea, the assassin to be publicly honoured, the body to be savagely mutilated. When, therefore, the insurrection of 1894 in Korea induced the Bin family again to solicit China's armed intervention, the Tokio government concluded that, in the interests of Japan's security and of civilisation in the Orient, steps must be taken to put an end finally to the barbarous corruption and misrule which rendered Korea a scene of constant disturbance, offered incessant invitations to foreign aggression, and checked the country's capacity to maintain its own independence. Japan did not claim for herself any rights or interests in the peninsula superior to those possessed there by China. She was always ready to work hand in hand with the Middle Kingdom in inaugurating and carrying out a system of reform. But there was not the remotest probability that China, whose face had been contemptuously set against all the progressive measures adopted by Japan during the preceding twenty-five years, would join in forcing upon a neighbouring kingdom the very reforms she herself despised and abhorred, were her co-operation invited through ordinary diplomatic channels only. It was necessary to contrive a situation which would not only furnish clear proof of Japan's resolution, but also enable her to pursue her programme independently of Chinese indorsement, should the latter be finally unobtainable. She therefore met China's notice of a despatch of troops with a corresponding notice of

[1894 A.D.]

her own, and the month of July 1894 found a Chinese force assembled at Ya-shan and a Japanese force occupying positions in the neighbourhood of Seoul. China's motive for sending troops was nominally to quell the Tonghak insurrection, but really to reaffirm her own domination in the peninsula, and to reseat in the administrative saddle men under whose guidance the country was losing all capacity for independence. Japan's motive was to secure a position such as would enable her to insist upon the radically curative treatment of Korea's malady. Up to this point the two empires were strictly within their conventional rights. Each was entitled by treaty to send troops to the peninsula, provided that notice was given to the other. But China, in giving notice, described Korea as her "tributary state," thus thrusting into the forefront of the discussion a contention which Japan, from conciliatory motives, would have kept out of sight. Once formally advanced, however, the claim had to be challenged. In the treaty of amity and commerce concluded many years previously between Japan and Korea, the two high contracting parties were explicitly declared to possess the same national status. Japan could not agree that a power which for two decades she had acknowledged and treated as her equal should be openly classed as a tributary of the Middle Kingdom. She protested, but the Chinese statesmen took no notice of her protest. They continued to apply the disputed appellation to Korea, and they further asserted their assumption of sovereignty in the peninsula by seeking to set limits to the number of troops sent by Japan, as well as to the sphere of their employment. Japan then proposed that the two empires should unite their efforts for the suppression of the disturbances in Korea, and for the subsequent improvement of that kingdom's administration, the latter purpose to be pursued by the despatch of a joint commission of investigation. That was an important stage in the dispute. It rested then with China to avert all danger of war by joining hands with Japan for the regeneration of a nation in whose prosperity and independence the two empires were equally interested. But she refused everything. Ready at all times to interfere by force of arms between the Korean people and the dominant political faction, she declined to interfere in any way for the promotion of reform. Ready at all times to crush the little kingdom into submission to a corrupt and demoralising administration, she refused to aid in rescuing it from the suffering and enervation entailed by the sway of such an oligarchy. She even expressed superciliously an insolent surprise that Japan, while asserting Korea's independence, should suggest the idea of peremptorily reforming its administration. In short, for Chinese purposes the Peking statesmen openly declared Korea a tributary of the Middle Kingdom, and denied Japan's assertion of its independence; but for Japanese purposes they insisted that it must be held independent, and that Japan must abide strictly by her assertion of its independence. The Tokio cabinet now declared their resolve not to withdraw the Japanese troops without "some understanding that would guarantee the future peace, order, and good government of Korea," and since China still declined to come to such an understanding, Japan undertook the work of reform single-handed.

The Chinese representative in Seoul threw the whole weight of his influence into the scale against the success of these reforms. Still, nothing immediately occurred to drive the two empires into open warfare. The determining cause of rupture was in itself a belligerent operation. China's troops, as already stated, had been sent originally for the purpose of quelling the Tonghak rebellion. But the rebellion having died of inanition before the landing of the troops, their services were not required or employed. Nevertheless they were not

withdrawn. China kept them in the peninsula, her declared reason for doing so being the presence of a Japanese military force. Thus, throughout the subsequent negotiations the Chinese forces lay in an intrenched camp at Ya-shan, while the Japanese occupied Seoul. The trend of events did not import any character of direct mutual hostility to these little armies. But when it became evident that all hope of friendly co-operation between the two empires must be abandoned, and when Japan, single-handed, had embarked upon her scheme of regenerating Korea, not only did the continued presence of a Chinese military force in the peninsula assume special significance, but any attempt on China's part to send reinforcements could be construed in one sense only, namely, as an unequivocal declaration of resolve to oppose Japan's proceedings by force of arms. Seeing, then, that China was preparing to send reinforcements, Japan warned the Peking government of the construction she must place upon any act of the kind. Nevertheless China not only despatched troops by sea to strengthen the camp at Ya-shan, but also sent an army overland across Korea's northern frontier. It was at this stage that an act of war occurred. Three Chinese men-of-war, convoying a transport with twelve hundred men, encountered and fired on three Japanese cruisers. One of the Chinese ships was taken; another was so shattered that she had to be beached and abandoned; the third escaped in a dilapidated condition, and the transport, refusing to surrender, was sunk. This happened on July 25th, and an open declaration of war was made by each empire six days later.

EVENTS OF THE WAR

The war itself was a succession of triumphs for Japan. Four days after the first naval encounter she sent from Seoul a column of troops, who attacked the Chinese intrenched at Ya-shan and routed them without difficulty. Many of the fugitives effected their escape to Phyong-yang, a town on the Taidong river, offering excellent facilities for defence, and historically interesting as the place where a Japanese army of invasion had been defeated by Chinese and Korean troops at the close of the sixteenth century. There the Chinese assembled a force of 17,000 men, and made full preparations for a decisive contest. They had ample leisure. A period of forty days elapsed before the Japanese columns, one moving due north from Seoul, the other striking west from Yuen-san, converged upon Phyong-yang, and that interval was utilised by the Chinese to throw up parapets, mount Krupp guns, and otherwise strengthen their position. Moreover, they were armed with repeating rifles, whereas the Japanese had only single-shooters, and the ground offered little cover for an attacking force. In such circumstances, the advantages possessed by the defence ought to have been well-nigh insuperable; yet a day's fighting sufficed to carry all the positions, the assailants' casualties amounting to less than seven hundred, and the defenders losing six thousand in killed and wounded. It was a brilliant victory, and it proved to be the prelude of another equally conspicuous success at sea; for on the 17th of September, the very day after the battle at Phyong-yang, a great naval fight took place near the mouth of the Yalu river, which forms the northern boundary of Korea. Fourteen Chinese war-ships and six torpedo-boats were returning to home ports after convoying a fleet of transports to the Yalu, when they encountered eleven Japanese men-of-war cruising in the Yellow Sea. Hitherto the Chinese had sedulously avoided a contest at sea. Their fleet was the stronger, since it included two armoured line-of-battle ships of over seven thousand tons dis-

placement, whereas the biggest vessels on the Japanese side were belted cruisers of only four thousand tons. In the hands of an admiral appreciating the value of sea power, China's naval force would certainly have been led against Japan's maritime communications, for a successful blow struck there must have put an end to the Korean campaign. History had already demonstrated that fact, for on two occasions in former ages attempts made by Japan to conquer the peninsula were rendered abortive by the superior maritime strength of the Koreans and Chinese. On land her soldiers proved invincible, but her sea-route being severed, she had to abandon the enterprise. The Chinese, however, failed to read history. They employed their war-vessels as convoys only, and when not using them for that purpose, hid them in port. Everything goes to show that they would have avoided the battle off the Yalu had choice been possible, though when forced to fight they fought bravely. Four of their ships were sunk, and the remainder escaped to Wei-hai-wei, the vigour of the Japanese pursuit being greatly impaired by the presence of torpedo-boats in the retreating squadron.

The Yalu victory opened the over-sea route to China. Japan could now strike at Ta-lien-wan, Port Arthur, and Wei-hai-wei, naval stations on the Liaotung and Shan-tung peninsulas, where the powerful permanent fortifications, built after plans prepared by European experts and armed with the best modern weapons, were regarded as almost impregnable. They fell before the assaults of the Japanese troops as easily as the comparatively rude fortifications at Phyong-yang had fallen. The only resistance of a stubborn character was made by the Chinese fleet at Wei-hai-wei; but after the whole squadron of torpedo-craft had been destroyed or captured as they attempted to escape, and after three of the largest vessels had been sunk at their moorings by Japanese torpedoes, and one by shot and shell, the remaining four ships and five gunboats surrendered, and their brave commander, Admiral Ting, committed suicide. This ended the war. It had lasted seven and a half months, during which time Japan put into the field five columns, aggregating about 120,000 of all arms.

The Chinese government sent Li Hung Chang, viceroy of Petchili and senior grand secretary of state, and Li Ching-fong to discuss terms of peace with Japan, the latter being represented by Marquis Ito and Count Mutsu, prime minister and minister for foreign affairs respectively. A treaty was signed at Shimonoseki on the 17th of April, 1895, and subsequently ratified by the sovereigns of the two empires. It declared the absolute independence of Korea; ceded to Japan the part of Manchuria lying south of a line drawn from the mouth of the river Anping to the mouth of the Liao, *via* Feng-hwan, Hai-cheng, and Ying-kow, as well as the islands of Formosa and the Pescadores; pledged China to pay an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels; provided for the occupation of Wei-hai-wei by Japan pending payment of the indemnity; secured some additional commercial privileges, as the opening of four new places to foreign trade and the right of foreigners to engage in manufacturing enterprises in China, and provided for the conclusion of a treaty of commerce and amity between the two empires, based on the lines of China's treaties with occidental powers.

FOREIGN INTERFERENCE

No sooner did this agreement receive ratification at the hands of the sovereigns of Japan and China, than three of the great European powers—Russia, Germany, and France—stepped forward, and presented a joint note

to the Tokio government, recommending that the territories ceded to Japan on the mainland of China should not be permanently occupied, as such a proceeding would be detrimental to the lasting peace of the Orient. The recommendation was couched in the usual terms of diplomatic courtesy, but everything indicated that its signatories were prepared to enforce their advice by an appeal to arms. Japan found herself compelled to comply. Exhausted by the Chinese campaign, which had drained her treasury, consumed her supplies of warlike material, and kept her squadrons constantly at sea for eight months, she had no residue of strength to oppose such a coalition. Her resolve was quickly taken. The day that saw the publication of the ratified treaty saw also the issue of an imperial rescript in which the mikado, avowing his unalterable devotion to the cause of peace, and recognising that the counsel offered by the European states was prompted by the same sentiment, "yielded to the dictates of magnanimity, and accepted the advice of the three powers." The Japanese were shocked by this incident. They could understand the motives influencing Russia and France, for it was evidently natural that the former should desire to exclude warlike and progressive people like the Japanese from territories contiguous to her borders, and it was also natural that France in the East should remain true to her alliance with Russia in the West. But Germany, wholly uninterested in the ownership of Manchuria, and by profession a warm friend of Japan, seemed to have joined in robbing the latter of the fruits of her victory simply for the sake of establishing some shadowy title to Russia's goodwill. It was not known until a later period that the emperor of Germany entertained profound apprehensions about an irruption of oriental hordes into the Occident, and held it a sacred duty to prevent Japan from gaining a position which might enable her to construct an immense military machine out of the countless millions of the Chinese nation. When his majesty's mood came to be understood, much of the resentment provoked by his seemingly reckless unfriendliness in the Manchurian affair was softened by the mirth which his chimera excited.

CHINESE CRISIS OF 1900

Japan's third expedition over-sea in the *Meiji* era had its origin in causes which belong to the history of China. It will suffice to say here that in the second half of 1900 an anti-foreign and anti-dynastic rebellion, breaking out in Shan-tung, spread to the neighbouring metropolitan province of Petchili and resulted in a situation of extreme peril for the foreign communities of Tientsin and Peking. It was impossible for any European power, or for the United States of America, to organise sufficiently prompt measures of relief. Thus the eyes of the world turned to Japan, whose proximity to the scene of disturbance rendered intervention comparatively easy for her. But Japan hesitated. Knowing now with what suspicion and distrust the development of her resources and the growth of her military strength were regarded by some European peoples, and aware that she had been admitted to the comity of western nations on sufferance, she shrank, on the one hand, from seeming to grasp at an opportunity for armed display, and on the other, from the solecism of obtrusiveness in the society of strangers. Not until Europe and America made it quite plain that they needed and desired her aid did she send a division (twenty-one thousand men) to Petchili. Her troops acted a fine part in the subsequent expedition for the relief of Peking, which had to be approached in midsummer under very trying conditions. Fighting side

by side with European and American soldiers, and under the eyes of competent military critics, the Japanese acquitted themselves in such a manner as to establish a high military reputation. Further, after the relief of Peking they withdrew a moiety of their forces, and that step, as well as their unequivocal co-operation with western powers in the subsequent negotiations, helped to show the injustice of the suspicions with which they had been regarded.

The final stage in the recognition of Japan as one of the great powers was accomplished in February, 1902, when an offensive and defensive treaty of alliance was signed between her and Great Britain, on terms which were published to the world at large. From that moment the British and Japanese powers were united to maintain the *status quo* in the Far East.[b]

RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

Japan's fourth war was with Russia, and again the cause was Korea with the added element of Manchuria. We have seen how Russia, supported by France and Germany, after the Japanese victory over China in 1894, stepped in to prevent Japan's gaining possession of Port Arthur and of the Liaotung peninsula. The reason for this was plainly seen in 1898, when Russia obtained from China the cession of Port Arthur and Ta-lien-wan (Dalny) for a period of twenty-five years, with the further permission to extend her Manchurian railway to Port Arthur. When she followed this up by the occupation of Manchuria in 1900 and by persistent efforts to gain control in Korea, Japan realised that vigorous action was necessary. Russia had obtained permission to cut timber on the Yalu and Tumen in 1896, and again in 1903, and in 1903 she claimed the right to build railways and lay out telegraph lines in Korea. In August of that year Japan entered upon negotiations with Russia aiming at an amicable adjustment of the matters in dispute, but no agreement was reached. On February 6th, 1904, Japan withdrew her minister from St. Petersburg. The next day both governments issued statements severing diplomatic connections, and on February 8th Japan opened the war by a sudden attack upon the Russian fleet at Port Arthur, finding it unprepared and sinking three ships. The formal declaration of war was not made until February 10th.

In regard to the contention raised by Russia that Japan was acting treacherously in attacking before the formal declaration of war, Mr. Lawrence,[c] an authority on international law, declares that any accusation of treachery must rest upon an assumption that international law obliges belligerents to make to each other a formal declaration of war before commencing hostilities. "Never," he declares, "was assumption more groundless. Nearly every war of the last two centuries has been commenced without a declaration." Lawrence thinks that Japan, far from violating the obligations imposed by international law, went beyond them by giving her adversary ample notice of what must be expected. So strained, he says, had been the relations between the two powers that war was felt to be inevitable, and there would have been no treachery had an attack been made without warning. But, in reality, the note delivered on February 6th by the Japanese representative at St. Petersburg not only broke off diplomatic intercourse, but virtually implied a declaration of war.[a]

The war in its early stages was an almost unbroken succession of victories for the Japanese. Vice-Admiral Togo followed up his first success at Port

Arthur by another attack the next day, seriously injuring four more Russian ships, and on the same day Admiral Uriu at Chemulpo destroyed two more Russian vessels. On February 24th Togo made his first attempt (which was subsequently renewed) to shut up the Russian fleet at Port Arthur by sinking ships at the mouth of the harbour; at the end of the month the Vladivostok squadron succeeded in making its way out of the frozen harbour and destroyed the Japanese transport *Kinshiu Maru* and two small steamships, returning immediately afterwards to Vladivostok.

In the mean time operations on land had begun. The first Japanese army began to land in Korea February 18th, and subsequently occupied Phyongyang without opposition. From thence it pushed on towards Wi-ju, meeting the Russians in the first land engagement of the war at Cheng-ju on March 28th, which resulted in the Russian withdrawal from Korean soil. The first serious engagement of the land campaign took place on the Yalu river. The Japanese under General Kuroki had been concentrating there for several days, and the fighting began on April 26th, culminating in a decisive Japanese victory on May 1st. This gave the Japanese a firm footing in Manchuria, and Kuroki continued to advance into the interior. On May 5th the second Japanese army, under General Oku, began to land on the Liao-tung peninsula and the next day occupied Pu-lan-tien, severing the railway and telegraph communication with Port Arthur. On May 26th occurred the second great land battle, in which the Japanese after sixteen hours' fighting captured Kinchau and the Nanshan Hills, and two days later the Japanese occupied Dalny. The investment of Port Arthur followed. General Stakelberg was sent to relieve it, but was defeated by Oku at Telissu (Vofangow). The Russians retired to Kai-ping, which they abandoned after a brief engagement, and took up a position at Tashichiao.

In an engagement at this place the Japanese were again successful, and as a result obtained possession of Ying-kow and New-Chwang; on July 31st and August 1st they drove the Russians out of Haicheng. One by one the Japanese took possession of the passes on the way to Liauyang, a town of about 50,000 inhabitants, lying on the Taitse river in the midst of a wide, rolling plain; and General Kuropatkin's gradual concentration of troops about this place, and his elaborate fortifications, made it apparent that a decided stand would be made there.

Port Arthur Besieged

Meanwhile Port Arthur had been isolated and besieged, both by sea and by land. In a sortie made by the Russian fleet on April 13th the battleship *Petropavlovsk*, which carried the Russian Admiral Makarov and the eminent war artist Verestchagin, struck a Japanese floating mine and sank with great loss of life. About a month later the Japanese battleship *Hatsuse* likewise struck a mine about ten miles southeast of Port Arthur. The telegram from Admiral Togo to headquarters announcing the catastrophe expresses its importance: "To-day is the most unfortunate day of our navy. I have to report another disaster. The *Hatsuse*, the *Shikishima*, the *Yashima*, the *Kasagi*, and the *Tatsuta* were keeping watch outside Port Arthur at about 11 A.M. to-day, when the *Hatsuse* was struck by an enemy's mine and had its steering gear injured. The *Hatsuse* telegraphed for a tugboat. When preparations were being made to comply with the request, the sad message was received from the *Shikishima* that the *Hatsuse*, being struck by a second

BATTLE BETWEEN JAPANESE AND RUSSIAN CAVALRY

(From a picture by H. Goseda, in "The Russo-Japanese War," published by the Kinkodo Co., Tokio)

[1904 A.D.]

mine, had sunk. In making this report, I can only say that I am filled with deep regret. I am taking all possible measures for limiting the extent of the disaster." On the same day the cruiser *Yoshino* was accidentally rammed and sunk by the *Kasuga*, while not long afterwards another battleship was lost in much the same manner as the *Hatsuse* had been, though the fact was concealed from the world until after the final battle of the war. After these disasters the main Japanese vessels ordinarily remained at a considerable distance from Port Arthur, and the actual work of reducing that port was left to the army, which began its operations in June.

On the 10th of August the Russian fleet, now consisting of six battleships, four cruisers, and eight torpedo craft, made an effort to escape from the port of the doomed town to Vladivostok. The Japanese allowed them to reach the open sea, and then began the first great fleet action on blue water in the history of armoured vessels. During the first phase of the battle, which continued from about one P.M. until after nightfall, the two fleets moved in parallel courses, and fought at ranges of never less than over two miles. The Japanese gunnery was splendidly effective. A shell from one of their twelve-inch guns wrecked the bridge of the flagship *Tsarevitch* and killed Admiral Witthoeft; another destroyed a gun, and severely wounded Rear-Admiral Massulitch; a third struck the vessel on the water-line, making great havoc inside and causing a great inrush of water; while still others damaged her steering gear and injured her elsewhere. Several other Russian vessels suffered severely, and towards evening the fleet was dispersed. Most of the vessels succeeded in regaining Port Arthur. The *Tsarevitch* escaped to the German port of Kiau-chou, where she was interned. The cruiser *Novik* also reached that port, but left the next day, and while endeavouring to reach Vladivostok was sunk off the coast of Saghalien by Japanese cruisers. The cruiser *Diana* reached Saigon, and the cruiser *Askold*, Shanghai, and some of the torpedo craft also found refuge in neutral ports. The Japanese, on their side, suffered considerable loss in killed and wounded, but not one of their vessels was disabled.

About the same time that the above-mentioned events were taking place, the Vladivostok squadron, doubtless with the idea of effecting a juncture with the Port Arthur fleet, steamed southward to the Korean Straits; but there, on August 14th, encountered Vice-Admiral Kamimura, who had long been seeking them. The Russians soon turned back towards Vladivostok, and a running fight of several hours ensued. The giant cruiser *Rurik* was unable to keep up with the two other vessels, and consequently received most of the Japanese fire. Her steering gear was disabled, her engines were damaged, and she was injured in other ways. Finding that their consort was in danger of destruction, the *Rossia* and the *Gromboi* turned back to assist her, but were met with such a heavy fire that they were compelled to leave her to her fate. At length she sank, stern first, and her whole crew was thrown into the water, for her boats had all been destroyed. The Japanese succoured the struggling men, and saved about 600, many of whom were badly wounded. The other vessels succeeded in reaching Vladivostok, but in so badly battered a condition that they played no further part in the war.

Having temporarily gained undisputed mastery of the sea, the Japanese were now freer to conduct their operations against the Russian land forces. On the 24th of August the Japanese army of about 240,000 men under Field-Marshal Oyama attacked the Russian army of about 200,000 under General Kuropatkin at Liauyang. While the Japanese left and centre under Generals Nodzu and Oku pressed the Russian right and centre, General Kuroki

endeavoured to force a way across the swollen Taitse River in order to turn the Russian left flank and cut their communications. After long and desperate fighting he succeeded in crossing the river, with the result that after General Kuropatkin had made a vain effort to overwhelm him, the Russian army was forced to begin a retreat. The Japanese pressed forward at all points with the utmost determination, but General Kuropatkin managed the withdrawal in a masterly manner, and thereby saved his army from what his enemies had hoped would be another Sedan. As it was, however, he lost more than 20,000 men and many guns in the course of the ten days' fighting, and was forced to destroy or abandon many million pounds' worth of property. The Japanese loss was probably not less than 17,000.

The Russians retired northward to Mukden, whither reinforcements and supplies were hastened as rapidly as the one track of the Trans-Siberian railway would permit. After about four weeks had been spent in this kind of work General Kuropatkin, probably under orders from the home government, prepared to make a desperate effort to relieve Port Arthur. After issuing a rather flamboyant proclamation, he left Mukden on October 6th, and three days later made his first attack. At first the Russians appeared to gain some slight advantages, but the tide soon turned, and they were obliged to withdraw towards Mukden. In the course of the battle, which lasted more than a week, the Russians suffered a loss which is estimated at about 45,000 men, while the loss of the Japanese was probably not more than a third that of their antagonists.

Meanwhile General Nogi, with an army of from 60,000 to 100,000 men, had been vigorously carrying forward his operations against Port Arthur. In August desperate efforts had been made by the Japanese to take the place by assault, but after suffering frightful losses they were forced to have recourse to a regular siege. Heavy artillery, balloons, mines, hand-grenades, star-bombs, search-lights, and every art known to modern warfare were used by both besiegers and besieged. In the assaults against the chief points of attack, hand-to-hand encounters were frequent, and feats of valour were exhibited by both sides. Despite the great natural advantages against which they had to contend, the Japanese progressed steadily, and gradually mastered the outer defences of the place. Finally on December 1st they succeeded, after a terrible contest lasting seven days, in taking and holding an eminence called 203 Metre Hill, which commanded a view of the town and harbour. But a simultaneous attack upon the Erlungshan and Sungshushan forts failed. Upon the captured hill they then installed a signal station, which directed the fire of their batteries. The issue was now no longer doubtful. Guided by these watchers on the hill, the Japanese artillerists in charge of the great eleven-inch mortars were able to throw over the hills enormous armour-piercing shells which searched out every important position in the town and passed downward through the protected decks of the warships in the harbour as though they had been paper. At the same time the Japanese continued their other operations and succeeded in capturing several forts. After four weeks of this terrible bombardment, finding that his lines had been so broken that he could not withstand another assault, and despairing of aid either from the army or from the long-expected Baltic fleet, General Stoessel, the Russian commander, on January 1st, proposed a meeting to arrange terms of surrender. On the 2nd, after the Russians had sunk all their remaining warships except a few torpedo craft which escaped to Chefoo, the terms of capitulation were settled. The prisoners, including the sick and wounded, numbered more than 40,000;

in addition the victors gained possession of vast quantities of military supplies. This ended a siege which will rank in the annals of war with that of Sevastopol.

Battles of Mukden and Sea of Japan

The Japanese determined upon a great effort to overwhelm Kuropatkin before the situation should again be complicated by the arrival of the Baltic fleet. The well-seasoned army of General Nogi, as well as reinforcements from home, were hurried northward to join Oyama. Kuropatkin had also received many thousands of reinforcements, but owing to the inadequacy of the Trans-Siberian railway, it is doubtful whether he had 400,000 men with which to oppose the Japanese, who probably numbered more than 500,000 men. On February 19th the Japanese moved forward and began a series of offensive movements which culminated in one of the most stupendous battles that history records.

The Japanese plan was a simple one. Generals Kuroki and Kamamura were to attack the Russian left east of Mukden. General Nogi, with his veterans, was to carry out a flanking movement to the west of Mukden, and, if possible, throw himself across the Russian line of retreat. Meanwhile Generals Nodzu and Oku were to hammer the Russian centre. If all went as planned, the Russian army would be captured or destroyed.

The operations which followed lasted for more than three weeks. During all this time fighting was practically continuous. The weather during much of the time was extremely bad; to the suffering caused by wounds was joined the suffering caused by cold and hunger. Despite the most stubborn opposition on the part of the Russians, the Japanese were in the main successful. Threatened with complete destruction, the Russians evacuated Mukden, and on the 10th of March it was occupied by the Japanese. The Russian army, in disorganised fragments, fled northward, pursued by the Japanese, to beyond Tie pass, where, under a new general, they once more made a stand. About 70 heavy guns and enormous quantities of ammunition and supplies fell into the hands of the victors. About 150,000 Russians were either killed, wounded, or taken. The Japanese loss was probably not more than a third as great.

After the battle of Mukden operations on the land were once more thrust into the background by a new contest for supremacy on the sea. In the preceding October the Russian government had dispatched Admiral Rojestvensky, with what was known as the Baltic Squadron, on a long voyage to the East to retrieve the Russian naval fortunes. On the night of October 21st, while passing through the North Sea, the squadron, through some strange mistake which was doubtless the outcome of panic fancy, mistook a fleet of English fishing trawlers for Japanese torpedo boats and opened a cannonade which sank one vessel, killed two fishermen, and severely wounded others. When the news of this outrage reached England, excitement rose to fever heat. The English government made immediate demands for an apology and for reparation, and so disposed its Channel and Mediterranean fleets as to be able to attack the offending squadron if the answer were not favourable. For some time peace hung in the balance, but the Russian government soon disavowed having intentionally fired upon the trawlers, and the matter was referred to an international board of arbitration, which some months later held that the action of the Russians was unjustifiable. The matter was closed on March 9, 1905, by the payment of an indemnity of £65,000.

A portion of the fleet whose voyage was thus so inauspiciously begun proceeded on its way by the Cape of Good Hope, while the other portion passed through the Straits of Gibraltar and the Suez Canal. The two portions came together again off the coast of Madagascar, and here some months were spent in waiting for the coming of a second fleet under Admiral Nebogatoff. Before the latter fleet arrived, however, Admiral Rojestvensky proceeded once more on his way eastward, passed Singapore on the 8th of April, and rendezvoused at Kamranh bay in French Indo-China. His prolonged stay in these waters caused the Japanese to make strong representations to the French government; but the fleet nevertheless continued to violate French neutrality until some days after the appearance of Admiral Nebogatoff's squadron. This admiral effected a junction with his superior on May 5th, and some days later the combined squadrons entered upon the last stage of their long voyage.

Two possibilities now presented themselves to the Russian commander. He might make a wide detour into the Pacific to evade his enemy and endeavour to reach Vladivostok by way of the straits between the islands of northern Japan, or he might proceed directly by way of the Korean Straits with the certainty of having to fight the united naval forces of his opponents. For weeks the world had wondered what his decision would be, and opinion was much divided. In the end he chose the bolder course, being resolved to stake all upon an effort to overwhelm his enemy and thus decide the ultimate outcome of the war at a single blow.

So far as vessels and armaments were concerned, he appeared to have a good chance for success. Against the four Japanese battleships of the first class and two of inferior strength he could oppose six fine new battleships, two smaller ones, and three coast-defence vessels. Of cruisers, however, he had but three of the armoured and six of the protected class, as against eight armoured and fifteen protected cruisers belonging to the Japanese; and in torpedo craft also he was still more inferior. It was, however, upon the quality of the crews and officers of the opposing fleets, rather than upon the number and strength of vessels, that the outcome of the forthcoming struggle was to depend. Of the ordinary Russian sailors, almost no one had ever been in action and many of them were not even trained to the sea, while their opponents were all veteran seamen whose nerves had been tried by previous engagements. This difference alone would have served to decide the fortunes of the battle; if anything else were needed, it was supplied by the fact that the fleet upon which rested the fate of Nippon was directed by as able an admiral as ever sailed ship upon the Seven Seas.

The 27th of May was a day destined to be forever memorable in the history of naval warfare. At five o'clock on the morning of that day the Japanese scout *Shinano-maru* reported to Admiral Togo that the enemy's fleet had been sighted and that it appeared to be steering for the east channel between Tsushima Island and the Japanese mainland. The Japanese fleet at once quitted its base at Masampo on the south-eastern coast of Korea, where for months it had been hidden from the eyes of the world, and started to meet the long-expected enemy. Admiral Togo himself, with the battleships and the armoured cruisers, took a northerly course in order to get ahead of the enemy; while Admirals Kamimura, Uriu, Dewa, and Kataoka, with the remaining vessels, sailed to the southeast for the purpose of enveloping their rear. The last-mentioned division came in sight of the Russian fleet between Iki Island and Tsushima about ten o'clock, but, instead of attacking at once, merely kept it in sight, and reported to Admiral Togo by wireless

telegraphy. The Russian vessels entered the strait in two columns, with the battleships at the head, next the armoured cruisers, and lastly the protected cruisers, while between the two columns were placed the auxiliaries, the transports, and the torpedo craft.

At one-thirty o'clock Admiral Togo and his division appeared on the northwest, with the sun and wind at his back and in the eyes of the Russian gunners. The moment had come for which the world had long been waiting. But before the battle opened, when the flagships were about five miles apart, there appeared upon the battle-scarred *Mikasa*, Togo's flagship, the following signal:

"The fate of the Empire depends upon this battle. Let every man do his utmost."

Scarcely had this signal inspired the courage of the men of Japan before the battle opened. Then became quickly apparent the difference between trained and untrained seamen. Ten minutes after the first gun was fired a twelve-inch shell entered the turret of the Russian flagship, *Kniaz Suvaroff*, exploded several charges of powder, and blew the top of the turret entirely off. The other Russian vessels were struck repeatedly. Soon many of them were in flames. Within less than three-quarters of an hour the result had been virtually decided. Shortly after three o'clock the Russian battleship *Oslabya* went to the bottom, and at 4.45 the *Kniaz Suvaroff*, which was already in a helpless condition, was sunk by a torpedo. By nightfall a large portion of the fleet had been destroyed. The only part which retained a semblance of formation fled northward, harried throughout the night by wasp-like torpedo craft. Next morning only four of them, namely, the battleships *Nikolai I*, the flagship of Admiral Nebogatoff, and the *Orel*, and two coast defence vessels, remained together; these were surrounded near the Liancourt Rocks and forced to surrender. Admiral Rojestvensky was captured in a badly wounded condition on board a destroyer, to which, upon the sinking of his flagship, he had transferred his flag. Only one cruiser, the *Almaz*, and three destroyers reached Vladivostok in safety; another destroyer and two special service ships escaped to Shanghai; three cruisers found refuge in Manila bay; all the other war vessels were either captured or sunk. Seven thousand Russian officers and men were made prisoners, and many thousand more were either killed or drowned. On their side, the Japanese lost but three torpedo boats, 116 officers and men killed, and 538 wounded.

The Peace of Portsmouth

In the opinion of the world this battle destroyed all reasonable hope of ultimate Russian success in the war. Nevertheless, it appeared for a time that the contest might be uselessly prolonged because neither party was inclined to make overtures for peace. At this psychological moment President Roosevelt came forward, and in the interest of the peace of the world addressed to each of the warring powers an identical note in which he suggested a conference. After due deliberation the suggestion was accepted by both parties, and on August 5th Sergius Witte and Baron Rosen, representatives of the Czar, and Baron Komura and Togoro Takahira, representatives of the Mikado, were introduced to each other by the president on board the yacht *Mayflower* in Oyster Bay. The envoys then proceeded to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and there, in one of the buildings of the United States navy yard, began their negotiations. Much scepticism existed throughout the world regarding a successful outcome of the conference, and, owing to the

hard terms upon which the Japanese at first insisted, it appeared for some time that this scepticism would be justified. Had it not been for the unwearying efforts of Mr. Roosevelt it is probable that the conference would have broken up without results; but at last, owing either to his influence or to causes which have not yet appeared, the Japanese government instructed its envoys to withdraw their demands for a money indemnity and for certain other terms to which the Russians objected, and on the 29th of August a protocol was signed, which was later elaborated into a definite treaty. By this treaty the Russians recognised the paramount position of Japan in Korea; both parties agreed to evacuate Manchuria, except Port Arthur, Talienwan, and adjacent territory, the lease to which, with the consent of China, was to be transferred to Japan, as was also, under similar conditions the Chang-chun-fu and Port Arthur Railway; both parties agreed to an exchange of prisoners and to the payment of a reasonable maintenance charge; and the southern half of the island of Saghalien, all of which had been occupied by Japanese in July, was ceded to Japan, with a provision that neither party should fortify his share.

When the terms of peace were made known, there were many people in Europe and America who, influenced in part perhaps by some rather vainglorious boasting on the part of Count Witte, were inclined to believe that Japan had not reaped all the advantages which she might have done; many of the Japanese themselves were so dissatisfied that riots broke out in protest. But the sober thought of the world did not agree with this view. Japan had, after all, accomplished every object for which she had taken up arms; and it will doubtless be the verdict of history that the grave "Elder Statesmen," who at the critical moment caused the withdrawal of Japan's extreme demands and thereby obviated the necessity of a resumption of the costly and bloody conflict, were actuated by the highest statesmanship.

Thus ended the first great war of the Twentieth Century,—a conflict which from many points of view was one of the most extraordinary and important of modern times. It had been a revelation to western nations both of the inherent weakness of the Russian autocracy and of the strength of the new power which had arisen in the Far East. It had disproved all theories regarding the military incapacity of the Yellow Race, and it had postponed indefinitely the partitioning of China among the European powers.

TREATIES WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND CHINA

Soon after the agreement had been reached at Portsmouth, the world was informed that a new and more sweeping treaty of alliance had been entered into on August 12th between Japan and Great Britain. This treaty, the text of which is given in the Appendix to the present volume, was to remain in force for ten years. Later in the year a treaty was negotiated with China, by which China in effect ratified the terms of the treaty of Portsmouth relating to Port Arthur and the Manchurian railway. On January 6th, 1906, the Katsura ministry, which had lost popularity because of dissatisfaction over the treaty with Russia, and because of the harsh measures taken to suppress the protests against that treaty, fell from power, and was succeeded by a liberal ministry under Marquis Kin Mochi Saionji. In April, the foreign minister, Mr. Kato, resigned his office on account of his objection to a bill for nationalising the Japanese railways, and was succeeded by Viscount Hayashi; the latter's place as ambassador in London being in turn taken by Baron Komura.

JAPANESE CONTROL OF KOREA

The alliance with England bore fruit in the bestowal of the order of the Garter on the Mikado through the personal medium of Prince Arthur of Connaught, and the raising of the status of the British and Japanese legations in Tokio and London respectively to that of embassies. But the most momentous events of these years had to do with Korea. The convention between Japan and Korea, which was signed on November 17th, 1905, was the inevitable outcome of the Russo-Japanese war. The main terms of this convention were that the foreign relations of Korea should be henceforth under the control of the Japanese government, and that a Japanese official, with wide powers, should take up his residence in Seoul, under the title of resident-general. This convention was accepted with great reluctance by the Korean ministry, and in May 1906, not long after Marquis Ito had entered on his duties as first resident-general, an anti-Japanese rising broke out. This rising, which seems to have been engineered by the conservative party with the object of working up feeling against the Japanese and securing Russian support, was put down with the arrest of some members of the government, and a stronger garrison was left in Korea. Disturbances continued throughout the year; although in December the emperor himself thanked the Japanese for their reforms, and subsequently repudiated the statement that he had agreed reluctantly to the 1905 convention.

In April 1907, there was another series of revolts and attempted murders, which were attributed by the Japanese to a party hostile to the reforms of the Korean cabinet. In the same month a vice-minister of education was arrested on suspicion of complicity in a plot to assassinate the ministers who signed the protectorate convention. On account of these disturbances certain administrative reforms were introduced under Japanese influence, by which the cabinet was invested with largely increased powers and rendered independent of court influence. The crisis, however, came in July. In the beginning of that month, a Korean delegation appeared at the Hague Conference and protested against their non-invitation. Although the emperor denied all complicity in this flagrant violation of the protectorate convention, the Japanese determined to take effective steps to restrain the Korean court from possibility of further mischief. Viscount Hayashi, the Japanese foreign minister, went to Seoul, and on July 20th it was announced that the emperor had, after a long consultation with his ministers, resolved upon his own abdication in favour of the crown prince, his son. His official rescript ran:

"We have been in succession to our ancestors on the throne for forty-four years, and have met with many disturbances. We have not reached our own desire. While ministers are frequently improper men, and progress is uncontrolled by the right men, the times are contrary to natural events. A crisis extremely urgent in the life of the people has arisen, and the progress of the state is more than before imperilled. Fortunately we have a son endowed by nature with brilliant virtue, and well worthy of being charged with plans for the development of the government, to whom we transfer our inheritance sanctioned by the customs of ancient times. Therefore be it known that as soon as proper to be done we will hand the affairs of state over to the crown prince as our representative."

Although the official reports stated that the abdication took place on the emperor's own initiative, and was entirely unprompted by the resident-

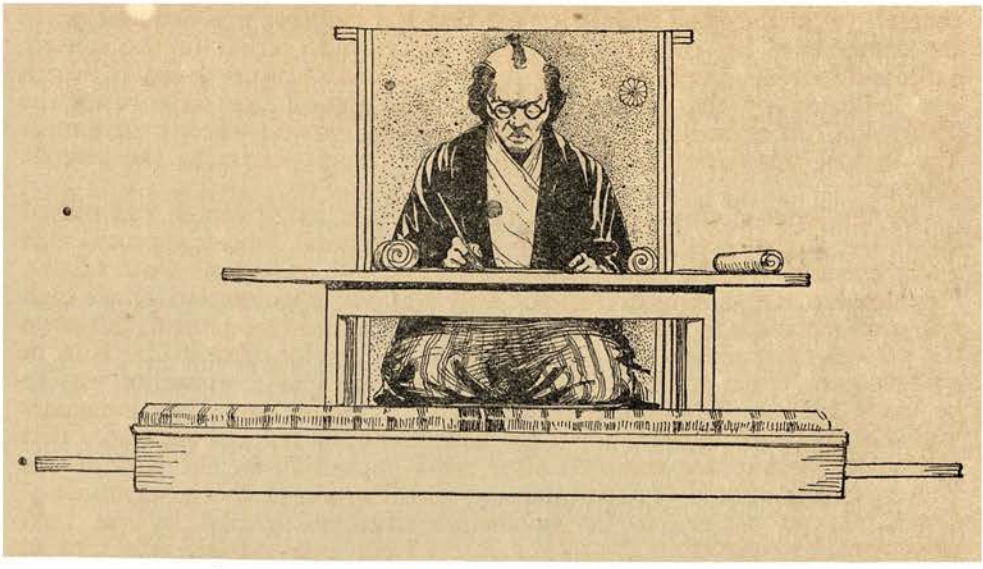
general, yet at the same time it is clear that the emperor was acquiescing in the demands of his cabinet; especially as he had, earlier in the month, expressed extreme unwillingness to abdicate. Japan's future policy in Korea was indicated by the convention which was signed five days after the abdication. It embodied, said Viscount Hayashi, Japan's whole programme. The text of this convention will be found in the Appendix to the present volume.

By the terms of this convention, the administration of Korea was placed under the guidance of the Japanese resident-general, whose approval was made necessary to the enactment of all laws and important state affairs. Furthermore, it was agreed that not only was the appointment of all high responsible officials to receive the approval of the resident-general, but none but persons recommended by him were to be eligible for office in the Korean government. Other articles of the convention were that a separation was to be made between administrative and judicial affairs, and that foreigners were not to be employed without the consent of the resident-general. This convention, which was accepted after great opposition on the part of the Korean court, ensured to Japan the supreme direction of the government of Korea. It put an end to the impossible situation created by the 1905 agreement, by converting the rôle of Japan from mere adviser into that of director.

In addition to the control of foreign affairs, she now assumed the control of the executive, judicial, and legislative departments of the Korean state. Henceforward the part which Japan had to play in Korea was somewhat analogous to our own in Egypt, unhampered indeed by international complications, but embittered by the hatred which the Koreans have always borne towards the Japanese. The first measure of Marquis Ito, which aimed at securing life and property by substituting competent tribunals for the existing corrupt law-courts, was indicative of the path which Japan intended to pursue in the future with regard to Korea—the gradual imposition of salutary reforms on an essentially conservative people.

RUSSO-JAPANESE CONVENTION OF 1907

On July 30th, 1907, a convention was signed between Russia and Japan which guaranteed the integrity of both these countries, as well as the independence and integrity of China and the maintenance of the "open door." This agreement, the last of those at which Japanese diplomacy aimed since the war, completed the work of peace in the Far East. The text of this agreement will be found among the documents in the Appendix to the present volume.[a]



APPENDIX A

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO JAPANESE HISTORY

I

CONSTITUTION OF PRINCE SHOTOKU

[THE constitution of Prince Shotoku is found in the Nihongi or book of Japanese chronicles, in Book XXII, which gives the reign of the Empress Toyo-mike-kashi ki-ya kime. The entry is found under the twelfth year of her reign,—the third month and the fourth day,—that is, about 604 A.D.]

THE heir to the throne [Prince Shotoku] issued for the first time a regulation [or constitution] in seventeen articles.

The first article reads: Unity and harmony are valuable. Obedience is a most indispensable quality. All people have their separate interests; there are also few wise men among them. Hence at times they do not obey their princes and fathers, and have disputes with neighbouring villages. On the other hand, when superiors and inferiors are in harmony and are unanimous in their words and opinions, things progress of themselves, and what is there which could not succeed under such circumstances?

Article II. Honour diligently the three treasures. The three treasures are Buddha, the law, and the priesthood. They are the last refuge of the four forms of being and the underlying principle of all lands. What generation, what people, ought not to honour these laws! Few are the people who are thoroughly bad; they can be instructed and made to observe (the laws). How can they be better led than by resorting to the three treasures?

Article III. Whenever ye receive an imperial command ye must observe it with care. The prince should be regarded as the heaven, the subject as the earth. The heaven covers, the earth bears; (when that is so) the four seasons pursue their regular course, and the ten thousand spirits move without hindrance (from one place to another). If (however) the earth should be above the heaven it would only lead to destruction. Hence the prince should proclaim (the law) and the subjects receive it; the superior should rule and the inferior obey. Consequently when ye receive an imperial order ye should respectfully observe it. If ye do not observe it ye are preparing your own ruin.

Article IV. Ministers and officials must make morality the basis of their actions. Their principle for the government of the people must rest on morality. If the superiors are not moral the inferiors will not keep order. If the inferiors are not moral they will of necessity burden themselves with transgression and crime. Hence if the prince and his subjects are in possession of morality, the peace will not be disturbed. If the people are moral the state is governed by itself.

Article V. Renounce lusts and throw away thy wishes. Judge clearly (impartially) in disputed cases. A thousand things give cause for dispute among a people on one day. If there are so many in one day, how many more in a number of years? If judges make it a custom to demand a material advantage and to give judgment after accepting a bribe, the suit will result for the richer party, just as if one threw a stone into the water, and the suit for the poorer party will be as if one threw water against a stone. The poor people do not know where (to seek protection).

Article VI. To punish the bad and to encourage the good is an excellent rule of antiquity. Hence do not conceal the good deeds of others, and if thou seest evil thou must expose it. As for flatterers and liars, they are a sharp tool with which to ruin the state and a pointed sword with which to destroy the people. And again, when flatterers meet superiors they usually speak of the faults of the inferiors, but with inferiors they love to talk of the faults of superiors. People of that class have no loyalty towards the prince and no humane feeling for the people; they are the root of great confusion.

Article VII. Everyone has his own field of activity. Do your best that ye may not miss it. When wise men pursue their official duties, voices of praise arise. When, however, evil-minded people hold an office, evil and anarchy are the order of the day. Few are they who are wise by nature and by birth, but by diligent reflection a man may become wise. Every question, whether important or unimportant, will find its right solution when the proper persons devote their care to it. Whether a time is critical or peaceful, it will pursue a peaceful course of itself if a wise man arises. In this way the state has endless duration and the land is without danger. Hence the wise kings of old first created offices and then looked for men (to fill them); but they did not look for offices (in order to put people into them).

Article VIII. All ministers and officials should come early to court and withdraw at a late hour. Public business cannot be postponed. The day in its whole length is still too short to settle business matters. Hence those who come to court late do not come in time enough to settle pressing matters; and if they go away early the affairs remain unfinished.

Article IX. Faithfulness is the root of righteousness. Be true in everything. Good and evil, success and failure depend on faithfulness. When the rulers and the ruled are true to each other everything goes well, but if they are faithless everything ends in failure.

Article X. Cast off your anger, put aside your wrath, do not become angry with people of different opinions from yourselves. Everyone has his own mind; every single mind has its own impulses and inclinations. What others hold to be right, I consider wrong, and what I hold to be right, they consider wrong. Yet we are not necessarily wise and they are not necessarily foolish—we are both ordinary people. Who can easily judge what is right and wrong when we are all equally wise and foolish, just like a circle which has no end. Hence when anyone is angry at us we should be anxious because there are faults in us; if we have something which we alone possess, we should nevertheless conduct ourselves in the same way as others.

Article XI. Distinguish clearly between merit and fault. Rewards, like punishments, must be delivered impartially. At present, however, recompense is not given to the deserving nor punishment to the transgressor, (hence) those officials who have to do with such matters should give care to the allotment of rewards and punishments.

Article XII. The Kuni no mikotomochi (a kind of prefect) and the Kuni no miyatsuko must not tax the people for their individual advantage. There should not be two princes in one state and the people should not have two masters. Every inch of land and every individual of the people have their king as their lord, and all the officials are the king's subjects. How may they therefore tax the people as if they were their lords?

Article XIII. All those who are intrusted with offices must fulfil their functions in the same way. When they are ill or absent on an embassy, and hence cannot attend to their official duties, on the day when they can attend to them again they must look after them as usual. Do not hinder the cause of public business by the pretence of your lack of knowledge.

Article XIV. Do not be envious, ye officials. If we are inclined to be envious of others, others will follow us with jealous eyes. There is no end to the calamities which come from envy. If others excel us in insight, we feel displeasure; and when their talents are superior to ours, we are consumed with envy. Although ye can find a clever man every five hundred years, ye can hardly find a really wise man in a thousand years. How can we rule the land unless we find clever and wise men?

Article XV. To turn his back on his private affairs and to devote himself to public matters, that is the duty of a subject. For if anyone acts only in self-interest he usually is suspicious of others. But if he is suspicious he is necessarily not in harmony with others. When disunion prevails he obstructs public business by his private affairs. When the feeling of ill-will arises, the regular order is violated and the laws are transgressed. Hence it was said in the first article that superiors and inferiors should agree. That is also intended by the spirit of this article.

Article XVI. To make use of the people at the right time—that is a good principle of olden time. Hence call on the people for service during the winter months, when they are unoccupied. From the spring to autumn, however, is the time when the fields must be cultivated and the mulberry trees cared for. During that time ye must not call on the people for service. What should we eat if the fields were not farmed, and what should we wear if the mulberry trees were not cultivated?

Article XVII. Judgments should not be rendered by one person alone, but consult carefully with others. In a trivial matter it is easy; then one does not need many for consultation; only in important cases, and where ye are afraid of making a mistake, must ye consult with many and come to a clear understanding of the matter. Then something reasonable will result.[b]

II

TREATY OF AMNESTY AND COMMERCE

(Signed at Yedo, July 29th, 1858)

[Ratifications exchanged at Washington, May 22nd, 1860]

[This treaty was the result of most patient toil on the part of Mr. Townsend Harris, and gave a basis for similar treaties concluded in the course of a few years with Great Britain, France, Russia, Holland, and all other nations. The main points in this treaty were as follows :]

Article I. Peace and friendship. Diplomatic agent and consul-general. Privileges of residence in Japan; travel beyond treaty limits. Consuls to reside at open ports. Reciprocal privileges to like officials of Japan.

Article II. Mediation of the United States in differences between Japan and European powers. Assistance by United States ships of war to Japanese vessels on the high seas, and by United States consuls in foreign ports.

Article III. Additional ports to be opened (Kanagawa and Nagasaki), July 4th, 1859; Niigata, January 1st, 1860; Hejogo, January 1st, 1863. American citizens may reside therein. Rules and regulations as to their residence. Provisions as to residence of Americans in Yedo and Osaka. Regulations of trade. These provisions to be made public by Japanese government. Munitions of war; to whom only to be sold; rice and wheat not to be exported from Japan; surplus thereof not to be sold to residents, and for ships' crews, etc. Copper surplus to be sold at auction. Americans may employ Japanese.

Article IV. Duties to be paid according to tariff. Proceedings where there is a difference as to the value of duties. Supplies for United States navy. Opium prohibited; penalty for smuggling. Imports on which duties are paid may be transported without further tax. No higher duties than are fixed by this treaty.

Article V. Foreign coins to be current in Japan; may be used in payments; to be exchanged for Japanese coins, etc. Coins, except copper, may be exported; uncoined foreign gold and silver may be exported.

Article VI. Jurisdiction over offences; Americans against Japanese in consular courts; Japanese against Americans by local authorities. Consular courts open to Japanese creditors. Forfeiture and penalties for violation of treaty. Neither government to be responsible for debts of its subjects or citizens.

Article VII. Limits of right to travel (ten ri in any direction) from open ports. That American criminals (*e. g.*, convicted of felony) shall lose right of permanent residence in Japan. Such persons to have reasonable time to settle their affairs, to be determined by American consul.

Article VIII. Religious freedom. Religious animosity not to be excited.

Article IX. Japanese authorities, on request of consul, will arrest deserters and fugitives from justice. Will receive prisoners in jail. Consul to pay just compensation.

Article X. Japanese government may purchase or construct vessels of war, *etc.*, in United States. May engage from the United States the services of scientific men and advisers.

Article XI. Regulations appended (pertaining to trade) make part of treaty.

Article XII. Conflicting provisions of treaty of March 31st, 1854, and the convention of June 17th, 1857, repealed. Regulations may be made to carry this treaty into effect.

Article XIII. Revision of treaty and trade regulations may be made upon one year's notice, at any time after July 1st, 1872, if desired by either party.

Article XIV. Treaty to take effect July 4th, 1859. Ratifications to be exchanged at Washington. Signed in English, Dutch, and Japanese languages; in case of dispute, Dutch version to be considered the original.[c]

[This treaty was amended by the convention of June 25th, 1866, concluded between the United States, Great Britain, France, Holland, and Japan, establishing a tariff of duties.]

III

CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN

TOKIO, FEBRUARY 11TH, 1889

CHAPTER I.—THE EMPEROR

Article I. The empire of Japan shall be ruled over by emperors of the dynasty which has reigned in an unbroken line of descent for ages past.

Article II. The succession to the throne shall devolve upon male descendants of the imperial house, according to the provisions of the imperial house law.

Article III. The person of the emperor is sacred and inviolable.

Article IV. The emperor being the head of the empire the rights of sovereignty are invested in him, and he exercises them in accordance with the provisions of the present constitution.

Article V. The emperor exercises the legislative power with the consent of the imperial diet.

Article VI. The emperor gives sanction to laws, and orders them to be promulgated and put into force.

Article VII. The emperor convokes the imperial diet, opens, closes, and prorogues it, and dissolves the house of representatives.

Article VIII. In case of urgent necessity, when the imperial diet is not sitting, the emperor, in order to maintain the public safety or to avert a public danger, has the power to issue imperial ordinances, which shall take the place of laws.

Such imperial ordinances shall, however, be laid before the imperial diet at its next session, and should the diet disapprove of the said ordinances, the government shall declare them to be henceforth invalid.

Article IX. The emperor issues, or causes to be issued, the ordinances necessary for the carrying out of the laws, or for the maintenance of public peace and order, and for the promotion of the welfare of his subjects. But no ordinance shall in any way alter any of the existing laws.

Article X. The emperor determines the organisation of the different branches of the administration; he fixes the salaries of all civil and military officers, and appoints and dismisses the same. Exceptions specially provided for in the present constitution or in other laws shall be in accordance with the respective provisions bearing thereon.

Article XI. The emperor has the supreme command of the army and navy.

Article XII. The emperor determines the organisation and peace standing of the army and navy.

Article XIII. The emperor declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties.

Article XIV. The emperor proclaims the law of siege.

The conditions and operation of the law of siege shall be determined by law.

Article XV. The emperor confers titles of nobility, rank, orders, and other marks of honour.

Article XVI. The emperor orders amnesty, pardon, commutation of punishments, and rehabilitation.

Article XVII. The institution of a regency shall take place in conformity with the provisions of the imperial house law.

The regent shall exercise the supreme powers which belong to the emperor in his name.

Chapter II.—The Rights and Duties of Subjects

Article XVIII. The conditions necessary for being a Japanese subject shall be determined by law.

Article XIX. Japanese subjects shall all equally be eligible for civil and military appointments, and any other public offices, subject only to the conditions prescribed and laws and ordinances.

Article XX. Japanese subjects are amenable to service in the army or navy, according to the provisions of law.

Article XXI. Japanese subjects are amenable to the duty of paying taxes, according to the provisions of law.

Article XXII. Subject to the limitations imposed by law, Japanese subjects shall enjoy full liberty in regard to residence and change of abode.

Article XXIII. No Japanese subject shall be arrested, detained, tried, or punished, except according to law.

Article XXIV. No Japanese subject shall be deprived of his right of being tried by judges determined by law.

Article XXV. Except in the cases provided for in the law, the house of no Japanese subject shall be entered or searched without his permission.

Article XXVI. Except in cases provided for in the law, the secrecy of the letters of Japanese subjects shall not be violated.

Article XXVII. The rights of property of Japanese subjects shall not be violated. Such measures, however, as may be rendered necessary in the interests of the public welfare shall be taken in accordance with the provisions of the law.

Article XXVIII. Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.

Article XXIX. Japanese subjects shall, within the limits of law, enjoy liberty in regard to speech, writing, publication, public meetings, and associations.

Article XXX. Japanese subjects may present petitions, provided that they observe the proper forms of respect, and comply with the rules specially provided for such matters.

Article XXXI. The provisions contained in the present chapter shall not interfere with the exercise, in times of war or in case of national emergency, with the supreme powers which belong to the emperor.

Article XXXII. Each and every one of the provisions contained in the preceding articles of the present chapter shall, in so far as they do not conflict with the laws or the rules and discipline of the army and navy, apply to the officers and men of the army and of the navy.

Chapter III.—The Imperial Diet

Article XXXIII. The imperial diet shall consist of two houses: the house of peers and the house of representatives.

Article XXXIV. The house of peers shall, in accordance with the ordinance concerning the house of peers, be composed of members of the imperial family, of nobles, and of deputies who have been nominated by the emperor.

Article XXXV. The house of representatives shall be composed of members elected by the people, according to the provisions of the law of election.

Article XXXVI. No one can at one and the same time be a member of both houses.

Article XXXVII. Every law requires the consent of the imperial diet.

Article XXXVIII. Both houses shall vote upon projects of law brought forward by the government, and may respectively bring forward projects of law.

Article XXXIX. A bill which has been rejected by either of the houses shall not be again brought in during the same session.

Article XL. Both houses can make recommendations to the government in regard to laws, or upon any other subject. When, however, such recommendations are not adopted, they cannot be made a second time during the session.

Article XLI. The imperial diet shall be convoked every year.

Article XLII. A session of the imperial diet shall last during three months. In case of necessity, a duration of a session may be prolonged by imperial order.

Article XLIII. When urgent necessity arises, an extraordinary session may be convoked, in addition to the ordinary one.

The duration of an extraordinary session shall be determined by imperial order.

Article XLIV. With regard to the opening, closing, and prorogation of the imperial diet, and the prolongation of its sessions, these shall take place simultaneously in both houses. If the house of representatives be ordered to dissolve, the house of peers shall at the same time be prorogued.

Article XLV. When the house of representatives has been ordered to dissolve, the election of new members shall be ordered by imperial decree, and the new house shall be convoked within five months from the day of dissolution.

Article XLVI. No debate can be opened and no vote can be taken in either house of the imperial diet unless no less than one-third of the whole number of the members thereof is present.

Article XLVII. Votes shall be taken in both houses by absolute majority. In the case of a tie vote, the president shall have the casting vote.

Article XLVIII. The deliberation of both houses shall be held in public. The deliberations may, however, upon demand of the government or by resolution of the house, be held in secret sitting.

Article XLIX. Both houses of the imperial diet may respectively present addresses to the emperor.

Article L. Both houses may receive petitions presented by subjects.

Article LI. Both houses may enact, besides what is provided for in the present constitution and in the law of the houses, rules necessary for the management of their internal affairs.

Article LII. No member of either house shall be held responsible outside the respective houses for any opinion uttered or for any vote given by him in the house. When, however, a member himself has given publicity to his opinions, by public speech, by documents in print, or in writing, or by any other means, he shall, as regards such actions, be amenable to the general law.

Article LIII. The members of both houses shall, during the session, be free from arrest, unless with the permission of the house, except in cases of flagrant delicts, or of offences connected with civil war or foreign troubles.

Article LIV. The ministers of state, and persons deputed for that purpose by the government, may at any time take seats and speak in either house.

Chapter IV.—The Ministers of State and the Privy Council

Article LV. The respective ministers of state shall give their advice to the emperor, and be responsible for it.

All laws, public ordinances, and imperial rescripts, of whatever kind, that relate to the affairs of the state, require the counter-signature of a minister of state.

Article LVI. The privy council shall, in accordance with the provisions for the organisation of the privy council, deliberate upon the important matters of state, when they have been consulted by the emperor.

Chapter V.—The Judicature

Article LVII. Judicial powers shall be exercised by the courts of law, according to law, in the name of the emperor.

The organisation of the courts of law shall be determined by law.

Article LVIII. The judges shall be appointed from among those who possess the proper qualifications determined by law.

No judge shall be dismissed from his post except on the ground of sentence having been passed upon him for a criminal act, or by reason of his having been subjected to punishment for disciplinary offence.

Rules for disciplinary punishment shall be determined by law.

Article LIX. Trials shall be conducted and judgments rendered publicly. When, however, there exists any fear that such publicity may be prejudicial to peace and order, or to the maintenance of public morality, the public trial may be suspended, either in accordance with the law bearing on the subject or by decision of the court concerned.

Article LX. Matters which fall within the competency of the special courts shall be specially determined by law.

Article LXI. The courts of law shall not take cognizance of any suits which arise out of the allegations that rights have been infringed by illegal action on the part of the executive authorities, and which fall within the competency of the court of administrative litigation, specially established by law.

Chapter VI.—Finance

Article LXII. The imposition of a new tax, or modification of the rates (of an existing one), shall be determined by law.

However, all such administrative fees or other revenue as are in the nature of compensation for services rendered shall not fall within the category of the above clause.

The raising of national loans and the contracting of other liabilities to the charge of the national treasury, except those that are provided in the budget, shall require the consent of the imperial diet.

Article LXIII. Existing taxes shall, in so far as they are not altered by new laws, continue to be collected as heretofore.

Article LXIV. The annual expenditure and revenue of the state shall, in the form of an annual budget, receive the consent of the imperial diet.

Any expenditure which exceeds the appropriations set forth under the various heads of the budget, or those not provided for in the budget, shall be referred subsequently to the imperial diet for its approval.

Article LXV. The budget shall be first laid before the house of representatives.

Article LXVI. The expenditure in respect of the imperial house shall be defrayed every year out of the national treasury, according to the present fixed amount for the same, and shall not hereafter require the consent thereto of the imperial diet, except in case an increase thereof is found necessary.

Article LXVII. The fixed expenditure based upon the supreme powers of the emperor, and set forth in this constitution, and such expenditure as may have arisen by the effect of law, or as appertains to the legal obligations of the government, shall be neither rejected nor reduced by the imperial diet, without the concurrence of the government.

Article LXVIII. In order to meet special requirements the government may ask the consent of the imperial diet to a certain amount as a continuing expenditure fund, for a previously fixed number of years.

Article LXIX. In order to supply unavoidable deficits in the budget, and to meet requirements unprovided for in the same, a reserve fund shall be established.

Article LXX. When there is urgent need for the adoption of measures for the maintenance of the public safety, and when in consequence of the state either of the domestic affairs or of the foreign relations, the imperial diet cannot be convoked, the necessary financial measures may be taken by means of an imperial ordinance.

In such cases as those mentioned in the preceding clause the matter shall be submitted to the imperial diet at its next session for its approval.

Article LXXI. When the imperial diet has not voted on the budget, or when the budget has not been brought into actual existence, the government shall carry out the budget of the preceding year.

Article LXXII. The final account of the expenditure and revenue of the state shall be verified and confirmed by the board of audit, and it shall be

submitted by the government to the imperial diet, together with the report of verification of the said board.

The organisation and competency of the board of audit shall be determined by law separately.

Chapter VII.—The Supplementary Rules

Article LXXIII. Should, hereafter, the necessity arise for the amendment of the provisions of the present constitution, a project to that effect shall be submitted for the deliberation of the imperial diet by imperial order.

In the above case, neither house can open a debate, unless not less than two-thirds of the whole number of members are present; and no amendment can be passed unless a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present is obtained.

Article LXXIV. No modification of the imperial house law shall be required to be submitted for the deliberation of the imperial diet.

No provision of the present constitution can be modified by the imperial house law.

Article LXXV. No modification can be introduced into the constitution, or into the imperial house law, during the time of regency.

Article LXXVI. Existing legal enactments, such as laws, regulations, and ordinances, and all other such enactments, by whatever names they may be called, which do not conflict with the present constitution, shall continue in force.

All existing contracts or orders which entail obligations upon the government, and which are connected with the expenditure, shall come within the scope of Article LXVII.[d]

IV

TREATY OF OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND JAPAN

(Signed at London, January 30, 1902)

The governments of Great Britain and Japan, actuated solely by a desire to maintain the *status quo* and general peace in the extreme East; being, moreover, specially interested in maintaining the independence and territorial integrity of the Empire of China and the Empire of Korea, and in securing equal opportunities in those countries for the commerce and industry of all nations, hereby agree as follows:

Article I. The high contracting parties having mutually recognised the independence of China and of Korea, declare themselves to be entirely uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies in either country. Having in view, however, their special interests, of which those of Great Britain relate principally to China, while Japan, in addition to the interests which she possesses in China, is interested in a peculiar degree politically, as well as commercially and industrially, in Korea, the high contracting parties recognise that it will be admissible for either of them to take such measures as may be indispensable in order to safeguard those interests if threatened either by the aggres-

sive action of any other power, or by disturbances arising in China or Korea, and necessitating the intervention of either of the high contracting parties for the protection of the lives and property of its subjects.

Article II. If either Great Britain or Japan, in the defence of their respective interests as above described, should become involved in war with another power, the other high contracting party will maintain a strict neutrality, and use its efforts to prevent other powers from joining in hostilities against its ally.

Article III. If in the above event any other power or powers should join in hostilities against that ally, the other high contracting party will come to its assistance and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

Article IV. The high contracting parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another power to the prejudice of the interests above described.

Article V. Whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, the above-mentioned interests are in jeopardy, the two governments will communicate with each other fully and frankly.

Article VI. The present agreement shall come into effect immediately after the date of its signature, and remain in force for five years from that date.

In case neither of the high contracting parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said five years the intention of terminating it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the high contracting parties shall have denounced it. But if, when the date fixed for its expiration arrives, either ally is actually engaged in war, the alliance shall, *ipso facto*, continue until peace is concluded.

In faith whereof the undersigned, duly authorised by their respective governments, have signed this agreement, and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done in duplicate at London, the 30th January 1902.

[L.S.] LANSDOWNE,
His Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

[L.S.] HAYASHI,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the Emperor of Japan at the Court of St. James.[e]

V

AGREEMENT BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND JAPAN

(Signed at London, August 12th, 1905)

Preamble. The Governments of Great Britain and Japan, being desirous of replacing the Agreement concluded between them on the 30th January, 1902, by fresh stipulations, have agreed upon the following Articles, which have for their object:—

(*a*) The consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India;

(*b*) The preservation of the common interests of all Powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China;

(*c*) The maintenance of the territorial rights of the High Contracting Parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India, and the defence of their special interests in the said regions:—

Article I. It is agreed that whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, any of the rights and interests referred to in the preamble of this Agreement are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly, and will consider in common the measures which should be taken to safeguard those menaced rights or interests.

Article II. If by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action, wherever arising, on the part of any other Power or Powers either Contracting Party should be involved in war in defence of its territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble of this Agreement, the other Contracting Party will at once come to the assistance of its ally, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

Article III. Japan possessing paramount political, military, and economic interests in Korea, Great Britain recognizes the right of Japan to take such measures of guidance, control, and protection in Korea as she may deem proper and necessary to safeguard and advance those interests, provided always that such measures are not contrary to the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations.

Article IV. Great Britain having a special interest in all that concerns the security of the Indian frontier, Japan recognizes her right to take such measures in the proximity of that frontier as she may find necessary for safeguarding her Indian possessions.

Article V. The High Contracting Parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another Power to the prejudice of the objects described in the preamble of this Agreement.

Article VI. As regards the present war between Japan and Russia, Great Britain will continue to maintain strict neutrality unless some other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against Japan, in which case Great Britain will come to the assistance of Japan, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with Japan.

Article VII. The conditions under which armed assistance shall be afforded by either Power to the other in the circumstances mentioned in the present Agreement, and the means by which such assistance is to be made available, will be arranged by the Naval and Military authorities of the Contracting Parties, who will from time to time consult one another fully and freely upon all questions of mutual interest.

Article VIII. The present agreement shall, subject to the provisions of Article VI., come into effect immediately after the date of its signature, and remain in force for ten years from that date.

In case neither of the High Contracting Parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said ten years the intention of terminating it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the High Contracting Parties shall have denounced it. But if, when the date fixed for its expiration arrives, either ally is actually

engaged in war, the alliance shall, *ipso facto*, continue until peace is concluded.

In faith whereof the Undersigned, duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed this Agreement and have affixed thereto their Seals.

Done in duplicate at London, the 12th day of August, 1905.

[L.S.] LANSDOWNE,
His Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

[L.S.] TADASU HAYASHI,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the Emperor of Japan at the Court of St. James.[e]

VI

RESCRIPT BY THE MIKADO

(October 16th, 1905)

The following is an official translation of the Imperial Rescript, issued on the conclusion of peace with Russia :—

We have always deemed it a fundamental principle of our international policy to maintain peace in the East and assure the security of our Empire, and the promotion of these high objects has, therefore, been our constant aim. But last year reason dictated the necessities of self-preservation, and we were unfortunately forced into hostilities with Russia. Since the war began our army and navy have made adequate provision for home defence and military preparations within the Empire itself, and have withstood hardships of all kinds in their campaigns abroad. They have thus achieved glorious success.

Our civil officials have, in concord with our Diet, diligently performed their duties in furtherance of our will. All measures for the prosecution of the war and for the administration of domestic and foreign affairs have been properly taken. They required that our people should be frugal and prudent, and the people have cheerfully borne the heavy burden of national expenditure, and have generously contributed to the war fund, thus assisting, as if with one will, in advancing the prestige and maintaining the dignity of the State.

The result is due in a large measure to the benign spirits of our ancestors, as well as to the devotion and duty of our civil and military officials, and the self-denying patriotism of all our people.

After twenty months of war the position of the Empire has been strengthened and the interests of the country have been advanced. Inasmuch as we have never wavered in our desire for the maintenance of peace, it is contrary to our will that hostilities should be protracted and that our people should be subjected unnecessarily to the horrors of war. When, therefore, the President of the United States, in the interests of peace and humanity, suggested to the Governments of Russia and Japan that they

should arrange terms of peace, fully appreciating his kindness and good will, we accepted his suggestion, and at the proper moment appointed plenipotentiaries to confer with the plenipotentiaries of Russia. The plenipotentiaries of the two countries having met and conferred frequently, the Russian plenipotentiaries have agreed to the proposals of our plenipotentiaries which were essential, having in view the objects of war and the maintenance of peace in the East. They thus manifested the sincerity of their desire for peace.

We have examined the terms agreed upon between the plenipotentiaries, and, having found them in entire conformity with our will, we have accepted them and ratified them. Peace and glory thus having been secured, we are happy to invoke the blessing of the benign spirits of our ancestors, and to be able to bequeath the fruits of these great deeds to our posterity. It is our earnest desire to share the glory with our people and long to enjoy the blessings of peace with all nations.

Russia is again the friend of Japan, and we sincerely desire that the good neighbourly relations now re-established shall become both intimate and cordial.

In this age, when there is no delay in the progress of the world, there should be no cessation of the efforts to improve the administration of the nation's affairs, both internal and external, while military efficiency should be maintained in full vigour even in time of peace. An earnest endeavour should be made to attain success in peaceful pursuits, so that in equal measure with its power the prosperity of the country may be maintained and its permanent progress ensured. We strongly admonish our subjects against manifestations of vainglorious pride, and command them to attend to their lawful avocations and to do all that lies in their power to strengthen the Empire.[e]

VII

RUSSO-JAPANESE CONVENTION

(July 30th, 1907)

The government of his Majesty the Tsar of all the Russias and the government of his Majesty the Emperor of Japan, animated by a desire to strengthen the peaceful, friendly, and neighbourly relations which have happily been restored between Russia and Japan, and to remove the possibility of future misunderstandings between the two empires, have entered into the following agreements:—

Article I. Each of the two high contracting parties undertakes to respect the present territorial integrity of the other, as well as all rights accruing to one or the other of the high contracting parties from existing treaties, agreements, or conventions now in force between the high contracting parties and China, copies of which have been exchanged by the contracting powers, so far as these rights are not incompatible with the principle of equal opportunity enunciated in the treaty signed at Portsmouth on September 5th, 1905, and in the special conventions concluded between Japan and Russia.

Article II. Both high contracting parties recognize the independence and territorial integrity of the empire of China, as well as the principle of equal

opportunity in commerce and industry for all nations in the said empire. They also pledge themselves to uphold the maintenance of the *status quo* and the respect of this principle with all peaceable means at their disposal.

ISVOLSKY.
MOTONO.

VIII

CONVENTION BETWEEN JAPAN AND KOREA

(July 24th, 1907)

The following is an official translation of the Convention between Japan and Korea :—

The government of Japan and the government of Korea, desiring to attain the speedy development of the strength and resources of Korea and to promote the welfare of her people, have with that object in view agreed upon the following stipulations :

Article I. The government of Korea shall act under the guidance of the resident-general in respect to reforms in administration.

Article II. The government of Korea engage not to enact any laws, ordinances, regulations, or to take any important measures of administration, without the previous assent of the resident-general.

Article III. Judicial affairs in Korea shall be set apart from affairs of ordinary administration.

Article IV. The appointment and dismissal of all high officials in Korea shall be made upon the concurrence of the resident-general.

Article V. The government of Korea shall appoint as Korean officials Japanese subjects recommended by the resident-general.

Article VI. The government of Korea shall not engage any foreigner without the concurrence of the resident-general.

Article VII. Article 1 of the protocol between Japan and Korea, signed on August 22nd, 1904, shall hereafter cease to be binding.*f*

THE HISTORY OF CHINA AND JAPAN

BRIEF REFERENCE-LIST OF AUTHORITIES BY CHAPTERS

[The letter *a* is reserved for Editorial Matter]

CHAPTER I. PSYCHOLOGY OF CHINESE CIVILISATION

b HUNG SUI-TSHUEN.—*c* GEORG WEBER, *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte.*

CHAPTER II. THE HISTORY OF CHINA

b H. E. GORST, *China.*—*c* R. K. DOUGLAS, article on "China" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*—*d* W. H. MEDHURST, *China.*—*e* LINDESAY BRINE, *The Taeping Rebellion.*—*f* F. BRINKLEY, *China: Its History, Arts and Literature.*—*g* GEORGE JAMIESON and V. CHIROL, article on "China" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*—*h* G. S. CLARKE, article on "China-Japan War" in the *new volumes* of the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*—*i* HUNG SUI-TSHUEN, *Trimetrical Classic.*

CHAPTER III.

A SUMMARY OF EARLY JAPANESE HISTORY.
By CAPTAIN F. BRINKLEY.

CHAPTER IV. OLD JAPAN

b T. R. H. M'CLATCHIE, article on "Japan" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*—*c* F. BRINKLEY, *Japan: Its History, Arts and Literature.*—*d* R. HILDRETH, *History of Japan.*—*e* J. MURDOCH and I. YAMAGATA, *History of Japan.*—*f History of Japan,* compiled for the Imperial Japanese Commission of the World's Columbian Exposition.—*g* NITOBE, *Intercourse between United States and Japan.*

CHAPTER V. NEW JAPAN

b F. BRINKLEY, article on "Japan" in the *new volumes* of the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*—*c* T. J. LAWRENCE, *War and Neutrality in the Far East.*—*d* THE TIMES (London, weekly), August 15th, 1904.—*e* NIPON o dai itsi ran, *ou Annales des Empereurs du Japan,* translated by I. TITSINGH.—*f Journal of O-o-gawutsi,* translated by A. PITZMAIER, in *Denkschriften der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften.*—*g* NIHONGI, Book XXII, Suiko-Tenno, translated by K. FLORENZ, in *Mittheilung der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens.*—*h* E. HERTSLET and EDWARD CECIL HERTSLET, *British and Foreign State Papers.*

APPENDIX A

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO JAPANESE HISTORY

b NIHONGI, Book XXII, Suiko-Tenno, translated by FLORENZ, in *Mittheilung der deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens.*—*c* NITOBE, *Intercourse between United States and Japan.*—*d* EDWARD HERTSLET and EDWARD CECIL HERTSLET, *British and Foreign State Papers.*—*e* THE TIMES (London).—*f* Translation supplied by the courtesy of the Japanese Embassy, London.

A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF CHINA

From the Earliest Times to the Age of Confucius

Although the Chinese claim that their authentic history begins in the thirty-seventh century B.C., yet up to the advent of Europeans in the sixteenth century A.D. their records are untrustworthy. It is certain, however, that the Chinese civilisation is very ancient. **Hwang-Ti**, who is said to have lived in the twenty-seventh century B.C., organises the empire into administrative departments and builds roads. His wife is reputed to be the first woman to spin silk.

B.C.

1766 The Shang dynasty founded under **Tang**, the first emperor.

1153 Shang dynasty ends with **Chow**. The founders of the third dynasty are described as virtuous, patriotic, and brave. The kingdom is divided into seventy-two feudal states.

1121 The Chinese seem to know and use the magnetic needle at this time.

1100 **Giao-Chi**, the Annamite king, sends an ambassador to China; incessant struggles between China and Annam, which last a thousand years.

936 **Muh-Wang**, emperor. Tatars make predatory incursions into China, and become a constant source of danger.

560 At about this time Lao-tse endeavours to unify Chinese dualism into a single primal existence (Tao), void of consciousness, and to conceive the manifold variety of things as held together by a single and supreme principle. The new sect is alternately persecuted and honoured.

551 In the twenty-first year of the emperor **Ling** of the third dynasty, Confucius (Kong-fu-tse) is born. The modern religion, customs, and political life of China are all founded on the teaching of this great sage and lawgiver. The institutions, teachings, and statutes which were introduced under the pious king **Yao**, and other rulers of the earliest times, having fallen into disuse, Confucius restores them to popular favour. Confucius lives until 478 B.C. At times he was honoured by emperors, at others persecuted. His most important work is the promulgation and restoration of ancestor worship.

The Coming of the Tatars

250 About this time China becomes subject to a fourth dynasty called Tsin.

246 **Che Hwang-te**, "the first universal emperor," constructs roads, canals, and buildings. In this reign the Chinese Wall was erected, to keep out the Tatars, a warlike Mongolian race who then infested the northern frontier. Almost every third man throughout the empire was drafted for the accomplishment of this undertaking.

210 Death of Che Hwang-te. Civil war.

206 Lew Pang proclaimed emperor, as **Kaou-te**.

200 The dynasty Han, which continued during four centuries until 226 A.D., is distinguished for military enterprises. A strict military discipline is at this time introduced, and has ever since been maintained.

A.D.

65 Buddhism is introduced from India to China. About the same time, General Pan Chaou adds Shen-shen, Khoten, Kuché, and Kashgar to the empire.

200 Chinese and Japanese civilisation begins to be bridged by the advent into Japan of a number of Chinese immigrants, but the influence of China upon the manners and customs of Japan does not show conspicuously until about three hundred years later.

265 Western Tsin dynasty.

284 Embassy from the Emperor Theodosius visits China.

300 At about this time there is a second wave of Chinese and Korean immigration into Japan, which carries with it many adjuncts of material civilisation.

311 An adventurer, **Lew Yuen**, makes himself emperor. The historical records of this period are very chaotic.

419 The Eastern Tsin dynasty ends. For two hundred years there is no semblance of united authority.

A.D.

590 **Yang Keen** establishes Suy dynasty and ends the period of anarchy. He governs wisely, and defeats the Tatars and Koreans.

604 Death of Yang Keen.

620-906 Tang dynasty in China; education developed and literary examinations established. Under following dynasties printing is invented, and the custom of binding women's feet becomes common.

625 Cambodia throws off Chinese yoke.

640 The frontier is extended to Eastern Persia and the Caspian Sea.

650 **Woo-How**, a woman, rules the empire.

841 **Woo-tsung** introduces a policy of iconoclasm, closing monasteries and temples.

907 Until this date Annam, afterwards known as French Indo-China, is governed by dynasties feudatory to the Chinese Empire, then until the tenth century by Chinese governors. The Annamese chiefs now revolt. Long wars with China follow, and finally an autonomous rule is established, nominally under Chinese suzerainty.

907-960 In this short period there are five separate Chinese dynasties recorded.

960 **Tai-tsoo** and his successors wage war on the Khitans.

1150 About this time the Mongols begin to acquire power in Eastern Asia.

1200-1300 China suffers much from invasions of Tatars. In this century Northern China is subdued by Jenghiz Khan; grand canal dug.

1368-1643 Ming dynasty in China. Under this dynasty the Portuguese visit China and settle at Macau. The Mongols are subdued.

1553 Christian missionaries visit the kingdom of Cambodia (Indo-China).

1592 The Japanese invade Korea.

The Manchu (Tatar) Dynasty

1601 **Tsung-ching** was the last emperor of the Ming dynasty in China. In his reign rebel bands begin to assume the proportion of armies. Two conspicuous rebel leaders, Le-Tsze-ching and Shang Kohe, divide the empire between them.

1642 The dykes of the Yellow River, "China's sorrow," are cut through by the imperial troops, and Kaifung-fu, which Tsung-ching is besieging, together with the whole country, is flooded. In order to subdue these rebels, the Manchus, a Tatar race from the north of China, are invited into the empire by the general commanding on the northern frontier. When the rebels have been subdued, the Manchus declare themselves unwilling to leave China.

1644 The Manchus take possession of Peking and proclaim the ninth son of Teen-ning emperor of China, under the title of **Shun-che**, and adopt the name of Ta-tsing, or "Great Pure," for the dynasty. Meanwhile the Tatar army appears at the walls, the gates are thrown open, and they take possession of the city. As the Tatars enter the city the emperor leaves it, and finally throws himself into the Yang-tse-Kiang River and is drowned. The present Tsin dynasty is founded at this time. The Manchu conquerors do not at first restore peace to the country. The adherents of the Ming dynasty defend themselves vigorously but unsuccessfully against the invaders. About this time Koxinga (the son of a pirate who had won political power and had then been murdered), having driven the Dutch out of Formosa, establishes himself as king, until the reign of Kang-he, when he resigns in favour of the imperial government. Gradually opposition to the new régime becomes weaker and weaker. Shun-che appears to have taken a great interest in science.

1661 **Kang-he** succeeds Shun-che. Under his rule Tibet is added to the empire. During his reign there occurs an earthquake at Peking, in which four hundred thousand people are said to have perished.

1672-1688 Japanese measures restrict Chinese commerce with Japan.

1721 Kang-he dies, and is succeeded by **Yung-Ching**. At his death in

1735 **Keen-lung**, his son, comes to the throne. This monarch marches an army into Ili, which he converts into a Chinese province, and he afterwards adds Eastern Turkestan to the far-reaching territories of China. During his reign the Mohammedan standard is first raised in Kansu; but the Mussulmans are unable to stand against the imperial troops. His war against the Ghurkas is one of the most successful of his military undertakings. He subjugates the Ghurkas and receives the submission of the Nepalese, acquiring an additional hold over Tibet.

1795 Keen-lung abdicates in favour of his fifteenth son, who adopts the title of **Kea-king** as the style of his reign.

1816 Lord Amherst is sent to Peking to represent the British government. Declining to perform the kowtow, he is dismissed from the palace on the day of his arrival. The relations of the East India Company having been very unsatisfactory with the government of **Keen-lung**, the British government first sends Lord Macartney as an embassy to Peking. The Chinese government declines to grant the concessions he seeks. This causes England to send Lord Amherst as her second ambassador. His failure results in foreign merchants continuing to transact business under unpleasant conditions.

1833 The destitution in China is so great that the people sell their wives and children, and many live on the bark of trees.

A.D.

1841 War with Great Britain on account of the changes brought about by the expiry of the East India Company's charter. A British commissioner is appointed to represent the merchants, but the Chinese refuse to recognise his political position, and England sends out a large force.

1842 A treaty is signed, giving Britain permission to trade freely at the five ports of Shanghai, Ningpo, Fuchow, Amoy, and Canton, and ceding the island of Hong-Kong to Britain with an indemnity.

1853 The Taiping rebellion commences, the Taiping chief establishing a court at Nanking.

1854 Shanghai, without discrimination of race, becomes a great "open-door" centre of commerce and progress.

1854-1864 The decade witnesses the low-water mark in the political fortunes of the Manchu dynasty. The Chinese engage in war against Britain and France, and are defeated. Peking surrenders, and terms of peace are made.

1861-1874 Annam becomes a French protectorate.

1864 End of the Taipings.

1865 Treaty of peace between Bhutan and Britain.

1875 **Tsai-Tien (Kwang-Hsu)** succeeds to the throne under the regency of Tsu-Hszi, the dowager empress.

1876 Chefoo Convention between China and Great Britain.

1879 Treaty of Livadia with Russia.

1881 First telegraph line laid.

1889 The emperor assumes control of the government.

1894-1895 War between China and Japan. Treaty of Shimonoseki ends the war.

1898 The emperor, being in favour of progress, issues several edicts in favour of reforms. The dowager empress restores the regency, and relegates the emperor to the background once more.

1898-1900 Boxer rising in China.

1900 Legations in Peking besieged; relieved by allied powers and Japan. Peace made in the following year.

1902 Chinese and Indian commission meet on the Tibetan frontier. The Indian Government sends Colonel Younghusband on a military expedition. Treaty signed at Lhasa in the Palace of Potala.

1904 A commercial treaty with the United States is ratified. Neutrality is declared in the war between Japan and Russia. Anglo-Chinese labour convention signed.

1905 A partial boycott of American imports is instituted, as a protest against the treatment of the Chinese in the United States. Extensive railway developments.

1906 Anti-foreign agitation, resulting in the murder of six Catholic missionaries. Transfer of leases from Russia to Japan confirmed. A constitution promised for the future as a result of commission sent to Europe to study western politics, finance, and administration.

1907 Edict abolishing the use of opium and enforcing the closure of opium dens.

A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF INDO-CHINA

ANNAM, CAMBODIA, SIAM, COCHIN CHINA, TONGKING

B.C.

2357 The Annamese are natives of the south of China and claim to have descended from the tribe of Giao-Chi. They are mentioned under this name in the Chinese annals at this period.

2200 The Chinese records carry the history of Tongking back to this time.

1200 Ambassadors from Tongking arrive at the Chinese court.

1100 Giao-Chi, the Annamite king, sends an ambassador to China; and there is a prolonged struggle between Annam and China which lasts a thousand years.

400 The Siamese annals date from about this time, but are quite untrustworthy as historical records. Their early history is a rapid succession of dynasties, in which it is asserted that miracles and the intervention of divine or superhuman agencies constantly occurred.

257 For twenty centuries up to this date the Annamese race was governed in vassalage to the empire by a dynasty of Chinese origin.

218 Tongking invaded by the Chinese.

116 Tongking becomes a dependency of China.

A.D.

100 Two sisters, Chêng Tsêh and Chêng Urh, promote and lead an uprising in Tongking against the Chinese, but they are captured and executed and the rebellion quelled. From now until the fifteenth century a perpetual succession of wars takes place.

575 The town of Lapong founded.

625 Cambodia throws off the Chinese yoke. Buddhism introduced during this century.

907 The vassal dynasties who had ruled Tongking for nine hundred years preceding this date are replaced by Chinese governors.

960 The Annamese chiefs revolt, and after prolonged warfare establish an autonomous rule under a nominal Chinese suzerainty. Thereafter the kingdom gradually declines in importance through a period of ten centuries.

1160 The ancestors of the Siamese were at this time on the western branch of the Me-nam.

1340 Cambodia invaded by Siamese, who take Angkor and carry off ninety thousand captives.

1341 The tribe of Sien come from the north, from which the name of Siam is derived, viz. "Siem" (the obsolete Siamese name). They unite with the Lo-hoh, who were probably Shans.

1351 The Siamese move down from Kamphong-pet to Chaliang and establish the famous capital of Ayuthia.

1427 **Li Loi** acquires the throne of Tongking.

1511 Portuguese establish intercourse with Siam, being the first of European nations to do so, but are supplanted in the seventeenth century by the Dutch.

1553 Christian missionaries visit Cambodia.

1580 Intercourse between France and Siam commences.

1592-1632 Active intercourse, chiefly commercial, between Siamese and Japanese governments.

1687 Massacre of the English at Mergui.

1753 Sack of Ayuthia. A great part of the ancient laws of Siam are lost.

1767 Ayuthia captured and destroyed by the Burmese.

1787 Gia-long's son journeys to Paris to enlist the aid of Louis XVI for the recovery of the throne of Tongking. The king of Cochin China cedes to France, in full property, the peninsula of Tourane and the isle of Pulo-condore.

1828 Destruction of Vien-chang.

1833-1839 Eleven missionaries are put to death in Tongking, and thousands of the native Christians suffer martyrdom.

1856 Sir J. Bowring's treaty, which enabled Europeans to reside in Siam.

1858 Murder of M. Diaz, on account of the news that a French ship was cruising on the coast; in consequence of which the French seize Tourane and take possession of Saigon.

1859 The French take Mitto and Bienhoa in Cochin China.

1860 King **Norodom** crowned at Udong (Cambodia), and makes Pnom-Penh his capital.

1861-1874 **Annam** becomes a French protectorate.

A.D.

1862 The Court of Hué accepts a treaty by which it abandons three provinces to France and binds itself to pay an indemnity of war.

1863 Cambodia becomes a French protectorate (August 11th).

1867 France occupies the three other provinces of Cochin China.

1873 Treaty between France and Annam. The Red River (Song Koi) opened for trade. The Annamese undertake to suppress piracy, etc., in Tongking.

1874 Treaty of Saigon, which gives definitely the six provinces of Cochin China to France. This treaty also opens one port in Eastern Cochin China and one port in Tongking to the commerce of all nations, and guarantees liberty of transit from the sea as far as Yun-nan.

1882 The disorders in Tongking not having been suppressed, the French storm and carry the citadel of Hanoi, also Nam-Dinh, Hai-Dznong, and other towns in the delta. This leads to trouble on the Chinese frontiers.

1883 The French conclude treaty with the king of Tongking, in which the French protectorate is fully recognised.

1884 Convention between France and China. China withdraws her garrisons in Tongking, and opens her frontiers to trade; while France recognises China's suzerainty over Annam. The terms being misunderstood, war results between China and France.

1884-1891 The French agents in Tongking and Indo-China generally, proceed with the definite conquest and annexation of Tongking and Annam.

1885 Peace declared by the mediation of the British representative in China. France to take Tongking under its protection and evacuate Formosa. To facilitate frontier trade, the Chinese undertake to expend 80,000,000 francs on the construction of roads in South China. Hué (Indo-China) occupied by the French. Pirates of the Black Flag, Chinese deserters, and the Tongkingese devastate the country; Si Votha, brother of the king of Cambodia, utilises the insurrection to obtain the crown, but is promptly suppressed.

1891 M. de Lanessan, appointed governor-general of French Indo-China, concludes treaty with the *comat* at Hué. All disorders cease by proclamation of the king, with exception of the pirates in revolt against the king of Annam.

1893 Pirates submit. Ultimatum presented to Siam demanding redress at Bangkok. The king of Luang-Prabang makes his submission to the French government.

1899 On August 16th a council of the protectorate is instituted for Cambodia.

TIBET AND BHUTAN

The Tibetans and Bhutanese belong to the same Mongolian race. The annals of Tibet begin in the fifth century B.C., but are not trustworthy as historical documents. Hardly anything is known of the history of Bhutan.

A.D.

400-800 During these centuries the Tibetans are gradually converted to Buddhism by Indian missionaries.

630 **Srong-btsan-sgam-po**, the first king to favour Buddhism. He extends his realm by conquests.

698 The first temple is built.

789 **Muni-btsan-po** tries to improve the condition of his subjects by abolishing all distinctions of rank and property. About this time religious edifices and convents arise on all sides; golden age of the theocratic power.

899 The kingdom is divided.

1250 **Kublai Khan** conquers the east of Tibet and firmly establishes Buddhism, which has decreased in vitality. Since this time the history of Tibet is one of internal disputes between religious sects.

1270 Kublai Khan gives chief power over Tibet to the head of the Sakya sect.

1340 The Sakya lamas lose power. The authority of rival monasteries begins to increase, and the court again becomes unsettled and divided. **Tsongkapa**, a reformer, appears and establishes a new dynasty. Great religious revival.

1350 A Friuli monk visits Tibet and resides at Lhasa, the capital.

1500 (or later) Enthronement of the dalai-lama at Lhasa.

1645 Tibet is invaded by Mongolians, who invest dalai-lama with supreme authority.

1653 Chinese government confirms supremacy of dalai-lama.

1661 During the reign of the Chinese emperor Kang-he, Tibet is added to the Chinese dominions.

1675 Andrada, a Portuguese Christian missionary, visits Tibet.

1735 Keen-lung, emperor of China, strengthens the Chinese position in Tibet.

1774 East India Company concludes treaty with Bhutan.

1790 English assist Ghurkas against Tibet. Since then, Tibetans have guarded passes to India.

1864 War between Bhutan and Britain.

1865 Treaty of peace between Bhutan and Britain.

1902 A Chinese and Indian commission to meet on the Tibetan frontier; the former do not put in an appearance. The Indian government sends Colonel Younghusband on a military expedition. After a little fighting, a treaty is signed in the palace of Potala at Lhasa by which Great Britain has the right to direct the external policy of Tibet.

A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF JAPAN

Legendary and Early History until 1159 A.D.

Ethnology has failed to identify the inhabitants of Japan with other races; they have ascribed to their primeval ancestors a divine origin. It is very probable, however, that the Japanese are a mixed race, composed of the type of Mongolian and Malayan immigrants who drove out the Ainu. The former constitute the patricians of the nation, the latter the plebeians. The term "family" correctly describes the early colony of Japanese. The head was rather a military patriarch than an autocratic ruler, and the administrative offices were divided among his principal followers. The result of this patriarchal system was that there grew up gradually a large official aristocracy, consisting first of individuals, then of families, and finally of clans, and finally that certain clans asserted their supremacy and usurped the functions of sovereignty, though never failing to recognise its nominal source. At the commencement of the Christian era the Japanese people were highly civilised. The earliest date accepted by the Japanese themselves corresponds to 660 B.C., when the first emperor, **Jimmu**, succeeded to the throne. According to an ancient legend a great earthquake occurred in 286 B.C., when Mount Fuji rose and the Biwa lake was formed. Japanese chronology, however, is very insecure until after the twelfth century A.D.

A.D.

200 The Japanese, under the empress **Jingo**, first invaded Korea at the beginning of this century, the king of Korea exclaiming when he saw them, "Behold the invincible army of Japan! I am too feeble to resist."

300-400 During this century there is a wave of Chinese and Korean immigration into Japan, which brings with it many adjuncts of material civilisation. The science of canal cutting and road making and improved industrial methods are introduced. The Japanese administration is remodelled on Chinese lines; and these early Japanese imitate China as closely as all Western Europe imitates Greece and Rome. The influence of China on Japanese manners and customs, however, does not show conspicuously until the advent of Buddhism, some three hundred years later.

416 An earthquake occurs in Japan—the earliest recorded authentically.

599 The province of Yamato is afflicted by an earthquake.

600 Buddhism is introduced into Japan, and owes much of its vogue to the patronage of occupants of the throne. The Indian religion supplements but does not supplant Shintoism. Its arrival opens up to Japan new stores of literature and art. Centralised government under ruling emperor established in Japan. Fujiwara clan supreme for three centuries; usurps executive power.

610 A census taken at this time shows that the population of Japan is 4,988,842.

679 A tremendous earthquake shock causes enormous chasms to open in the provinces of Chikuzen and Chikugo.

681 The emperor **Temmu** regulates the costumes of all classes according to a scale. Under the Tokugawa rulers sumptuary laws develop still further.

736 A record of a census taken about this time shows that the population has increased to 8,631,770.

770-780 A complete severance of the agricultural class and the soldiery takes place.

829 The castle of Akita is overthrown by an earthquake, and the Akita river is dried up.

850 Kosé-no-Kanaoka founds a native school of painting.

900 Buddhism firmly established in Japan.

900-1100 The clans of Taira and Minamoto increase in military power, become deadly rivals, and rule practically the whole country. A terrible civil war ensues. At about this time the records show that two and a half million acres are under cultivation in Japan.

1000 About this time Fujiwara-no-Motomitsu develops the native style of painting.

1100 The abbot of Toga founds the art of Japanese caricature.

Era of Civil War

1159 Taira family gains ascendancy in Japan by the sword.

1185 Taira yields to Minamoto clan, whose rule lasts until the middle of the nineteenth century under whom the capital is moved from Kioto to Kamakura, and finally to Yedo (Tokio).

1200-1300 The painters Nobuzané and Tsunétaka flourish; school of Yamato Tosa.

A.D.

1219 **Hojo** family supreme in Japan.

1281 Repulse of Kublai Khan's invasion of Japan.

1331-1392 Dispute for crown of Japan; southern dynasty gives way to northern.

1331-1500 Civil wars ravage Japan.

1427 Death of Chô Densu, the Japanese Fra Angelico, a painter in the Buddhist style.

1507 Death of Sesshiū, the boldest and most original of Japanese landscape artists.

1542 Portuguese trading vessels visit Japan. Several families in succession endeavour to acquire the supremacy in Japan, but none are able to keep it long. In the early part of the sixteenth century what was termed the "later Hojo" family arises in the Kuan-to, and for four generations establish their chief seat at Odawara, in the province of Sagami. At this time lived the famous generals Ota Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hidéyoshi. The latter is best known to Europeans as the Taiko Hidéyoshi, or simply as Taiko-sama, "my lord the Taiko."

1549 Xavier, a Portuguese Jesuit missionary, introduces Christianity into Japan. Soon after this persecutions are directed against the native Christians, and these continue throughout a considerable period of the sixteenth century.

1559 Death of **Kano Moto-Nobu**, founder of the great Kano school of painting.

The Tokugawa Dynasty

1586 On murder of Nobunaga, chief military power in Japan passes to Hidéyoshi, who overthrows family of "later Hojo" in 1590. The Tokugawa dynasty lasts from the appointment of **Iyéyasu**, one of Hidéyoshi's generals, to the office of Shogun or commander-in-chief in 1603, until the resignation of the last Shogun in 1867. The dynasty is undoubtedly the most important in Japanese history.

1592 Expedition against Korea. Repeated seven years later.

1600 Under Iyéyasu the powerful territorial nobles (daimio) speedily submit, either voluntarily or else under compulsion, after a crowning victory obtained over them by the Tokugawa chief at Sekigahara. Iyéyasu confers many favours upon Will Adams, a pilot, and the first Englishman to reside in Japan. Adams is employed by the emperor as a diplomatic agent and shipbuilder. A few years later trade with the Dutch begins.

1614 Christianity proscribed by an edict. Jesuits expelled from Japan.

1623-1650 Iyemitsu completes the feudal system, which was introduced by Iyéyasu, his grandfather, but who was too wary to force his yoke too precipitately upon the great nobles.

1639 Expulsion of the Portuguese for having encouraged revolt in Hizen.

1644 Export of copper begins. Trade with China increases.

1653 Birth of Ogata Kôrin, artist and lacquer-worker.

1671 Edict forbidding export of silver from Japan.

1672-1688 Measures restricting Dutch and Chinese commerce with Japan.

1700-1800 The close of the seventeenth century sees the further development of Japan's foreign trade, the Lew Chew Islands, in addition to the Dutch, being permitted to carry on trade with the province of Satsuma. Smuggling, especially of Chinese goods, becomes common. Russia begins to take an interest in Japan, Russia coming into these regions by her explorations and conquests in north-eastern Asia. She succeeds in obtaining some influence, notwithstanding the efforts of the Japanese to keep out foreigners.

1702 A disastrous earthquake destroys the walls of the castle of Yedo. A destructive tidal wave follows.

1713 Death of Hishigawa Moronobu, after establishing a popular school of painting.

1723 An estimate of the population of Japan as inscribed on the rolls of the temples gives the population at 26,065,422. The population remains stationary until 1846.

1775 Okiô, a farmer's son, founds naturalistic school of painting.

1782 The crew of a Japanese vessel shipwrecked in the sea of Okhotsk is saved by Russians, and taken to Irkutsk, in Siberia, where they live for ten years. The governor of Siberia is then directed by the Empress Catherine II to send home these Japanese, and with them an envoy, not as from her, but from himself. Lieutenant Laxmann, selected for this purpose, sails from Okhotsk in the autumn of

1792 and lands at Yezo. A few months afterwards he delivers the Japanese at Matsimai.

1797 An American ship, the *Eliza*, commanded by Captain Stewart, an Englishman, visits Nagasaki.

1799 Another American ship, the *Franklin*, Captain Devereux, arrives at Nagasaki with Hendrick Doeff, who remains and subsequently publishes *Recollections of Japan*, containing a description of Japan.

1804 Russian embassy to Japan.

1854 Commodore Perry's expedition, resulting in a treaty between Japan and the United States. The history of modern Japan may be said to date from this incident.

1857 Mission of Mr. Townsend Harris, an American diplomat, to Yedo.

1858 As a result of Mr. Harris's negotiations, a treaty of amnesty and commerce is concluded between Japan and the United States.

The Meiji Era: Beginning of Modern Japan

A.D.

1867 The emperor **Mutsuhito** ascends the throne and regains full power in Japan; resignation of **Yoshinobu** (**Keiki**), the last Shogun, and fall of feudalism. The emperor promises a constitution.

1869 Commencement of railway construction in Japan; a line between Tokio and Yokohama is projected by the Meiji government.

1871 An Imperial decree abolishes the system of local autonomy, removing the territorial nobles from their posts as governors; henceforth the Imperial government collects all taxes and appoints all officials.

1872 The railway line between Tokio and Yokohama is opened.

1873 The pensions of the *samurai*, or the military class, are ordered to be commuted by an Imperial decree.

1874 Expedition against Formosa; relations of Japan and China strained.

1875 Treaty with Korea; Korea declared an independent state.

1876 The Government vetoes the wearing of swords, and orders the compulsory commutation of the allowances received by the nobles and *samurai*.

1877 Satsuma insurrection quelled in Japan.

1878 Assassination of Okubo, the great liberal minister, by sympathisers with the insurrection.

1885 Introduction of a new system of local government.

1888 Era of active railway development begins.

1890 A constitution comes into force; 460,000 persons enfranchised.

1894-1895 War between China and Japan. Treaty of Shimonoseki ends the war.

1898-1900 Boxer rising in China.

1899 Abolition of consular jurisdiction for foreign residents.

1900 Legations in Peking besieged; relieved by allied powers and Japan.

1901 Peace made.

1904 War between Japan and Russia.

1905 Port Arthur surrenders to Japanese. Peace concluded through intervention of the United States.

1907 Japanese protectorate established over Korea.

APPENDIX B.

THE PRINCIPLE OF EVOLUTION AS APPLIED TO HISTORY.

By RICHARD GARNETT, C.B., LL.D.

The celebrated definition of History as "Philosophy teaching by example," while valuable as a pithy statement of the essence and quintessence of History's claim upon the attention of thinking man, is not an entirely adequate delineation of the mutual attitude of Philosophy and History. It seems to represent Philosophy as forming a theory independent of facts, resorting to History for circumstances corroborative of it, and exceedingly gratified at History's obliging willingness to honour the draft. In truth any preconceived theory has to stand or fall by the evidence of fact. History, not Philosophy, is the instructor of mankind in this department. The facts must come first, and the principles follow as legitimate deductions. The philosophy of history must evidently be a sequel to history itself: the historian must precede the philosopher, and the latter will seldom be able to place any interpretation upon the facts of history materially different from that already arrived at by the consentient voice of mankind. The lessons which the statesman chiefly requires for the conduct of public business, and the citizen as a contributor to the formation of an intelligent public opinion, are afforded by History without the intervention of Philosophy.

There remains, nevertheless, a very extensive sphere in which the highest philosophical thought can be made serviceable for the elucidation of history. History is in contact with human interests at every point, and consequently affords a more ample if not a more dignified field for philosophical research than any of the merely abstract sciences. Mathematical truth may be established by reasoning, astronomical truth by observation, chemical truth by experiment. If the verity of history admitted similar tests, the philosopher would be the supreme court of appeal in history. But every science that can illustrate or be illustrated by history is one in which absolute certainty is beyond the grasp of man. Jurisprudence, ethics, theology, political economy, are all inexact sciences, to this extent at least that they derive their data from mutable circumstances and, apart from a few fundamental maxims, it is difficult to deduce from them any precepts absolutely incontrovertible. Each has first principles indispensable to its existence, but the application of these varies indefinitely according to the circumstances of the age. What, for instance, is sound political economy under one set of circumstances may be unsound under another, and the philosopher who would interpret history by the aid of ethics or theology, must recast his mind in the obsolete mould of a preceding age. Philosophy, then, must divest herself of much of her dignity when she enters the arena of history, and perform a critical rather than a creative or even a constructive function. But philosophies of history there must be, for the human mind will never be satisfied to contemplate the apparently aimless succession of historical events without

endeavouring to introduce something like order into them, and to refer them as far as possible to some determinate plan. In this latter age this tendency has been greatly strengthened by the progress of natural science. No one now doubts that existence of every sort has followed an orderly evolution. It would be preposterous to make an exception of the human mind. Mind involves action, and the record of human action is history. The question remains how far the laws which control evolution in the material world may be modified, or even repealed, in a higher sphere by the appearance of novel factors. This is pre-eminently a question for the philosopher. Accordingly as he determines must our view of history be fatalistic or we must behold the spectacle of the action and interaction of voluntary forces, though whether interacting blindly or intelligently is a problem left for solution.

The wide issues thus involved in the philosophy of history have begotten two schools of philosophical historians, who may be broadly distinguished from each other by the criterion that the main interest of the one is Philosophy, and that of the other is History. To some minds actual historical occurrences are in themselves unimportant, and only interesting in virtue of their far-reaching effects on religion, morals, or politics. Such thinkers are in consequence chiefly attracted by universal history, and they do not in general produce histories so much as essays on history. Before such essays could be composed the human intellect must have attained a high level, and there must have been an ample accumulation of material for wide generalisations. No class of men, probably, have been better equipped by nature for the construction of a sound philosophy of history than the Greek thinkers of the best period; but they did not attempt it, for they knew the history of no country but their own. Upon this some among them philosophised with signal ability, and Aristotle, the only man of antiquity who seems to have discerned the importance of verified fact as the indispensable basis of speculation, collected the laws and constitutions of the communities regarded by him as civilised. Had the impulse originating with him continued, it would have led the Greeks to acquaint themselves with the histories and legislations of the barbarian world, and a general view of history from a philosophical standpoint would have been practicable. But, although indications of intelligent curiosity are not wanting, no serious attempt was made to accumulate, digest, or systematise knowledge, and the first attempt at a philosophy of history was made from a highly unphilosophical point of view. It is the misfortune of all who would construct a general philosophy of history to be of necessity polemical, for none would undertake such a labour without the expectation of its resulting in the confirmation of favourite views of their own. Such was the position of St. Augustine, in his *De Civitate Dei* the first author of a philosophy of history, but who would never have concerned himself with the subject if he had not desired to silence the protest against the political establishment of Christianity. From a merely secular point of view the religious revolution had been a failure, the Empire which it ought to have regenerated had gone to pieces. Augustine's faith forbade him to allow that this was really the case, and in controversy with the hard facts forced upon him, he was bound to construct a philosophy of history to account for them. How he sped may be learned elsewhere: we are only concerned here with this first public profession that the mere register of historical facts is not sufficient, and that some effort

must be made to view these in their relations, and provide them with a key. Thus one of the most unscientific of books marked an era in the history of historical science.

During the middle ages, history was chiefly preserved by the Byzantines, who had the advantage of possessing good models, of which they made some but insufficient use; and by the Arabs, who with many merits were entirely uncritical. From neither of these quarters could much contribution be made to the philosophy of history. In Europe generally the historian dwindled into the mere annalist, and when something of the dignity of history was regained in the twelfth century, the historians regarded themselves mainly in the light of narrators. Indeed, amid the mutual ignorance which then prevailed among the nations, except when forced into collision with each other, the store of facts necessary as a groundwork for successful generalisation could hardly be accumulated. A great step was taken when, about 1450, the Italian Valla swept away the fable of the donation of Constantine to the Roman Church, which had imposed upon the masculine intellect of Dante. This demonstration of the fictitious character of a venerable belief greatly encouraged the application of a critical spirit to the materials of history, and criticism is a near neighbour to philosophy. Either Machiavelli or Guicciardini could have produced a philosophical survey of universal history, but they contented themselves with writing the histories of their own times in a philosophical spirit; and indeed the full development of their views would probably have brought them into conflict with the Inquisition. The Latin nations were at this period vastly in advance of the Teutonic in historical study and composition, and the retardation of their progress by the spiritual and temporal tyranny under which they groaned from the middle of the sixteenth century onward was a most serious misfortune to mankind. England possessed one man qualified perhaps above all other men to take a philosophical view of universal history, but his time was claimed by tasks more important still. Francis Bacon thus lacking leisure, and his countrymen lacking ability, the task devolved upon the representatives of the more ancient views which, for Protestant nations, had been subverted by the Reformation. Their first expositor was Bossuet, eloquent, fervent, inspired by genuine conviction, but too little of a philosopher to be capable of constructing a real philosophy of history. He is substantially on the same ground as Augustine had been thirteen centuries before him: and as Augustine had invoked his historical philosophy to reconcile his contemporaries to universal ruin and decay, so does Bossuet in effect, though not in so many words, invite his coevals to contemplate the age of Louis XIV as the crown of the centuries and the fulfilment of the Divine purpose. This necessarily involves gross unfairness not merely to the Reformation but to classical antiquity, and the chief value of Bossuet's work at the present day is to demonstrate the impossibility of constructing a comprehensive philosophy of history from the point of view of any sect or party. But it deserves attention as the last attempt to construct a philosophy of history on theocratic principles. Had Bacon or Leibnitz attempted Bossuet's work their philosophy would have been entirely theistic, recognising a supreme intelligence and overruling purpose as visible throughout the whole of the sequences of historical incidents: but it would not have been theocratic, regarding this purpose as only capable of fulfilment through the establishment on earth of a divine kingdom administered by a supernaturally appointed hierarchy. The incurable defect of the theocratic

view is that it compels the philosopher to identify the divine rule with the form of earthly administration which most commends itself to his own notions. Bossuet's implied postulate that perfection has been attained in the age of Louis XIV is hardly less absurd than Augustine's endeavour to convince his countrymen that, appearances notwithstanding, the State establishment of Christianity had even from the secular point of view been a great success.

Since Bossuet no important attempt has been made to explain historical phenomena as incidents in a divine process culminating in the construction of a City of God. The theological view of history has given place to the scientific, which is not in any way inconsistent with the fullest recognition of the existence of a divine plan and purpose in history; but it refuses to identify this with the institution of any particular order, administrative, social or religious. All such orderings of human affairs, it is admitted, have their place, but only as portions of a vastly more extensive world-process, whose beginnings may be detected and whose causes may be traced out, but whose ultimate result remains the subject of more or less plausible inference. Two great developments of the human mind have forced this view upon thinking men. One is the general recognition of the importance of past ages of history which have been deemed unworthy of serious investigation. The eighteenth century's conception even of the classical period was grievously inadequate, and its view of the mediæval period was utterly distorted. The almost simultaneous perception, a little past the middle of the century, of the picturesqueness of the middle ages and of the supremacy of the Greek mind, rendered narrow views of history for the future impossible: and the conception of evolution, arising in the nineteenth century among naturalists, but speedily extending to the domain of moral science, made a scientific conception of history not only possible but inevitable. The doctrine of evolution was especially fruitful in its application to history as filling up the gap in the thought of the illustrious man who deserves to be regarded as the founder of scientific historical method, the Neapolitan Vico (1725). Vico had observed the tendency of historical events to recur in cycles, and from this had deduced a general law of great moment, but open to the criticism that it seemed to exclude the possibility of progress, each cycle appearing to start afresh upon the track of its predecessors, and to terminate in general dissolution like them. Evolution showed that there could in fact be no such finality, and that the world-process in humanity must be the same as in nature, the continual ascent from a lower type to a higher by gradual transformation, involving periods of apparent retrogression. Hegel modified this general principle by the conception of particular missions imposed upon particular nations, each of which attains predominance in its turn as the incarnation of the idea which it is its mission to realise—which mission accomplished, it passes away or falls back into the ranks. This philosophy of history, it will be observed, is the counterpart of the Darwinian theory in the sphere of natural science: both enforcing the truth that, although the means of development are purely natural, the existence in course of development follows a path marked out for it from the beginning and necessitated by a long course of antecedent circumstances.

The recognition of history as a subject for scientific investigation, competent to cast as much light on morality as the investigation of Nature brings to the physical world, inevitably occasioned great modifications in the objects and the methods of historical study. This further

intellectual development may be generally defined as the diminution of the stress previously laid upon the personal element in history, and the increased attention to other factors—legislation, economics, opinions, literature, art—whatever could illustrate the social and spiritual history of a people. Thus, for example, when Finlay wrote the history of the Byzantine Empire, he did not seek to vie with his incomparable predecessor, Gibbon, as a narrator of events or a delineator of character, but threw his main strength into an investigation of the financial and economical situation of the empire during this long period, which Gibbon had neglected. The result of this principle, carried out as it has been with unfaltering energy, may be defined as a general lowering of the importance of the personal element in history, and the substitution of impersonal factors—ideas, principles, tendencies—as primary agencies. In some respects this modification is advantageous, in others disadvantageous to history. It robs it of much of its picturesqueness, and consequently of its attractiveness to mankind in general, and affords great encouragement to mere theorising and system-building. On the other hand, it has retrieved large tracts of historical research previously neglected, and has exhibited the apparent makers of history as they really were, the instruments of forces originating at periods long anterior to their time. But, whatever the advantages or disadvantages of this method, there can be no doubt that it has largely stimulated the application of philosophy to history. The historian is no longer satisfied with recounting the exploits of a Cæsar or a Constantine, he demands how Cæsar and Constantine came to do what they did, and finds that the question cannot be determined except by an observation not only of the forces which were then agitating society, but of those which had been moulding it for generations past.

Historical Philosophy, then, is an agent tending to eliminate the individual from history, and to represent both persons and events as the outcome of rigid and inevitable laws. Were this not so, although a philosophy of history would still be possible, such Philosophy could not ascend to the height of Science. Writers from the scientific point of view, however, have not always sufficiently considered that although a science of history is abstractly conceivable, it is incapable of being realised in practice. The case somewhat resembles that of geology among the physical sciences. Were the geological record perfect, had every animal or plant that ever existed left vestiges of itself deposited in due succession, we should have the most demonstrative evidence conceivable, the evidence of our senses, and geology would be as certain a science as astronomy. But so numerous are the faults and gaps in geological strata, so insignificant is the proportion of extant fossils to that of extinct species, that much remains unsettled and obscure. The historical record is equally defective, and worse, for while geological testimony is conclusive as far as it goes, and suffers from simple imperfection, historical testimony is marred by errors and falsities which need to be sifted out, a process frequently involving the sacrifice of genuine matter along with the spurious. Although, therefore, a complete science of history is in the abstract no chimera, it can be realised only by Omniscience.

The conception of great men as the organs of the Time Spirit is a grand contribution to the philosophy of history, which could indeed hardly be formulated so long as the great man was regarded as an isolated phenomenon, and as impelled solely by egoistical motives. All who have profoundly modified the course of history have been in harmony with their

times. It may further be admitted that since great revolutions cannot be effected without the agency of great men, the circumstance of society or an institution being ripe for change is strong presumptive evidence that a great man is appearing or about to appear upon the scene. But this conception of the hero as the creation of invisible forces is perverted when, as is common with historians of an ultra-scientific bias, it is assumed that the idiosyncrasies of the hero are of no moment, that he only appears in response to a definite call, or that, having appeared, he may be dispensed with in the assurance that, should he be withdrawn from the scene, the needs of the age cannot fail to produce his equal. Such fatalistic and mechanical views are refuted by the testimony of History herself. If any great transformation in human affairs may be said to have been absolutely inevitable, it is the Reformation. The study of the Bible, the revival of learning were circumstances which no power on earth could have prevented, and they brought the Reformation naturally in their train. But there was no necessity that the leaders of the Reformation should be men of the precise mould of Luther and Calvin, and the substitution of a different type for either of them would have materially modified the movement. There was no antecedent necessity that the throne of England should at the time be occupied by a monarch whose private passions induced him to side with the reformers, and thereby save his people a century of civil strife. At a later period, when the Reformation in Germany was almost reduced to extremity, it was not in consequence of any general law that the throne of Sweden happened to be occupied by a monarch inspired by the sympathy and possessed both of the material resources and the military genius needed for its deliverance. These all-important incidents in the history of the Reformation could not have been predicted, while the advent of the Reformation itself certainly might. The course of history must ever remain to a great degree incalculable: while great modifications in human affairs, especially those dependent upon changes of opinion, may be foretold with substantial exactness, though by no means with scientific certainty.

In our estimation, then, the philosophy of history is more valuable than the science of history, inasmuch as the latter, though perfect in the realm of abstract thought, must in practice be ever incomplete from the necessary imperfection of its data. Philosophy, on the other hand, does not require scientific certainty, its aim is not to predict nor to reduce to rule, but simply to set facts in their right light, and derive salutary lessons from them. The definition with which we started, "History is Philosophy teaching by example," may pass if we bear in mind that Philosophy is in this connection History's servant, not her mistress, and depends upon her not only for her facts but in a measure for her inferences. She brings out the hidden significance of the passages of history, and sometimes is able by a bold generalisation to ascend to the recognition of some general principle. Of practical wisdom, profitable to the statesman and the citizen, she can always find enough. But neither her laws nor her maxims are, like the laws of the physical world, raised beyond controversy. Like metaphysics, ethics, jurisprudence, political economy, History is an inexact science, fallible alike from the varying temperament of the investigators and from her necessary dependence upon human testimony. The student will do well to distrust writers who, like Comte and Hegel, seek to comprehend all history under a single formula, or, like Buckle, to deduce all progress from a single principle. Such thinkers are by no means to be neglected: they may be compared to beneficent potions purifying and stimulating, but medicine rather than

nutriment. By the aid of such vast generalisations the intellect is enlarged and aided to construe the significance of the great historical evolution in which we are ourselves actors, but the unquestioning adoption of the formula laid down by any thinker, however great, conduces to pedantry, and becomes an obstacle to that power of intelligent judgment of contemporary occurrences which it is the very aim of the philosophical study of history to bestow. In its practical aspects, apart from wide generalisations, the most important condition of historical wisdom is the ability to parallel the present with the past, making at the same time due allowance for those modifications in things material and spiritual which prevent any given period from being an exact reproduction of antecedent cycles. Such a comparison requires an extensive accumulation of facts, and we are not aware that any more comprehensive or generally satisfactory endeavour has been made to provide the historical student with this indispensable ammunition than by the magnificent work in which this little essay finds a place.

APPENDIX C.

JOURNALISM AS MATERIAL FOR HISTORY.

By HUGH CHISHOLM, M.A., Oxford University, Editor of the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

OF what value will be the newspapers of to-day a hundred years hence to the historian investigating the history of our period? At the British Museum a mass of news and comment upon news is being accumulated at an annual rate of some quarter of a million daily and weekly papers, and the task that is being prepared for the future historian, when the dimensions of this enormous mass are realised, promises to become prohibitive. The plethora of material seems likely to stifle his effort to give a true picture of the past. This quandary recalls a conversation between two historians of the present day, who were discussing the difficulties of original research and the comparative trustworthiness of contemporary sources of information. One of the two men was an authority on Britain before the Norman Conquest, and the other had written a first-rate book on modern Europe. "Ah!" said the former, with pity in his voice, "*I* was careful to select a period for which the materials were scanty!" For his peace of mind he had chosen the better part. Undoubtedly the future historian of the later nineteenth century and the early twentieth will not lack materials—he is more likely to be overwhelmed by them.

It is certain that newspaper files must be among the sources from which he will be bound to derive his materials. The English historian will ransack the Record Office and the archives of the Government departments; he will have the Parliamentary Reports (and they too are, after all, a sort of journalism) and the Law Reports; he will have biographies, year books and contemporary summaries, which have already digested the material provided by the news-sheets. But books of this last type will still require verification, and official documents will not reflect the public opinion which not only largely explains them but is also a separate factor in the making of history. Moreover, there are many facts of modern life which are originally "of record" in the Press. The historian will undoubtedly recognise the necessity of consulting the journals of our time and of quoting from their columns, just as a work like THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY quotes from Thucydides passages which authoritatively state the contemporary facts; his difficulty will be to know how many—perhaps we should rather say, how few—he must be satisfied to depend upon, and how he is to employ them.

The value of newspapers as material for history in the future is constantly tested by the use which is made to-day of those of the past. The files of *The Times* (to name the acknowledged head of the world's Press) provide, for instance, a mine of contemporary evidence for any one engaged upon the periodical revision and co-ordination of such a work as the *Encyclopædia Britannica.* In spite of all the care that was taken to select writers of the highest capacity as its contributors, it is not uncommon to

find between one article and another some discrepancy in names, dates, or even accounts of facts; and in some of these cases—for instance, the date of a man's death, or his appointment to some office—the newspaper announcement is the best evidence to decide the point. But, of course, there is more than this. The newspapers are the only safe chronicle of the impression made by events as they occurred, and of the attitude of the world towards them. For historical purposes, the *milieu* is all-important, and the best, if not the only, materials for its imaginative reconstruction in after days, lie there. Errors of fact, and misjudgments of opinion, which passed current in the Press of the day, are of the highest significance to the critic who sets himself to draw a true picture of the time, and often give the only clue to the actual course of history. Much of the newspaper matter here alluded to remains unincorporated into other forms of literature, or so incorporated as to leave out points of real interest to the historical student. Moreover, the greater value now attaching to newspaper copyright tends to accentuate the importance of the original medium of publication. The case of *Walter* v. *Lane* has established the copyright of the newspaper in its reports of speeches, and has thus given a property to the best-served journals in this most characteristic modern form of self-expression on the part of the leading actors in public life.

How far the majority of the facts recorded every day by journalism are of any importance to history is often very hard to guess. When a half-penny evening paper puts on its poster "Thrilling escape of a convict," we may safely say that a hundred years hence this is not likely to matter. On the other hand, the historian may quite possibly be much interested in the state of public feeling, its lack of attention towards some development which was not recognised at the time as critical, or its interest in some other crisis which had afterwards become unimportant. It may well be suggested that, for the purposes of the historian, the posters of some papers with a very large circulation would be better material (taken in addition to the mere record of facts) than the newspapers themselves. These "contents-bills" often show very significantly, both by what they contain and what they do not contain, how the "great heart of the people" is beating, and they might be a suggestive comment on the more individual view of one of the intellectual critics of the period.

The utility of the newspaper to the future historian will be in proportion partly to the amount of truly historical spirit that has been put into its articles, partly to its success in reflecting contemporary ideas. At the present time a considerable part of the contents of a popular journal is often irrelevant to any considerations except those of the moment: it is meant for the day's use and nothing else; in fact, it is pure journalism. The later developments in newspapers are mainly in the direction of more haste and less accuracy. But by the side of the ephemeral type there still remains the journal of the older sort, careful, serious and critical. In Great Britain the two types are fairly contrasted in *The Times* and *Daily Mail*. This distinction is not drawn with any view to censure the ephemeral type; this has its uses, and involves a great deal of ability and resource, but it does not really include in its aims the accurate selection and judicial provision of material for the future historian; it has the day's reader alone in view, though even with that object it has to combine a sense of its own continuity in both its presentation and its criticism of events. Moreover, the large circulation and public favour of this sort of journalism make it a mirror of the moment which may well have some value to him who in the future

intelligently looks into the picture he will find there. But of the two types of English newspaper there can be no doubt which contains better material for the historian. He will not necessarily find all opinions sufficiently expressed or collectively put into the true perspective in any one paper; history alone can give a correct appreciation of the movements of thought, and their true value. Indeed, the more one considers it, the more one feels that our historian will have to know a good deal about journalism itself, and the idiosyncrasies of even the fullest and fairest-minded paper, if he is to use the material it provides with any measure of discrimination. There is no such thing as a non-partisan paper: every paper is conducted by human beings, with prejudices in favour of something rather than something else. But with (say) *The Times*, the *Westminster Gazette*, and the weekly *Spectator*, to guide him, the English historian of a hundred years hence will be in a position to correct by one the impression received from another. These journals and some others like them (which, however, are not sufficiently distinctive in this connection), do aim at treating the life of the moment in something like the thoughtful and discriminative spirit of the historian. For a writer who may wish to follow, for instance, the progress of the Tariff Reform movement in the England of 1903–4, and to understand the feeling of political parties about it, they provide together a remarkably complete picture; he can correct the Chamberlainite view by a Free Trade Unionist view, and both by a Liberal view, and in the *Modern Diary* of "Greville Minor" he will find side lights upon the conflict (in the *Westminster*) which only a contemporary chronicle could give. The historian, if he is a good historian, knows well that there is nothing so fleeting as opinion; if it is not caught at the moment, the politician is apt to forget and deny his opinion not long afterwards; yet history is made not so much by correct opinions as by opinions (right or wrong) actually held. Here, at all events, is a revelation of the necessity of journalism as material for the historian. For the newspaper not only reports the opinions of others, but expresses its own, and these have a twofold interest: they may be either the views of "inspired" or sagacious journalists, or the views known to be popular with the readers of the paper. In either case they represent contemporary forces which the historian must always take into account.

If, however, we are to consider the question at all adequately, even though briefly, we must ask ourselves what sort of history, considering the mass of material available, the future historian will probably desire to write. The world has grown too big, and is too much alive in all its parts, for any one to take the whole field of history for his province, except in the most general way. Such a historian must depend on the work of others for his local and national facts. The principle of division of labour will have to be adopted more and more. We shall have the work of history-writing parcelled out among men dealing separately with personal, local, and national history, and their results generally will have to be accepted by the architectonic generaliser who surveys mankind as a whole. If this is so, clearly the local historian will find the local journals a storehouse of information, while the leading national newspapers obviously provide, for the internal history of their own nation, materials more copious and more accurate than those of any other country. The more this necessity for division of labour is considered, the more the desirability is felt of having the existing material selected and subdivided for the purpose. It would require the services of a staff, trained in historical

methods and capable of discriminating between facts of permanent and facts of only ephemeral interest, to index and file the relevant news or articles, and prepare the way for the historian; they might form the intelligence department of a regular College of History. Without some such organisation, which would be a most valuable addition to the existing machinery of research, if some wealthy philanthropist would but provide it, the difficulties confronting the future historian will be formidable indeed simply by reason of the mass of indigestible material which lies before him.

If a staff with this object were employed upon the newspaper accumulations of the British Museum, a work of enormous importance might be inaugurated. As it is, the different journals are bound together in their respective volumes, advertisements and all, without any examination or discrimination. They are kept, in order to be useful to the future investigator, but without anything being done to make investigation possible. If the contents of these papers, or even a selection from them—and for purely historical purposes it would be easier to make such a selection now than later,—were subject-indexed, and the matter arranged under compartments, —with proper provision for what is relevant to biography, local history, national history, and world-history,—a really valuable work would be done for knowledge. It would need elaborate organisation, but would differ only in degree, not in principle, from similar "intelligence departments" which are kept going, only on a less ambitious scale, for private purposes. It is the proper function of a Museum to do this, and the British Museum would consider it absurd to jumble all its antiquities, gems, sculpture, together without any system. The knowledge that is daily embodied in journalistic records requires systematising just as much. It can only be done adequately on a grand scale, and the value of such a department for co-ordinating recorded history would soon be felt. We should have an encyclopædic collection of materials divided under convenient headings, ready to be worked up. Here indeed would be a labour-saving machine, an apparatus which would be resorted to by every inquirer.

It is a national disgrace and a crime against posterity, to leave this collection in a condition that makes it almost useless. In its present condition its value is merely potential; it is an unrealisable asset; but if it were skilfully handled its worth would be doubled, and far more than doubled. For everything nowadays takes a journalistic expression. People no longer write letters—except to the papers. If a man has anything to say, he says it in a speech reported next morning, or in an article signed or unsigned. Much of the best work of the best minds will be lost, if it is not preserved in its record in the papers, and it will be undiscoverable—forgotten, with nothing to attract attention to it—unless its place in the newspaper is registered and indexed. No one can struggle through the whole journalistic wilderness, a veritable jungle of print, merely on the chance of finding an unsuspected treasure. Every paper, even of the ephemeral type, may on some day or other contain a valuable article; and journalism as a whole forms one vast net for catching from all quarters any specially well-informed "copy" that may be floating about. The best minds are always expressing themselves, with a view primarily, it is true, to the day's effect, but at the same time with an amount of precious detail and long-pondered experience which, to the future historian, may well be of unique importance. In all this vast production, there is every day here a little and there a little, which for personal, local, or national history, will be invaluable. To sift the gold from the dross merely requires an intelligent organisation.

A few words may be added about the perishable quality of this newspaper material in the purely physical sense. In discussing the overwhelming labour that will be needed for future research, the historian of the type already mentioned, who congratulates himself on having chosen a period for which the "materials are scanty," will sometimes qualify his sympathy for future students by remarking that paper and ink are now of such inferior quality that in a few years all these accumulations will dissolve and disappear in dust, and the field will again be free for the constructive imagination alone. No doubt it is true that modern wood-pulp paper will not last like the old rag or esparto product. But, provided the bound volumes of (say) the *Daily Mail* are not turned over in the Museum by too many hands—and there is not much fear of that—the printed sheet will last a very long time, even if it does turn a little brown. The better the paper and ink, the longer its physical life; and *The Times* may count on its being a probable winner in the "survival of the fittest" for this reason if for no other. Unless another wholesale Fire of London wipes out British Museum and everything, the materials are likely to be in existence even a hundred years hence. But obviously, even for this aspect of the problem of durability and permanence, the danger would be best avoided or minimised by a more methodical and (in the true sense) economical disposal of the material. The most useless and also the most dangerous way of hoarding newspapers for the benefit of the future historian is to pile them up—as they are, in their large sheets, advertisements and all,—clumsy to handle, friable to touch. Treat them avowedly and contemporaneously as the mine in which an active Intelligence Department is to work, and from which from day to day it can extract and arrange the matter of permanent and not ephemeral value, storing it in convenient parcels each under its appointed division, and you will then be able at any time to go further and to reprint, when desirable, or by divers devices to prolong the life of any portions of the whole which are judged to require it.

Here indeed is a great work, which no doubt would involve a considerable, but not an extravagant expenditure, waiting for some public-spirited millionaire to finance it, in the event of the Government being unable or unwilling to provide the necessary funds. It is essentially part of the great problem of our time, the prevention of waste. No small part of the material of ancient history, as it comes into THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD, was originally derived from laborious investigation of manuscripts which presented innumerable difficulties to the students who were forced to search faded pages long after contemporary witnesses had died. Writers of future centuries will be spared infinite trouble and uncertainty if the way is now cleared for them, by the forethought of those who are indeed directly interested in the just presentment of their own time. The opportunity lies there for a "Golden Dustman," who will organise the sifting out of the *débris* of modern journalism, packed as it is with the best brain-work of an age of diffused knowledge.

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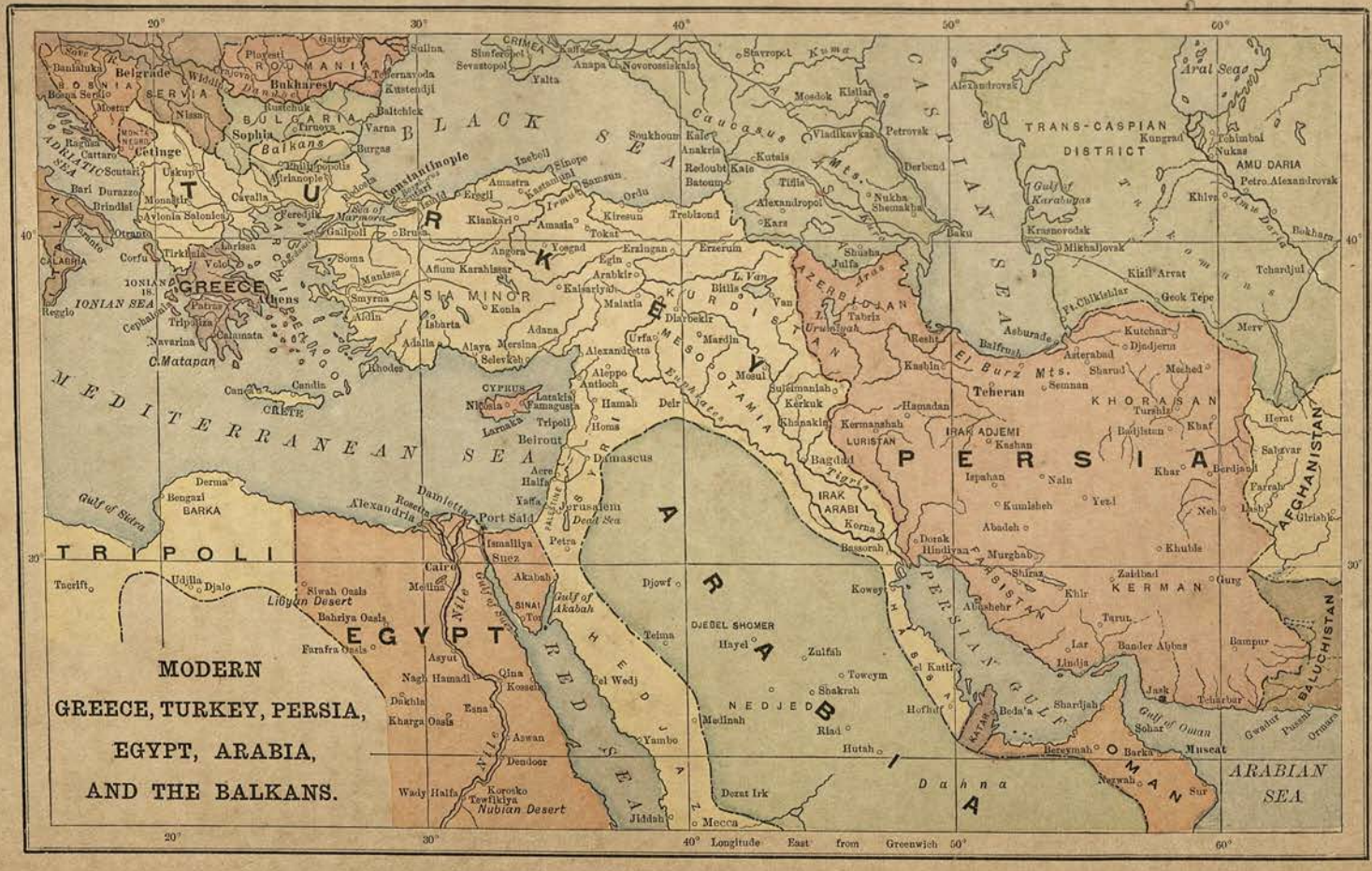
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